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1928

AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

An Elementary History of England

With 88 Illustrations, Tables, Maps, and Plans.

BY

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An Atlas of English History

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With 66 Maps and 22 Plans of Battles, etc.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO., NEW YORK.

AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1923.

WITH 65 MAPS AND PLANS

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IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
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NEW EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
TORONTO, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND MADRAS
1923

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Made in Great Britain

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BOOK I

BRITAIN BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST (UP TO 1066)

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC AND CELTIC BRITAIN

Chief Dates:

?330 B.C. The voyage of Pytheas.

1. THERE are few surviving written records of the doings of man in the British Islands which are much earlier than the Christian era. Yet the modern sciences of geology, archæology, and philology prove that these islands had been the dwelling-place of human beings for many centuries previous to that period. The earliest certain evidence of the existence of man in Britain is derived from the discovery of large numbers of rudely shaped flint implements. Some of these have been found in the gravels of river drifts, and others in the caves where early man made his dwelling. A few skulls, discovered along with such primitive tools, show that the dwellers in this remote age were of a low intellectual type. Yet the survival of a rude but spirited drawing of a horse on a flat piece of bone indicates that these savages had the rudiments of an artistic sense. The age in which they lived is called the *palæolithic*, or old stone age. There is little proof that the men of this age had any connection with the later races which successively inhabited Britain.

The Palæolithic Age.

2. Many ages passed away, and more abundant evidence is found of the existence of man in Britain. We pass from the palæolithic to the *neolithic*, or new stone age, where the roughly fashioned tools of the primitive race were replaced by more carefully constructed implements of smooth polished stone. Such neolithic tools include arrow-heads, sharp enough to transfix an enemy, axe-heads called *celts*, scrapers, knives,

The Neolithic Age.

dress-fasteners, and saws. The care of the men of this period for their dead is indicated by the solidly built *barrows* of long oval shape, wherein huge stones, piled up to form a sepulchral chamber for a whole clan, were then covered in with great mounds of earth. Numerous remains of the dead found in these resting-places suggest that the men of the new stone age were short in stature, swarthy in complexion, and had long narrow skulls of the type called *dolichocephalic*. To these people has been sometimes given the name of *Iberians*, because they have been thought akin to the Basques, the original inhabitants of Iberia or Spain, and some philologists have believed that a few words of their tongue still lurk in some of our most ancient place-names. However these things may be, there is good reason to believe that the blood of this ancient race still flows in the veins of many of those now dwelling in our land.

The Iberians.

3. The Iberian inhabitants of Britain were ultimately attacked by a stronger and more ingenious race called the *Celts*. This people belonged to the great *Aryan* family, whose language was the origin of nearly all the civilized tongues of Europe, and of those of a considerable part of western Asia. Their physical characteristics were very different from those of their short and swarthy predecessors. They were tall, fair-skinned, with red or yellow hair, and their skulls were broader, shorter, and more highly developed, belonging to the type called *brachycephalic*. They came to Britain in two great waves of migration. The earlier Celtic wave deposited in our islands the races called *Goidelic*, or *Gaelic*, which are now represented by the Irish, the Scottish Highlanders, and the Manxmen. The second migration was that of the *Brythonic* peoples, who were the ancestors of the Britons, afterwards called the Welsh, as well as of the Bretons of Brittany and the Cornishmen. In each case the incoming race took possession of the richer and more fertile southern and eastern parts of our island, and drove the previous inhabitants into the mountains of the west and north. The Goidels forced the Iberians back into these regions, and were then in their turn pushed westwards and northwards by the incoming Britons. By the time that our real knowledge begins, the Britons had occupied the whole of the south and east, and the mass of the Goidels had been driven over sea to Ireland, and to the barren mountains of the north beyond the Forth and the Clyde. There was still, however, a strong Goidelic element along the western coasts of southern Britain,

The Celts.

The Goidels.

The Brythons.

especially in the south-west peninsula, which now makes Cornwall and Devonshire, in south Wales, and in the lands round the Solway.

4. It is to these western and northern lands that we must look if we would study the older populations of the British islands. The Goidels, when driven into the west, seem to have become amalgamated with the Iberians whom they had earlier pushed into those regions. The result of this was the development there of two physical types which have survived to our own days. The incoming Celt is still represented in Ireland, Wales, and the Scottish Highlands by occasional tall, fair men; but the most usual type in those districts is that of a short, dark-haired, dark-complexioned race, which is probably largely derived from the blood of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of our land. But for both types alike, the Celtic language and the Celtic institutions became universal. There was, and is, however, a great difference between the Goidelic speech of the earlier Celtic migration, still spoken by some of the Irish, Manx, and Scottish Highlanders, and the Brythonic tongue of the later immigrants, still surviving in Welsh and Breton, and, till the nineteenth century, in Cornish.

The amalgamation of Iberians and Celts.

5. Civilization now steadily progressed, though it is almost impossible to say for certain whether the next great steps forward were the work of the earlier or of the later race. The people's increasing care for the dead led them to erect huge circles of great stones, each resembling the stone chamber of the barrow, stripped of its mound of earth, and piled up in magnificent order in mighty *megalithic* monuments. Of these, Avebury in northern Wiltshire, and Stonehenge on Salisbury plain, are the most famous examples. After the coming of the Celts the fashion of burial changed. Instead of the long barrow, destined to receive the remains of many warriors, short *round barrows*, each the grave of a particular chieftain or of his kin, became so usual as to be extremely numerous. In these were deposited the bodies, or sometimes the burnt ashes, of the dead, and along with them were put implements of stone and bronze, ornaments of gold, jet, amber, and glass, and pottery, made by hand, and unglazed, but rudely ornamented, and polished by hard rubbing.

Megalithic monuments.

6. When this stage had been attained, the stone age was over, and the period was reached when the use of metals was known. This marked an enormous advance of civilization. First came the *bronze age*, which

The Bronze and Iron Ages.

was ultimately succeeded by the *iron age*, which has been going on ever since. The Goidel came to Britain in the age of bronze, and at the beginning of the iron age the Britons of the newer Celtic migration had become the masters of the southern part of our island, to which they had given the name of Britain.

7. The Celts were the first inhabitants of our island to attain a respectable level of civilization. They wore clothes, used metal weapons, and delighted in gold and glass ornaments. They tilled the ground, opened up tin and lead mines, and began to trade with their neighbours. They were brave, high-spirited, and enterprising; had a real love of beautiful things, and delighted in war and battle. They were split up into different tribes, each of which had its own king, though occasionally several tribes would join together under a common king, especially in times of danger. The Celts were fickle and quarrelsome, and seldom remained permanently under any other ruler than the chief of their own tribe or clan. The gentry went to battle in war-chariots, drawn by horses, which they managed with extraordinary skill. They protected themselves by bronze helmets and body armour, often beautifully enriched by ornament. Their weapons were the sword, the buckler, the dart, and the axe. The Celts worshipped many gods, and sought to propitiate them by human sacrifices. They held in great honour their priests, who were called *Druids*, and who also were the poets, prophets, and judges of the people. The chief wealth of the nation lay in their flocks and herds, and the population lived for the most part in scattered homesteads. They erected, however, as refuges in times of war, great earthworks called *duns*. Favourite sites for these fortresses were the summits of high hills, from which they could overlook the countryside. The majority of the Britons lived upon the uplands, as the river valleys were swampy, unhealthy, and hard to cultivate; but some of them were fishermen or watermen, like the dwellers in the lake villages discovered near Glastonbury. There was enough intercourse between tribe and tribe for rough trackways to be marked out over the downs and hills from one settlement to another.

Early Celtic civilization.

8. Though the Druids composed verses, wherein they commemorated the deeds of great men, and set forth the laws and wisdom of their ancestors, the Britons had no books, so that no account of them from their own point of view has been handed down to us. The earliest information that we have of the Britons comes from the travellers'

The voyage of Pytheas, ? 330 B.C.

tales of Greek explorers from the Mediterranean. Somewhere about 330 B.C., some merchants of the Greek colony of Massilia (now called Marseilles), in the south of Gaul, sent a mathematician named Pytheas to explore the lands on the Atlantic coast of Europe in the hope of opening up a trading connection with them. Among other countries Pytheas visited Britain, sailing through the Channel and all up the eastern coast, and setting down his observations of the country and its people in writings of which, unluckily, only fragments have come down to us. From the voyage of Pytheas a trading connection between Britain and the commercial cities of the Mediterranean was opened up, which soon became important. There were also close dealings between the Britons and their Celtic kinsmen the Gauls, their nearest continental neighbours. Many Gauls settled in southern Britain, and still further raised its standard of refinement. The tin, lead, amber, and pearls of the Britons found a ready market in cities like Massilia, and by this means some vague knowledge of the existence of Britain became spread among civilized people. So active did commerce become that the Britons struck coins of gold and tin, which were rudely fashioned after the models of the Greek monies of the period. So intercourse increased and civilization grew until, nearly three hundred years after the voyage of Pytheas, the advance of the Roman Empire brought Britain into the fuller light of history.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN BRITAIN (55 B.C.–449 A.D.)

Chief Dates:

55-54 B.C. Julius Cæsar's expeditions to Britain.
43 A.D. Claudius begins the Roman conquest of Britain.
78-85. Government of Agricola.
122. Hadrian's Wall built.
297. Diocletian reorganizes the British provinces.
410. Withdrawal of the Roman legions.

1. In the generations preceding the Christian era the Romans established their dominion over the whole of the lands surrounding the Mediterranean, the centre of the civilization of the ancient world. The last step of this conquest was the subjugation of Gaul by Gaius Julius Cæsar, between 58 and 50 B.C. Brought by his triumphant progress to the shores of the Channel, Cæsar learnt that the Britons had afforded refuge to the fugitives from his arms in Gaul, and believed that their sympathy with their continental brethren would make it harder for the Romans to keep Gaul quiet. Accordingly he resolved to teach the Britons the might of the Roman power, and in 55 B.C. he led a small expedition over the straits of Dover, and successfully landed it in Kent, despite the vigorous resistance which the Britons offered to his disembarkation. Cæsar found, however, that the Britons were stronger than he thought, and that he had not brought enough troops to accomplish anything great against them. For the few weeks that he remained in Britain, he did not venture far from the coast. Before long he returned to Gaul, convinced that he must wipe out his failure by conducting a stronger army to Britain as soon as he could.

Julius Cæsar's First Expedition to Britain, 55 B.C.

2. Next year, 54 B.C., Cæsar landed in Britain for the second time. He then took with him more than twice as many soldiers as on the previous occasion. Having established a camp on the coast,

he marched boldly into the interior. He was opposed by Cassivellaunus, king of the tribes dwelling on the north bank of the Thames. The light-armed Britons shrunk from a pitched battle with the Romans, and failed to prevent them from forcing their passage over the Thames. But their swift war-chariots hung upon the Roman line of march, threatened to destroy Cæsar's camp on the coast, and prevented him from winning any very striking triumphs. However, some of the British tribes were jealous of Cassivellaunus. Conspicuous among these were the Trinovantes, his eastern neighbours, dwelling in what is now Essex. This tribe sent envoys to Cæsar, and submitted to him. Alarmed at this defection, Cassivellaunus also made his peace with the Roman general, and agreed not to disturb the Trinovantes. Some of the tribes promised to yield up hostages and to pay tribute to the Romans. Thereupon Cæsar went back to the continent. He had not even attempted to conquer Britain, but he had taught the Britons a lesson, and had prevented them from harming the Roman power in Gaul. The most enduring result of Cæsar's visits is to be found in the description of Britain and the Britons which he wrote in his famous *Commentaries*. This is the first full written account of our island that has come down to us. With it the continuous history of our land begins.

Julius Cæsar's Second Expedition to Britain, 54 B.C.

3. For ninety years after Cæsar's landing no Roman troops were seen in Britain. Increased commerce followed upon the greater knowledge which Romans and Britons now had of each other. The Trinovantes, who remained true to the Roman connection, profited by it to make themselves masters of most of south-eastern Britain. Their power came to a head under their king Cunobelinus, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare and romance. He struck coins which closely imitated those of the contemporary Romans, made Camulodunum (Colchester) his capital, and felt himself strong enough to throw off Roman control. One of his brothers, disgusted at being supplanted, appealed to the Romans for help, but his valiant son Caractacus continued his policy after his death. Thus strained relations ensued between the Romans and the Trinovantes. The promised tribute was not paid; Gaulish rebels were encouraged, and Gaulish fugitives from Roman rule received once more a welcome.

Rome and Britain, 54 B.C.–43 A.D.

4. The renewed hostility of the Britons to Rome convinced the Emperor Claudius that the only way of making Gaul secure was by conquering Britain. Accordingly, in 43 A.D., Claudius sent

a strong army to the island, under Aulus Plautius. With his landing the systematic Roman conquest of Britain began. Plautius soon made such progress that Claudius himself visited the country, and witnessed his soldiers taking by storm Caractacus' stronghold of Camulodunum, which soon became a Roman colony—the first in Britain. When Plautius returned to Rome in 47, he had made himself master of the south and midlands as far as the Humber and the Severn. The next governor, Ostorius Scapula (47–52), strove to subdue the Silures and Ordovices, the fierce tribes that dwelt in the hills of southern and central Wales, among whom Caractacus found a refuge after the conquest of his own district. The Roman general defeated Caractacus in a pitched battle, and forced him to flee northwards to the Brigantes of the modern Yorkshire. Surrendered by these to the Romans, the British king was led in triumph through Rome. His brave and frank bearing won the favour of Claudius, who permitted him to end his days in honourable retirement. But the conquest of the Welsh hills was not lasting, and all the Romans could do was to establish a ring of border garrisons at Deva (Chester), Viroconium (Wroxeter), and Isca Silurum (Caerleon-on-Usk), whereby the wild mountaineers were restrained.

The Roman conquest of Britain.

Aulus Plautius, 43-47 A.D.

Ostorius Scapula, 47-52.

5. The Roman conquest of Britain was further advanced by the governor, Suetonius Paullinus (59–62), who in 61 completed the subjugation of the hill-tribes of the west by the reduction of Mona or Anglesey, the last refuge of the Druids. A sanguinary insurrection of the Iceni, the clan inhabiting what is now Norfolk and Suffolk, recalled Paullinus. The Icenian King, Prasutagos, who had ruled under Roman over-lordship, made the Emperor his co-heir, jointly with his two daughters. On his death the Romans took possession of his lands, brutally ill-treated his daughters, and cruelly scourged his widow, Boudicca (Boadicea), who strove to maintain their rights. The indignant tribesmen took advantage of the governor's absence to rise in revolt. Camulodunum was stormed, and all the Romans within it put to the sword. A like fate befell Verulamium (St. Albans), the seat of Roman government, and Londinium (London), the chief commercial centre of Britain. The legion that held the northern frontier hurried southwards, but was cut to pieces by the Iceni in the open field. At last Paullinus, fresh from his triumph at Mona, marched eastward at the head of the strong force which had held down the disturbed western frontier. Defeated in a

Suetonius Paullinus, 59-62.

pitched battle, Boudicca avoided captivity and shame by drinking off a bowl of poison. The suppression of the rebellion completed the reduction of all Britain south of the Humber and east of the Dee and Usk. But the mountaineers of what is now called Wales took advantage of Paullinus' withdrawal to renew their freedom, and for many years the Roman advance northwards and westwards was stayed.

6. The next forward movement was under Julius Agricola, a famous statesman and general, who was governor of Britain from 78 to 85. Agricola's son-in-law, the famous historian, Tacitus, wrote a life of his father-in-law in such detail that we learn more of his doings in Britain than of those of any commander since Julius Cæsar. Agricola's first military exploit was to complete the subjugation of the hill-tribes of the west. Thereupon he turned his arms northwards and subdued the fierce Brigantes, establishing a new camp at Eburacum (York), which soon became the chief centre of the Roman power. Within the next few years he seems to have advanced still further northwards, until he found a natural barrier in the narrow isthmus which separates the Firth of Forth and Clyde, where he erected a line of forts. Not contented with this, Agricola advanced beyond this line into the mountains of northern Scotland, whose wild inhabitants, called then the *Caledonians*, opposed him vigorously under their chieftain Galgacus. At last, in 84, Agricola won a victory over Galgacus at an unknown place called *Mons Graupius*. After this he circumnavigated the north coast of Scotland with a fleet, and even talked of conquering Ireland. Next year, however, he was recalled, and his successors took up a less enterprising policy. Even more important than Agricola's victories were the efforts he made to civilize the Britons and spread Roman fashions among them. The sons of the chieftains learned to speak Latin, adopted the Roman dress, and followed their conquerors' habits of life.

Julius Agricola, 78–85.

7. South Britain remained hard to hold. A revolt annihilated the legion stationed at York, and about 122 the wise Emperor Hadrian, abandoning the northern regions, which Agricola had claimed as part of the province, erected a solid wall of stone, fortified by frequent forts, to form a scientific frontier for the region solidly held by the Romans. The line chosen for this purpose ran from the mouth of the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne—roughly speaking, from Carlisle to Newcastle—a distance of more than seventy miles. If

The two Roman walls.

the still narrower frontier-line from Clyde to Forth were too remote to be held with safety, the limits thus chosen were the best that could be found. After nearly seventeen centuries the substantial remains of this great work, stretching across the high hills that separate the valleys of the Tyne and the Solway, still constitute by far the most majestic memorial of the Roman power in Britain. In 143, Lollius Urbicus, the governor of Britain under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, went back to the limits once conquered by Agricola, and erected a new boundary wall between the Forth and the Clyde. Built of sods laid on a basement of stone, the northern wall of Antoninus was a much less solid structure than the wall of Hadrian. It soon became unimportant, as the Romans made few attempts to occupy the barren moorlands that take up most of the region between the two walls. Occasionally the old aggressive spirit revived, and notably between 208 and 211, when the able Emperor Septimius Severus spent four years in Britain, and, like Agricola, waged fresh campaigns against the Caledonians. On his death, at Eburacum, the Roman energies relapsed, and thus the wall of Hadrian became the permanent frontier of Roman Britain.

8. Roman rule, thus established by Agricola and Hadrian, lasted in Britain for more than three hundred years. At first Roman Britain consisted of a single *province*, ruled, like all the frontier districts, by a legate of the Emperor. Severus divided the country into two provinces, called Upper and Lower Britain (*Britannia Superior* and *Britannia Inferior*), whose boundaries are not at all clear. At last, the famous emperor, Diocletian, the second founder of the Roman Empire, included Britain, about 297, in his general scheme for the reorganization of the provinces. The number of British provinces was increased to four, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*. To these a fifth, *Valentia*, was afterwards added. We are almost entirely in the dark as to the situation of these provinces. A special novelty of Diocletian's reforms was the bringing together of neighbouring provinces into larger administrative divisions, called *Dioceses* and *Prætorian Præfectures*. All British provinces were joined together in the diocese of Britain, ruled by a *vicar*, while the diocese of Britain was but a part of the great prætorian præfecture of the Gauls which extended over the whole of the west. This system lasted as long as the Roman power.

Roman divisions of Britain.

9. The Roman occupation of Britain was mainly military. The

land was strongly held by a garrison of three legions, each consisting of about 5000 regular troops, all Roman citizens. One legion, the Sixth, had its headquarters at Eburacum, while the Second was quartered at Isca Silurum, and the Twentieth at Deva, in positions which they had held from the first century onwards. Besides these regular troops, a large number of irregular auxiliaries garrisoned the wall of Hadrian and the detached forts of the north. Both legions and auxiliaries were largely recruited on the continent, and most Britons who wished to serve the emperor were drafted to fight upon the Rhine or the Danube. Well-constructed roads, paved with stone, ran straight from garrison to garrison, and also served as avenues of commerce. The most famous of the Roman roads of Britain was the *Watling Street*, which ran from the coast at Dubræ (Dover) to Londinium, and thence by Verulamium to Viroconium, from which point a branch went south to Isca, while the main road proceeded to Deva, where it sent a branch to Segontium (Carnarvon). From Deva, Watling Street was continued eastwards to York, and thence to the frontier. The *Ermine Street*, the central part of the road that connected Eburacum with Lindum (Lincoln), Camulodunum, and Londinium, was only less famous; while the Watling Street was crossed diagonally by a third great artery, called the *Fosse Way*, which went from Lindum to Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter). A fourth road, named *Akeman Street*, connected Camulodunum and Verulamium with the watering-place of Aquæ Sulis (Bath).

The Roman garrison.

Roman roads.

10. Along the chief routes grew up walled towns, which, at least in the south and east, were not wholly military in character. Under the strong Roman peace, marshes were drained, forests cleared, and commerce furthered. Britain became one of the chief granaries of Europe, and its iron, tin, and lead mines were extensively developed. Salt-works were opened, and pottery and fine glass were made. Many Roman officials, soldiers, and traders spread the use of the Latin tongue, and, at least in the southern and eastern parts of the province, the upper classes among the Britons themselves learnt to talk Latin, and were proud to be considered as Romans. But the Romans never romanized Britain as they had romanized Gaul. The best proof of this is the fact that the Celtic tongue continued to be spoken by the mass of the people, as is shown by its continuance in Wales to this day. In Gaul, on the other hand, the use of Latin became universal, and quite displaced the ancient Gaulish language.

Roman civilization in Britain.

11. During the fourth century Christianity became the religion of the Romans, and Constantine, the first Christian emperor (306–337), first took up the government of the Empire at Eburacum, where his father had died. Even before this there had been Christians in Britain, and during the last persecution of the Christian Church by the Emperor Diocletian (284–305), several British martyrs gave up their lives for the faith. The most famous of these was Alban, slain at Verulamium, where in after years a church was erected in his honour that gave the Roman city its modern name of St. Albans. During the fourth century we know that there were bishops at Londinium, Lindum, and Eburacum, many churches and monasteries, and an active and vigorous ecclesiastical life. The British Church became strong enough to send out missionaries to other lands, of whom the most famous were St. Patrick, who completed the conversion of the Irish to the faith, and St. Ninian, who first taught the Caledonians, or Picts, the Christian religion. Britain even had a heretic of its own in Pelagius, who denied the doctrine of original sin, and made himself very famous all over the Roman world as the foe of St. Augustine, the great African father. From the British Church is directly descended the Welsh Church, and less directly the Churches of Ireland and Scotland. By its means civilization was extended into regions which, though inaccessible to the Roman arms, were brought by Roman missionaries into the Christian fold.

The Romano-British Church.

12. Gradually the Roman Empire decayed, and Britain suffered much from its growing weakness. Towards the end of the third century the legions garrisoning distant provinces grew out of hand, and, without regard for the central power in Italy, made and unmade emperors of their own. Thus in 287, Carausius, a Roman admiral, allied himself with bands of pirates, received the support of the soldiers, seized the government of Britain, and strove to make himself master of the whole Roman world. He conquered part of northern Gaul, but in 293 was slain by his own chief minister, Allectus, who ruled over Britain until he was slain in 296. It was to put down such disorders that Diocletian carried out his reforms in the administration, and Constantine, succeeding after a time to Diocletian's power, continued his general policy, though he took up a different line as regards religion. The reforms of Diocletian and the recognition of Christianity by Constantine kept the Roman Empire together for a century longer.

Decay of the Roman power in Britain.

Carausius, 287–293, and Allectus, 293–296.

ROMAN BRITAIN
Principal Roads shown by stouter lines thus:-
Forests
Marshes
CALEDONIANS OR PICTS
Firth of Forth
Wall of Antoninus
Firth of Clyde
WATLING STREET
Wall of Hadrian
R. Tyne
Solway Firth
BRIGANTES
Eburacum (Leg. VI)
R. Humber
Mona
Lindum
Deva (Leg. XX)
Segontium
R. Dee
ORDOVICES
R. Trent
ERMINE STREET
CORITANI
Viroconium
WATLING WAY
Gariannonum
R. Severn
SILURES
FOSSE WAY
NOVANTES
AKEMAN STREETS
Camulodunum
Verulamium
Londinium
R. Thames
R. Tavy
Isca Silurum (Leg. II)
Aquae Sulis
Rutupiae
CANTII
Dubrae
Wood of Anderida
Anderida
DUMNONII
Isca Dumnoniorum
Emery Walker sc.

13. Fresh troubles soon arose, which fell with special force on a remote province like Britain. Despite the frontier wall, bands of fierce Caledonians, by this time more often called *Picts*, raided at their will the northern parts of the province. Swarms of Irishmen, then generally called *Scots*, similarly plundered the western coasts and effected large settlements in regions so wide apart as Cornwall, Wales, and Galloway. An even worse danger came from the east, where swarms of pirates and adventurers from North Germany, called *Saxons* by Romans and Britons, devastated the coasts of the North Sea and Channel. To ward off these invaders the Romans set up a new military organization. A new military officer was appointed, called *Count of the Saxon Shore* (*Comes litoris Saxonici*), whose special duty it was to protect the region specially liable to these invasions. A series of forts, stretching from the Wash to Sussex, formed the centres of the Roman defence against the pirates; and the majestic ruins of Rutupiae (Richborough) in Kent, Anderida (Pevensey) in Sussex, and Gariannonum (Burgh Castle) in Suffolk, show the solid strength of these last efforts to uphold the Roman power. At the same time the northern defence was reorganized, and the troops garrisoning the wall of Hadrian were put under another high military officer, called the *Duke of the Britains* (*Dux Britanniarum*), while the legionary army in its camps was commanded by the *Count of the Britains* (*Comes Britanniarum*). All these military changes date from the reign of Diocletian, and were parts of his great scheme for reinvigorating the empire.

Barbarian invasions, and the efforts to ward them off.

14. Early in the fifth century the Roman Empire upon the continent was overrun by fierce German tribes, anxious to find new homes for themselves. The settlement of the Franks in northern Gaul cut off Britain from the heart of the empire, and Rome and Italy itself were threatened. With the Germans at the gates of Rome, it became impossible for the emperors to find the men and money necessary for keeping up their authority in a distant land like Britain. After 410, the year which saw the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, the Romans ceased to send officials and troops to Britain. Henceforth the Britons were left to look after themselves, and their entreaties to the emperors to help them in their distress were necessarily disregarded.

The withdrawal of the Roman legions, 410.

15. Roman rule had, however, lasted so long in Britain that the upper classes at least considered themselves Romans, and strove to carry on the government after the Roman fashion. To

them it did not seem that Britain had ceased to be Roman: but rather that they as Romans had to carry on Roman rule themselves, without the help of the emperor or the other districts of the empire. It was soon found, however, that the Britons were not romanized enough to be able to maintain the Roman system. The leaders did not work together, and gradually the old Celtic tribal spirit revived in a fashion that made united action and organized government very difficult.

The Britons left to their own resources, 410–449.

16. Before long southern Britain began to split up into little tribal states, and this break up of unity made it possible for the barbarians, who had been withstood with difficulty all through the previous century, to carry everything before them. The Picts crossed the Roman wall, and plundered and raided as they would. The Scots from Ireland established themselves along the west coast, and besides other settlements, effected so large a conquest of the western Highlands and islands outside the northern limits of the old provinces that a new Scotland grew up on British soil. Even more dangerous were the incursions of the Saxon invaders in the east. These were no longer simply plunderers, but, like the Franks and Goths on the continent, wished to establish new homes for themselves in Britain. Before their constant incursions the Britons were gradually forced to give way. Within forty years of the withdrawal of the last Roman governors, the process of German conquest had begun.

The Picts, Scots, and Saxons.

17. The barbarian conquest went on gradually for about a century and a half, and by the end of it nearly every trace of Roman influence was removed. Vestiges of Roman towns, villas, churches, and public buildings; the still abiding lines of the network of Roman roads; the continuance of the Christian faith among the free Britons; a few Roman words still surviving in the language of the Celtic-speaking Britons, and a few place-names (such as *street* from *strata*) among their Teutonic supplanters, were almost all that there was to prove the abiding traces of the great conquering people which had first brought our island into relation with the main stream of ancient civilization.

Permanent results of Roman rule in Britain.

CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN BRITAIN (449-607)

Chief Dates:

449. Jutes established in Kent.
516. Battle of Mount Badon.
577. Battle of Deorham.
607. Battle of Chester.

1. The Teutonic invaders, who began to set up new homes for themselves in Britain after the middle of the fifth century, came from northern Germany. Their original homes were along the coasts of the North Sea, the lower courses of the Elbe and Weser, and the isthmus that connects the Danish peninsula with Germany. Though all were very similar in their language and manners, they were divided into three different tribes—the *Jutes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Angles*.

The Teutonic conquest of Southern Britain.

The Jutes.

Of these the Jutes were the least important, though they were the first to settle in our island. They are generally said to have come from Jutland, the Danish peninsula, which used to be explained as meaning the land of the Jutes. But there are difficulties in the way of accepting this view, and some people now believe that the Jutes came from the lower Weser, to the west of the other colonizers of Britain.

The Saxons.

The Saxons came from the lower Elbe, and were so numerous a group of tribes that before long nearly all the peoples of North Germany were called Saxons. The Angles lived to the north of the Saxons, in the region now called Holstein. So many of them crossed over to Britain that their name soon disappeared from Germany altogether.

And the Angles.

2. Each of the invading tribes included many small states, ruled by petty kings or by elected magistrates, called *aldermen*. The newcomers had no common name and no common interests. Each little group lived in a village apart from their neighbours, and all of them were very warlike, fierce, and energetic. They had dwelt farther

away from the Romans than the other barbarian invaders of the empire, and were therefore much less influenced by Roman civilization than nations like the Franks and the Goths. For that reason they remained heathens, worshipping Woden, Thor, and the other battle-loving gods of the old Germans. They had little of the respect for the Roman Empire which made the Teutonic conquerors of Gaul and Italy eager to be recognized by the emperors, and quick to learn many of the Roman ways. It resulted from this that they made a much cleaner sweep of Roman institutions than did their brethren on the continent, and that the more since the Britons fought against them more vigorously and for a longer time than the Romans of Gaul or Italy against their invaders. Yet their conquest of Britain is but a part of that general movement called the *Invasion of the Barbarians*, or the *Wandering of the Nations*, which everywhere broke down the Roman power in western Europe. In fact, this was done more completely in Britain than anywhere else.

The institutions of the Invaders.

3. The invaders of Britain had no common name for themselves. Since the fourth century the Romans and Britons had called them all *Saxons*, and to this day the Celtic peoples of the land, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Highland Scots, still continue the Roman custom in their own tongues. But when the invaders had settled in Britain, and had begun to find the need of a common word to describe them all, they used the word *Angle* as a general name. Angle is only another form of *English*, and as this has remained ever since the name of all the new settlers and their descendants, it is perhaps better for us to call them English from the first. They are, however, sometimes styled the *Anglo-Saxons*—that is, the people formed by the union of the Angles and Saxons. For convenience' sake we shall use the word "English" in this broader sense, and keep the term "Angle" for the tribes who shared with the Jutes and Saxons in the conquest of Britain. The parts of Britain in which the newcomers, whether Angle, Jute, or Saxon, settled, were henceforth *England*—that is, land of the English—and they were the forefathers of most modern Englishmen. As time went on, however, many people of British descent began to speak the English tongue and regard themselves as English; and nowadays a great many Englishmen are in no wise descended from the old English.

The beginnings of England.

4. We know very little of the fashion in which the English tribes came to Britain. There are famous legends of some aspects of the conquest, but it is impossible to say whether they are true

or not, as they are first told many hundred years after the event. There is a well-known story of the first settlement of the newcomers in Britain. Vortigern, one of the British kings, we are told, followed the fashion of the Romans of the continent, who called in German warriors to help them to fight against their enemies. Attracted by the high pay that he offered, a tribe of Jutes, headed by their dukes, the brothers Hengist and Horsa, came to the aid of Vortigern against Picts and Scots. But when they had done their work, instead of going home, they resolved to settle in the land of the Britons. In 449 they chased away the Britons, and established themselves in *Kent*, which thus became the first English settlement in Britain. Before long Kent became a kingdom, and Hengist and Horsa were its first kings. Some years later another Jutish settlement was effected in the *Isle of Wight* and on the south coast of what is now called Hampshire. These were the only Jutish conquests, and the very name of Jute was soon forgotten. Though Kent long remained a separate kingdom, the Jutes of Wight became absorbed in the larger population of Saxon settlers who established themselves all around them.

The Jutes in Kent, 449, and the Isle of Wight.

5. The Saxons conquered and settled southern and south-eastern Britain. The first Saxon settlement was made in 477, when a chieftain named Ælle set up the kingdom of *Sussex*—that is, South Saxony—in the district that is represented by the later county of the name. A very famous incident of Ælle's conquest was the storming of the old Roman fortress of Anderida (Pevensey), one of the strongholds set up in the fourth century to protect the south coast from the Saxon pirates. At last it was to succumb to the fierce assaults of their descendants. Before long, Ælle and his men had set up new homes for themselves in the land of their choice. The great and pathless oak forest of the Weald cut them off from the Jutes, who settled to the east and west, and from other Saxon tribes that later sailed up the Thames and established the little kingdom of *Surrey* to their north. A more important conquest began in 495, when the Saxon chiefs, Cerdic and his son Cynric, landed at the head of Southampton water and began the kingdom of *Wessex*, or West Saxony. This was originally confined to part of what is now Hampshire, but it gradually extended its limits, absorbing the Jutish kingdom of Wight and the Saxon kingdom of Surrey, and gaining still greater advantages at the expense of

The Saxon settlements.

Sussex, 477.

Surrey.

Wessex, 495.

the Britons of the upper Thames and lower Severn valleys and of the regions of downs and hills that stretches from Hampshire westwards. Thus, unlike Kent and Sussex, which remained in their original limits, the history of Wessex is from the beginning a history of constant expansion.

6. Other Saxon kingdoms were established on the eastern coast of England. The East Saxons set up the kingdom of *Essex*, and the Middle Saxons that of *Middlesex*, a petty state that owed its sole importance to containing within its limits the great trading city of London, whose commercial prosperity was checked rather than destroyed by the wave of barbarian conquest. Ultimately, however, Middlesex became absorbed in Essex, just as its southern neighbour, Surrey, was swallowed up in Wessex. Here the Saxon invasion was stayed.

Essex and Middlesex.

7. The conquest of the east, the midlands, and the north was the work of the Angles. To the north of Essex, Anglian swarms peopled the lands between the great fens of the Ouse valley and the coast of the North Sea. This region became the kingdom of *East Anglia*, or East England, and was divided geographically into a northern and southern portion, whose names are preserved in the modern counties of Norfolk—that is, land of the North folk—and Suffolk, the land of the South folk. Other Anglian bands made their way up the Trent valley, and gradually set up a series of small states in Middle England, extending southwards from the Humber to the northern boundaries of the Saxon settlements in the Thames valley. The history of these districts is very obscure, and is not preserved, as in the Saxon lands further south, by the names and limits of the modern shires. Of the many Anglian kingdoms of the midlands one only survived, and ultimately absorbed all the others. This was the little kingdom of *Mercia*—that is, the March or boundary land—set up in the upper Trent valley, and stretching over the rough hill-land of Cannock chase towards the middle Severn valley, where the Britons long held their own. North of the Humber two well-defined Anglian kingdoms grew up. These were *Deira*, or the southern kingdom, which roughly corresponds to the modern Yorkshire, and the more northerly state of *Bernicia*, which stretched along the east coast from the Tees to the Firth of Forth, which was founded, it is said, by Ida in 547. Both these kingdoms had as their western boundary the wild uplands of the Pennine chain and its northern

The Anglian settlements.

East Anglia.

Mercia and the midland kingdoms.

Northumbria, 547.

continuation, the Ettrick Forest. This tangle of hills and moors was difficult for the invaders to traverse, and long protected the freedom of the Britons of the west coast between the Clyde and the Dee.

8. It took nearly a hundred and fifty years before the English settlements were completely established. The Britons, who fought very stubbornly to protect their liberties, remembered so much of the Roman discipline and organization that they remained formidable foes to a series of disorderly tribes, each consisting of a small number of warriors fighting for their own hands. The English brought over with them their wives and families, and aimed not simply at conquering their enemies, but sought to establish new homes for themselves. They brought with them their Teutonic speech, the parent of our English tongue. They preserved the manners, institutions, and religion which they had followed in their original homes in northern Germany.

Characteristics of the English conquest.

9. The best and bravest of the Britons withdrew before the English and joined their brethren, who still remained masters in the hills of the west. Such as remained in the east and south, as slaves and dependants of the conquerors, gradually lost their ancient tongue and institutions, and became one with the invaders. It shows how thorough the conquest was that the Christian religion, professed by all the Britons, was entirely rooted out in all the districts where the English established themselves. Luckily for the English, the Britons seldom acted together for any long time. The wiser Britons held fast to the Roman tradition of unity, and set up war-leaders who might take the place of the sometime Roman governors. The most famous of these was the great Celtic hero, King Arthur, whose mighty victories stayed for a time the advance of the English, and perhaps saved the Britons of the west from the fate of their brethren of the east. The best known of Arthur's battles was fought at a place called *Mons Badonicus* or Mount Badon, in about 516. Its situation is quite uncertain, but it is most probably to be found somewhere in the south-west, possibly at Badbury in Dorsetshire. It seems that Arthur's triumph was over the West Saxons, whose advance was stayed for nearly sixty years. But the Britons only united when compelled to do so to meet the English attacks. They split up into little tribal states, and, if the English had not themselves also been disunited, the invaders could have probably driven their foes into the sea. As it was, many of the more strenuous Britons scorned to live any longer in the land which

The fate of the Britons.

Arthur and Mount Badon, 516.

they shared with their Saxon enemies. There was so large an emigration of Britons to the Gaulish peninsula of Armorica, that that land obtained the new name of *Brittany* or Britain, and to this day a large part of the inhabitants of this little Britain beyond the sea continue to speak a Celtic tongue, very similar to the Welsh or Cornish, which their forefathers took with them to Gaul when they fled from the Saxon conquerors. Their withdrawal made easier the work of the English, and it speaks well for the toughness of the British resistance that so much of the island remained in their hands.

The emigration to Brittany.

10. For about a century fresh swarms of English came to Britain from beyond sea. After that the migration ceased, but the stronger of the English kingdoms continued to advance westwards at the expense of the Britons. The English did not call the Britons by that name, but described them as the *Welsh*—that is, as the foreigners, or the speakers of a strange tongue. Gradually the Britons, who in the sixth century were still proud to call themselves Romans, took the name of the *Cymry*, or the Comrades, by which the Welsh are still known in their own language. A Welsh monk named Gildas, who lived in the sixth century, has written a gloomy picture of the state of Britain during the period of the English conquest. The heathen English were cruel and bloodthirsty; but the Welsh were quarrelsome and divided, and Gildas regarded their defeat as the just punishment of their sins.

The Britons become the Welsh.

11. The warfare between Welsh and English still went on, and at last the Welsh received a rude shock from two English victories, which cut the British territories into three parts, and destroyed any hopes of future Celtic unity. The West Saxons gradually made their way westward from their original settlement in Hampshire, and in 577 Ceawlin, the West Saxon king, won a great battle over the Welsh at Deorham (Dyrham), in Gloucestershire, which led to their conquest of the lower Severn valley. Thirty years after this (607) the Bernician king, Æthelfrith, won a corresponding victory at Chester, which pushed forward the northern Anglian settlements to the Irish Channel, and transferred the lands between Ribble and Mersey from British to English hands. Up to these days the Welsh had ruled over the whole west from the Clyde to the English Channel. Henceforth they were cut up into three groups. Of these the northernmost was called *Cumbria* or Cumberland—that is, land of the Cymry or Welsh. This stretched from the

The end of the period of English settlement.

Clyde, the northern limit of the Britons, to the Ribble, and was separated from Bernicia and Deira by the Pennine chain. The modern county of Cumberland still preserves for a part of this area its ancient name. Enclosed within this region was a colony of Goidelic Picts, in the extreme south-west of the modern Scotland, which derived from its Goidelic inhabitants its name of *Galloway*.

Cumbria.

12. The central and chief British group of peoples is represented by the modern Wales, and by a large stretch of land to the eastward, including the valley of the middle Severn, which has since become English by a slow process of conquest and absorption. Split up among several rival kings, this district lost, through its want of unity, some of the importance which it gained by its size and by the inaccessibility of its mountains. In early days the whole region was described as *North Wales*—that is, Wales north of the Bristol Channel. This was to distinguish it from *West Wales*, the country still held by the Britons in the south-west peninsula. Separated from North Wales by the West Saxon victory of Deorham, West Wales still included the whole of Cornwall and Devonshire, and a good deal of Somerset. Both in North and West Wales there were occasional colonies of Goidelic-speaking Scots or Irish, who have left memorials of this tongue in the Irish inscriptions, written in a character called *Ogham*, found in many parts of Wales and Cornwall.

North Wales.

And West Wales.

13. Thus was the old Roman diocese of Britain unequally divided between the English and the Welsh. The great part of the district north of the Forth and Clyde was in the hands of the *Picts*—a race doubtless identical with the ancient Caledonians, and apparently made up of Goidelic tribes with a large Iberian intermixture. But in the north-western parts of the modern Scotland the Picts had been driven out by immigrant Scots from Ireland, who had set up an independent kingdom of the Scots in the western Highlands and islands, running inland as far as the chain of hills called *Drumalban*, which forms the watershed of the eastern and western seas. From these the north-west of Britain first got the name of *Scotland*, or land of the Scots; but at first this term was only given to a very small fragment of the modern Scotland. Soon, however, the Scots began to influence the Picts. Up to the sixth century the Picts, alone of the Celts, still remained heathen; but Columba, the greatest of

The Picts.

And Scots.

Columba, 597.

SOUTH BRITAIN
after the English Conquest
(about 607.)
Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Scots
Britons or Welsh
Picts
Battles
Picts
Scots
Ireland
Glasgow
R. Forth
Cumbrian Welsh
Strathclyde
Galloway
BERNICIA
NORTHUMBRIANS
R. Tees
I. of Man
DEIRANS
York
R. Ribble
R. Mersey
R. Humber
R. Trent
MERCIANS
Chester
St. Asaph
Bangor
The Wash
MIDDLE ENGLISH
North Folk
EAST ANGLES
South Folk
R. Ouse
R. Severn
North Welsh
St. Davids
R. Usk
WEST SAXONS
EAST SAXONS
London
Canterbury
Thames
SURREY
KENT
Ethelred
Llandaff
Dyrham
Winchester
The Weald
SOUTH SAXONS
Badbury
Pevensey
West Welsh
I. of Wight
Emery Walker sc.

the Irish saints, settled down in a monastery in the little island of Iona, among the British Scots, and devoted the rest of his life, until his death in 597, to the conversion of the Picts. Two and a half centuries after the Picts had learnt their faith from the Scots, they obtained a Scot for their king. In 844 Kenneth Mac Alpine (that is, son of Alpine), King of the Scots, succeeded through his mother to the Pictish kingdom beyond Drumalban. His successor continued to rule Pictland as well as Scotland, and as they were Scots by race, and the difference between the two peoples was not very great, Picts and Scots were gradually fused into one people. The result was that the whole of the population north of Forth and Clyde acquired the name of Scots, and their country was called Scotland. For many centuries, however, the Irish continued to be called Scots, until at last confusion was avoided by the term becoming gradually restricted to their brethren in northern Britain.

Union of the Picts and Scots.

14. By the end of the sixth century the British islands were settling down into something like their modern divisions. There was an *England*, much smaller than modern England, though extending further northwards to the Firth of Forth, and gradually making its way westward at the expense of the Welsh. There was a *Wales*, much bigger than the modern Wales, but cut into three portions by the fights at Chester and Deorham, with the result that the largest of the three, represented by the modern Wales, became in a special sense the representative of the ancient Britons. There was a new *Scotland*, comprising the lands beyond Forth and Clyde, and Ireland, though still a land of Scots, became quite separated from it.

Beginnings of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

15. In all these districts, Anglian and Saxon, British and Goidelic, the land was split up into many small states, constantly at war with each other, and filling the country with ceaseless confusion. While the Celtic states, owing to the strength of the tribal system, seldom showed any tendency to be drawn together, the English tribes, on the contrary, began almost from the beginning to unite with each other, and so bring about the beginnings of greater unity. The Celts were Christians, and infinitely more civilized and cultivated than their enemies; but they lacked the political capacity and persistent energy which made the English stronger in building up a state. The result was that supremacy fell more and more into English hands. While the struggles of Celtic chieftains resulted

Why England became the strongest.

in nothing at all save bloodshed and confusion, the equally cruel fighting between the English tribes led to the absorption of the weaker into the stronger kingdoms, and so prepared the way for the growth of English unity. This tendency became the more active when the conversion of the English to Christianity gave them a common faith and a common Church organization. In the next chapter we shall see how the early steps towards English unity were made, and how the English became Christians.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY OVERLORDSHIPS AND THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH TO CHRISTIANITY (597–821).

Chief Dates:

597. Death of St. Columba and landing of St. Augustine.
627. Conversion of Edwin.
664. Synod of Whitby.
668. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.
685. Death of Ecgfrith.
757. Death of Ethelbald of Mercia.
796. Death of Offa.
821. Death of Cenulf.

1. We have seen how numerous were the kingdoms set up by the English who conquered southern Britain. The settlement was, however, hardly completed when a strong tendency towards amalgamation set in among them. In all cases the union of kingdoms was due to conquest by a stronger and more vigorous king. It was rarely, however, that such a monarch was able to effect a complete subjection of his weaker neighbours. In most instances he was content with forcing his defeated enemy to acknowledge his superiority, and perhaps to pay him tribute. Thus more frequent than downright conquests of one kingdom by another was the establishment of such *overlordships* on the part of a more vigorous state over feebler kingdoms. Of brief duration and indefinite meaning, these overlordships were of importance in preparing the way to more complete conquest. By these processes the original kingdoms of the settlers were by the early part of the seventh century reduced to seven in number. These were the states long known as the *Heptarchy*, a word intended to mean a land divided into seven kingdoms. In reality, however, the "Heptarchic" states represent not the first but the second stage of the

The first steps towards English Unity.

The early Overlordships of one state over another.

The so-called Heptarchy.

history of the English in Britain. They were Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, and among them the first three were very much stronger than the last four.

2. Northumbria, or Northumberland—that is, the land north of the Humber—was formed when a king of Bernicia conquered his southern neighbours in Deira, and drove their king into exile. His son and successor, Æthelfrith (593–617), gained a great victory over the Welsh at Chester, and added the lands between Ribble and Dee to his kingdom. But he had so much to do fighting the Welsh and Scots that he had little leisure to concern himself with the affairs of his southern neighbours.

The stronger states. Northumbria under Æthelfrith, 593-617.

3. In the south, Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons (560–593), played rather earlier a similar part to that of Æthelfrith in the north. Wessex had long been extending itself beyond its original scanty limits. It absorbed the Jutish kingdom of Wight and the Saxon kingdom of Surrey; but its main advance was at the expense of the Welsh. By this time the districts now comprised in Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Dorsetshire had been added to Cerdic's original kingdom. Moreover, for a time, Wessex crossed the middle and upper Thames, and extended into midland districts that finally became Mercian. The victory of Deorham made Gloucestershire and part of Somerset included within Wessex, so that Ceawlin is as much the creator of the later Wessex as Æthelfrith is of Northumbria.

Wessex under Ceawlin, 560-593.

4. More than a generation after this, a similar process in the midlands created a third great English state in Mercia. Up to the days of its king, Penda (626–655), Mercia was only a little Anglian kingdom in the upper Trent valley. By a series of successful wars, Penda destroyed the power of nearly all the other Anglian monarchs in middle England. Moreover, he wrested from the West Saxons some of their conquests from the Welsh in the lower Severn valley, and took from the Northumbrians a good deal of what Æthelfrith had won at Chester. The result of his work was to create a greater Mercia that included the whole of middle England. So completely was this conquest effected that the very names and boundaries of the kingdoms conquered by Penda became almost forgotten.

Mercia under Penda, 626-655.

5. Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex became the three great English states; but the little kingdoms of the south-east, East

Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, were so well established and so clearly marked out by natural boundaries that they long continued to maintain their individuality. Downright conquest was here extremely difficult, but the abler kings succeeded in turn in setting up an overlordship over their neighbours. Sussex and Essex were too weak to accomplish anything, but one vigorous king gave to Kent, and another procured for East Anglia, a brief period of supremacy. Profiting by the confusion that fell over Wessex after Ceawlin's death, Ethelbert, king of the Kentishmen, defeated his West Saxon neighbours and ruled as overlord over the kingdoms of the south-east. His power is shown by the fact that he was the first English king who had any dealings with the continent, choosing as his wife, Bertha, the daughter of one of the Frankish kings ruling over Gaul. On Ethelbert's death in 616, his power passed to Redwald, the king of the East Anglians. To Ceawlin, Ethelbert, and Redwald the name of *Bretwalda*, or *ruler of the Britons*, has sometimes been given by later writers. It has, of course, no appropriateness except in the case of the conqueror of the Britons at Deorham, but it shows the impression left by their power.

The kingdoms of the south-east.

Ethelbert and Redwald, 616.

6. Though planted for a century and a half in a land once Christian, the English still remained heathens at the end of the sixth century. They scorned to accept the religion of the conquered Britons, and the Welsh had no wish to share with their hated supplanters the benefits of their faith. Yet the Welsh were ardent Christians, and the Welsh Church attained the height of its power and influence by this period. It was the great age of the Welsh saints, such as David, the founder of the bishopric of St. David's; Daniel, first bishop of Bangor; Dyvrig, bishop of Llandaff, and Kentigern, first bishop of Glasgow, then a British town, and afterwards the founder of the see called from his disciple and successor, St. Asaph. Even more flourishing was the state of the Church in Ireland, where Columba, the missionary of the Picts and the founder of the abbey of Iona, was the greatest of a long catalogue of Irish saints. Celtic Britain was, however, so far cut off from the continent that it developed during these years a type of Christianity of its own, differing in some respects from the Church of the western world, which was attaining increased unity and vigour under the supremacy of the popes or bishops of Rome. The Celtic Church took little heed of what the Roman Church was doing. It celebrated

The Celtic Church.

the Easter feast according to a different calculation from that which was accepted on the continent. It was so much influenced by the monastic movement that the bishops of the Church, especially in Ireland, became in practice subordinate to the abbots, who, though simple priests, ruled over the great houses of religion that Celtic piety had established. Thus Columba, priest and abbot only, governed all the churches of the Scots of the Highlands and also over his converts the Picts. His death in 597 is doubly memorable because in that same year the first effort was made to preach Christianity to the English.

Bertha and Ethelbert.

7. Bertha, the wife of Ethelbert of Kent, was, like all the Franks, a Christian, and a Christian bishop went over with her to Kent as her chaplain. For his wife's use Ethelbert set apart a church, deserted since the English conquest, which still remained erect in the old Roman city of Durovernum, from which Ethelbert ruled over the Kentishmen, and which the English now called Canterbury—that is, the borough of the Kentishmen. But though tolerant to his wife's faith, he showed no disposition to embrace it.

Gregory the Great and Augustine.

8. The power of Rome still counted for much, and the Roman Empire, after it had ceased to rule the West, still went on in the East, though the emperors had abandoned Italy, and now lived at Constantinople. Their withdrawal made the pope the greatest man in Rome, and by this time the influence of Rome in the West meant that of the Roman bishop even more than that of the emperor. It happened that one of the greatest of all the popes was ruling the Church while Ethelbert was king of Kent. This was Gregory I., or the Great, whose high character, strong will, and profound earnestness did much to extend permanently the influence of the Roman see over Christendom. Gregory still looked upon Britain as part of the Roman Empire, and was pained that a once Christian province had fallen largely into the hands of heathen barbarians. Accordingly he set Augustine, abbot of a Roman monastery which Gregory himself had founded, at the head of a band of monks, and instructed them to make their way to Britain and preach the gospel to the English heathens. In 597 Augustine and his companions landed in Kent, at Ebbsfleet in Thanet, where it was believed that Hengist and Horsa had landed a century and a half earlier. Ethelbert welcomed the missionaries, and allowed them to preach freely to all who chose to listen to them. Meanwhile the monks lived at Canterbury, hard by the king's court, and before long the

example of their pious and unselfish lives induced Ethelbert and most of his subjects to receive baptism. After the king's conversion Augustine crossed over to Gaul, whence he soon came back to England as archbishop of the English Church. He built his cathedral at Canterbury, which, as the capital of the first Christian king among the English, remained ever after the chief bishopric of the English Church. Before long another bishopric was set up at Rochester, which, as its name shows, was also an old Roman city, and before long the new faith spread beyond Kent to the dependent kingdom of Essex, over which Ethelbert's influence was strong. The East Saxon bishopric was set up at London, the commercial capital of the land since Roman times.

The conversion of Kent, 597, and Essex.

9. Before long the East Angles began to turn Christians also, but their king, Redwald, though professing the Christian faith, also continued to worship idols. Redwald was a strong ruler, and after Ethelbert's death the overlordship of south-eastern Britain passed over to him. He gave shelter to Edwin, son of the king of Deira, whom Æthelfrith of Bernicia drove out of his home when he united the northern kingdoms with Northumbria. Æthelfrith went to war against Redwald when he refused to yield up the fugitive, but at a battle on the Idle, near Retford, Æthelfrith was slain. Thereupon, with Redwald's help, Edwin made himself king over all Northumbria. He married the daughter of Ethelbert of Kent, whose name was Ethelburga. Being a Christian this lady took with her to her husband's court at York a Christian monk, called Paulinus, as her chaplain. Before long the influence of his wife and Paulinus prevailed over Edwin, and in 627 the Northumbrian king received baptism from Paulinus, who was soon consecrated archbishop of York. In a short time most of Deira was won over to the new faith. This triumph was the more important since the newly converted ruler soon proved a mighty warrior. When Redwald died, Edwin became the strongest of the kings of the English. Under him a more real overlordship over the lesser kingdoms was set up than that which had prevailed under any earlier monarchs. To him and his two successors the title of *Bretwalda* was also sometimes given.

The conversion of Edwin, 627, and the supremacy of Northumbria.

Beginnings of the Northumbrian overlordship.

10. Augustine was already dead, but Paulinus was one of his followers, and his conversion of the Deirans was the greatest result of the mission which his master had led from Rome to England

To have done so much in so short a time might well seem to be a great success; but Pope Gregory had formed even more ambitious schemes for Augustine than the good monk was able to carry out. Gregory expected Augustine to convert all the English, to make friends with the British Christians, and to set up two archbishops and twenty-four bishops, under whom the whole Church of Britain was to be governed. But Augustine had only taught Christianity to the little kingdoms of the south-east, and, though he met some of the Welsh bishops at a conference, he had been unable to establish friendly relations with them. They rejected his claims to be their superior, and Augustine, denouncing them as schismatics who stood outside the true Church, prophesied terrible disasters if they would not join with him in converting the English. The victory of the heathen Æthelfrith over the Welsh a few years later at Chester seemed to the Christians of Kent only a fulfilment of Augustine's prophecy. Under these circumstances there was no chance of carrying out Gregory's scheme for bringing all the Churches of Britain into one fold.

Limits to the success of the Augustinian mission.

11. Even in Kent and Essex many fell away from the faith after Augustine's death. The English converts found that the Christian missionaries wished them to give up many of their old customs, and held up to their admiration humble and weak saints whom they despised as useless for fighting. A great heathen reaction arose, and the old king of the Mercians, Penda, whose victories had made him master of central England, made himself the champion of the grim gods of pagan Germany. The power of the Christian king, Edwin, had grown so great that all his neighbours were afraid of him, and Penda hated Edwin both as a Christian and as the enemy of Mercia. Edwin had also won victories over the Welsh, and harried the Welsh king, Cadwallon, so much that he forgot his Christian faith, and made a league with the heathen Penda against the Northumbrians. It was the first time that Englishmen and Welshmen had fought on the same side, after nearly two centuries of bitter hostility. The combination was irresistible. In 633 Penda and Cadwallon defeated and slew Edwin at the battle of Heathfield, in southern Yorkshire.

Penda and the heathen reaction.

Battle of Heathfield, 633.

12. For a year Welsh and Mercians cruelly devastated Northumbria. Christianity was almost blotted out, and Paulinus fled to Kent, where he died bishop of the little see of Rochester. In 635, however, a saviour arose

Oswald of Northumbria.

for the north in Oswald, the son of the mighty Æthelfrith, who, on Edwin's accession, had been driven into exile among the Scots of Britain. In a battle at Heavenfield, near the Roman wall, Oswald overthrew the British king, and henceforth reigned as king over the Northumbrians. Cadwallon was the last British king who was able to seriously check the course of the English conquest. After his death the Welsh of Cumbria were forced to accept Oswald as their lord. Thus, though Penda was still unsubdued, the son of Æthelfrith succeeded to most of the power of his rival Edwin.

13. Oswald was as good a Christian as Edwin, and, after his accession, the new faith was once more preached in Northumbria. But Oswald had learnt his religion after a different fashion from that in which his predecessor had been taught. He had been instructed in the faith at Iona, the great Scottish island monastery where the successor of Columba still ruled over the Churches of the north; and when he became king, Scottish monks from Iona came at his bidding into Northumbria, and took up the work laid down by the Roman missionaries. Their chief, Aidan, became bishop of the Northumbrians, and set up his cathedral in the little island of Lindisfarne, off the coast of Bernicia. Before long his zeal and piety had won most of Bernicia to the Christian faith.

Aidan and the Scottish mission.

14. The work of Oswald and Aidan was soon cut short. In 642 there was a fresh war with the Mercians, and Penda slew Oswald at the battle of Maserfield, near Oswestry. Again there was a period of terrible confusion in Northumbria, but again a strong king was found in Oswald's brother Oswiu, who in 655 defeated and killed Penda at Winwood. On the Mercian's death the Northumbrian overlordship, which had gone on fitfully despite the victories of the heathen king, was established on a more solid basis than ever. It lasted for the rest of Oswiu's reign, and also for that of his son and successor, Ecgfrith. During this period the conversion of the English was completed, and the Church established on a firm and solid footing.

Penda and Oswiu.

15. Even during Penda's lifetime the Christian missionaries had no need to despair. Though no saint like Oswald, Oswiu was a good friend of the Christians, and even in Mercia the new religion had made such progress that in his old age Penda had been compelled to tolerate it. Penda's son and successor was a Christian, and welcomed the Scottish and Northumbrian missionaries that Oswiu sent to his people. The most famous of these was Ceadda, or

The final conversion of Northumbria.

Chad, who became famous as the apostle of Mercia and the patron saint of the Mercian bishopric at Lichfield. Though an Englishman, Chad had been brought up by Scottish monks, and thus was friendly to the customs of the Celtic Church.

16. By this time the other English kingdoms had become Christian also. Some of them were converted by Scottish missionaries; others by Roman teachers from Kent or the continent. Thus East Anglia was won over by Felix, a Burgundian; Wessex by Birinus, a Roman; while Cedd, a brother of Chad, had revived the waning faith of the East Saxons; and Wilfrid of Ripon, a Northumbrian monk who was an eager friend of the Roman usages, converted the South Saxons, the last Englishmen to give up their ancient gods. But there was no order or method in this piecemeal process of conversion. Each state had its own bishop, whether it was a great state like Mercia, or a little state like Sussex. The successor of Augustine at Canterbury, though still called archbishop, had small power outside Kent, and was in practice little more than bishop of the Kentishmen. All over the north and midlands there were eager champions both of the Roman and of the Scottish Easter, and it seemed as if the war between Christian and heathen was only to be succeeded by war between the two rival forms of Christianity.

Piecemeal conversion of the rest of England.

17. Oswiu was only a rough warrior, but he saw the need of stopping the conflict of Scot and Roman, and in 664 summoned a synod, or Church council, of both parties in the Church to Streoneshalch, on the coast of Deira, better known by its later Danish name of Whitby. His object in doing this was that he might hear what was to be said in favour of their teaching, and so make up his mind as to which form of the faith he should adopt. The chief point of dispute was the right time of celebrating Easter. Wilfrid of Ripon upheld the Roman usage; the Scottish bishop Colman, Aidan's successor at Lindisfarne, pleaded for the traditions of Columba, and Chad of Lichfield sought to mediate between the two. At last Oswiu declared in favour of the Roman Easter, whereupon Colman and the Scots withdrew to Iona. Oswiu was strong enough to make all England accept his decision, and this secured that English Christianity should follow Rome and not Iona. This was a good thing, for though the Scottish monks were the saintliest of men and the best of missionaries, their Church had more faith and enthusiasm than order or method. In declaring for the Roman Easter, Oswiu

Synod of Whitby, 664.

prevented the English Church being cut off from the Church of the world at large. He secured for England the priceless blessings of order and civilization, which were in those days represented by Rome. Before long the Roman Easter was accepted even by the Scots and Britons. Thus all the Churches of the British Islands were brought into the same system.

18. Four years after the synod of Whitby, a Greek, Theodore of Tarsus, a native of the city where St. Paul had been born, was sent from Rome as archbishop of Canterbury. Theodore was a much wiser and stronger man than any of the other early bishops of the English. He made friends with Oswiu, and after that king's death in 671, became equally intimate with his son Ecgfrith. Archbishop for more than twenty years, Theodore was able, before his death in 690, to organize the English Church in a very satisfactory fashion. He divided all England into bishoprics, and set up several different bishops in each of the three great kingdoms. He forced every bishop in England to pay obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, who in those days was the only archbishop in the land. He set up schools for the training of the clergy, and took care that each bishop should have a number of priests and monks to work under him. It has sometimes been said that Theodore divided England into parishes, each under its priest; but this was done very gradually, and not until long after Theodore's day. Theodore also provided that the clergy of the English Church should meet from time to time in national councils. This was very important, since it brought Englishmen, subject to different kings, into close contact with each other. Thus Theodore united England under a single Church long before she had become united into a single kingdom. He could not have done his work so effectively but for the power of the Northumbrian kings, whose overlordship was a real step towards political unity.

The work of Theodore of Tarsus. 668-690.

19. From Theodore's time onward, the English Church prospered greatly. It soon became unnecessary for England to get its bishops from abroad, and Theodore's successors were nearly all Englishmen. During the eighth century the Church of England became a pattern to all the West. It sent out missionaries who made Germany a Christian land, the chief of these being Boniface, the first archbishop of Mainz, who did for the German Church what Theodore did for the Church of England. Famous monasteries and schools arose in England, and especially in Northumbria, which were filled with learned

The glories of the Old English Church.

and pious men. In one monastery at Whitby, ruled by a royal abbess named Hilda, dwelt Caedmon, a poor lay brother, whose rare gift for song made him the greatest of the old English poets. In another, Jarrow-on-the-Tyne, lived the monk Bede, the first English historian, whose *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* tells us nearly all that we know of our history up to his own lifetime. Another distinguished Englishman of those days was Egbert, bishop of York, who won back for his Church the position of an archbishopric, which it had held under Paulinus, though for many centuries the archbishops of York were bound to profess obedience to the archbishops of Canterbury. Under Egbert the schools of York became very famous, and one of their disciples, Alcuin, was so well known for his learning that he was called from York to Gaul to be the head of the school which Charles the Great, the famous king of the Franks, set up in his palace. Thus England, which previously had been barbarous and ignorant, became, after its conversion, a centre of light and learning to all western Europe.

20. The eighth century was the great age of the Northumbrian Church, but the Northumbrian political supremacy had utterly passed away. Oswiu was the last Northumbrian king to be called Bretwalda, though his son Ecgfrith (671–685) was not much less powerful than his father. In 685, however, Ecgfrith tried to conquer the Picts, but was defeated, and met his death at the battle of Nectansmere. None of his successors were strong enough even to rule their own kingdom.

Ecgfrith, 671-685, and the fall of Northumbrian supremacy.

GENEALOGY OF CHIEF NORTHUMBRIAN KINGS

21. Mercia soon stepped into the place of supremacy left vacant by the fall of Northumbrian greatness. Ever since the victories of Penda she had been a great state, though overshadowed by the superior power of the Northumbrians. For the greater part of the eighth century Mercia was by far the strongest of all the English kingdoms. During most

The Mercian overlordship.

of this period she was ruled by two great kings, each of whom reigned for an exceptionally long period. The first of these, Ethelbald (716–757), became so powerful that he was not content to be called king of the Mercians, but styled himself "king of all the South English." Under his

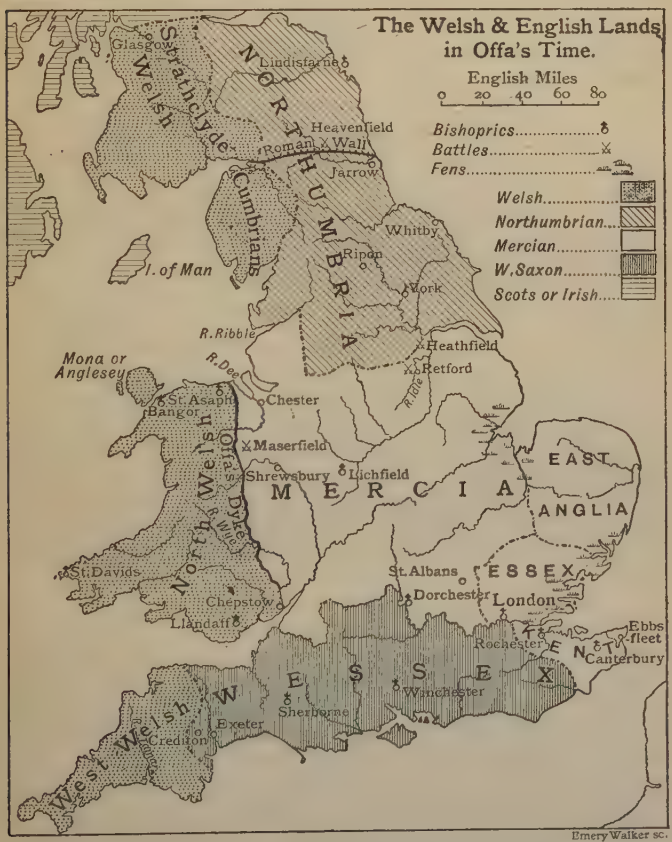
Under Ethelbald, 716-757.

Sketch Map showing position of Nectansmere.

successor, Offa the Mighty (757–796), the Mercian supremacy attained its culminating point. Offa drove the Northumbrians out of the lands that now form southern Lancashire, and incorporated them with his kingdom. He conquered from the West Saxons all their territories north of the Thames, which henceforward remained the boundary of the two states. He made Shrewsbury an English town, driving the Welsh from the middle Severn valley, and digging, it is said, a deep ditch and mound, called *Offa's Dyke*, between the mouth of the Dee and the mouth of the Wye, to separate Mercia and Wales. He slew the king of the East Angles, and annexed Kent. He appointed two sons-in-law as dependent kings over Wessex and Northumbria. In every way he exercised more authority over the rest of England than any king before his days. He was one of the few Old English kings powerful enough to have much

And Offa, 757-796.

influence beyond sea. The great Frankish king, Charles the Great, was his friend, and often corresponded with him. Though a fierce warrior, like all the great Mercians, Offa was a good friend of the Church, and built the abbey of St. Alban's in honour of



the first British martyr. Offa thought it unworthy of the greatness of Mercia that it should be subject to an archbishop who lived outside Mercia. He therefore persuaded the pope to make Lichfield, the chief Mercian see, an archbishopric. If this plan had succeeded, each of the three chief states of England would have

had an archbishop of its own, for Northumbria had its primate at York, and Canterbury, cut off from ruling the Midlands, would soon have become the archbishopric of the West Saxons only. The result of this would have been to destroy the unity of the English Church as established by Theodore. Luckily Offa's plan did not last long, for only one archbishop ever sat at Lichfield.

Cenulf, 796–821, and the fall of Mercia.

22. Offa's successor, Cenulf (796–821), was less powerful than he, and was so much afraid of the persistent hostility of Canterbury that he gave up the plan of making Lichfield an archbishopric. When Cenulf died, Mercia fell into anarchy, just as Northumbria had done after the death of Ecgfrith. Supremacy depended mainly on the character of the king, and no kingdom had the good luck to have an uninterrupted succession of kings strong enough to rule their neighbours. But each fresh overlordship was a fresh step towards the unity of England, and Offa had done much towards it by breaking down the power of the lesser kingdoms. The smaller "heptarchic" states had by this time ceased to have any real independence. Only the three great states counted any longer. Of these Northumbria and Mercia had exhausted themselves, so that soon after Cenulf's death supremacy once more passed southwards, when the supremacy of Wessex succeeded upon that of the midland and the northern kingdoms.

CHAPTER V

THE WEST SAXON OVERLORDSHIP AND THE DANISH INVASIONS (802–899)

Chief Dates:

802. Accession of Egbert.
825. Battle of Ellandune.
858. Death of Ethelwulf.
871. Alfred's year of battles.
878. Treaty of Chippenham.
886. Alfred and Guthrum's Peace.
899. Death of Alfred.
911. Normandy established.

1. DURING the Northumbrian overlordship Wessex was steadily making its way westwards at the expense of the West Welsh, and eastwards at the cost of the little Saxon and Jutish kingdoms of the south-east. Its progress was stayed for a time when its neighbour, Mercia, replaced Northumbria as the supreme state among the English. During this period Wessex was forced to surrender to Mercia the West Saxon lands north of the Thames and its supremacy over Kent and the little kingdoms of the south-east. On the west, however, Wessex did not cease its gradual conquests over the West Welsh. It was during the eighth century that Wessex added to its possessions all that is now Somersetshire and the south-east parts of Devonshire, including Exeter and Crediton.

The rise of Wessex.

2. The worst blow to West Saxon power was when Offa set up his son-in-law as its king, and drove beyond the seas the Æthel-ing (prince) Egbert, who was forced to live many years as an exile at the court of Charles the Great, the king of the Franks. When Egbert was still with Charles, the great Frankish king was crowned Roman emperor at Rome on Christmas Day, 800, by the pope. Two years later, after his rival's death, Egbert was called home to be made king of the West Saxons (802). A skilful statesman and a bold warrior, he employed the first years of his reign in waging war against the

The reign of Egbert, 802-839.

West Welsh, whose power he broke for ever, conquering all Devonshire up to the Tamar, and forcing the still unsubdued Cornishmen to pay him tribute. After Cenulf's death in 821, Mercia fell into such confusion that Egbert was tempted to attack it. In 825 he defeated the Mercians at a great battle at Ellandune (Ellingdon near Swindon), in Wiltshire. The Mercian supremacy collapsed in that single day, and henceforth Egbert was overlord, or Bretwalda, over all the English and most of the Welsh. Kent, Sussex, Essex were reconquered by Wessex; East Anglia, in its hatred of Mercia, willingly yielded to West Saxon supremacy; the Northumbrians submitted as soon as a West Saxon army approached their southern frontier; and the Welsh of North Wales were forced to make humble submission. Thus began that West Saxon overlordship out of which ultimately grew the united English monarchy.

Beginnings of the West Saxon supremacy, 825.

3. Despite all his triumphs, Egbert did not die in peace. Though no foes ventured to stand up against him in Britain, new enemies came from beyond the sea, whose ravages soon threatened to undermine the West Saxon power. After some centuries of rest, fresh swarms of Teutonic barbarians began to seek for spoil in the lands which had once acknowledged Rome as their master. These were the fierce pirates known in England as *Danes*, in Germany as *Eastmen*, and Gaul as the *Northmen*. They came from Scandinavia, both from Norway and from Denmark. These regions were at this period much in the same condition as North Germany had been four centuries before, when it sent the Angles and Saxons to the shores of Britain. The country was too poor and remote to satisfy the wants of its inhabitants, who gradually got into the habit of seeking plunder and adventure at the expense of more fertile and sunny districts. The road by land southwards to the continent was blocked by the armies of Charles the Great, so the Norsemen took to the sea, and sought out the coasts of Britain and Ireland as places where booty might be won at no great risk to themselves. Greedy, ferocious, but terribly efficient, they could generally break down the resistance offered to them. They were still heathens, and took special delight in plundering Christian churches and monasteries. Before Offa's death they had begun to devastate Northumbria. In the latter years of Egbert they ventured to attack Wessex itself. The Cornish Welsh were so afraid of Egbert that they gladly made common cause with the new-comers.

Beginnings of the Danish invasions.

Egbert's last victory was gained at Hengston Down, in East Cornwall, over a joint force of Danes and Cornishmen.

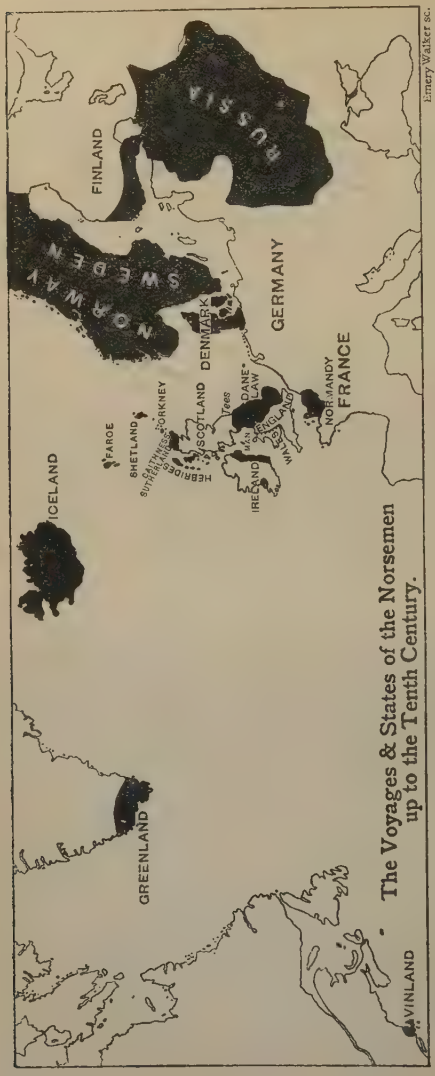
4. Two years afterwards, in 839, the great king died, leaving to his pious and gentle son, Ethelwulf (839–858), the task of dealing with these terrible foes. Ethelwulf was a well-meaning king, but he was not strong enough to uphold West Saxon supremacy against such formidable rivals. He gained some victories over them, but the pirates soon found that they had only to persevere in their incursions to obtain what they sought. At first they had come in summer-time as plunderers, and were content to sail home in autumn, with their ships laden with booty, that they might revel in their own homes all through the dark and long northern winter. Before long they began to winter in England, and thereby found that the land was a pleasanter place to live in than their own country. Thus, like the English before them, they ceased to be mere plunderers, and began to wish to make settlements.

The reign of Ethelwulf, 839-858.

5. Great changes in Scandinavia soon increased the desire of the Danes to win new homes outside their mother-country. Up to this time Danes and Norsemen had been split up into a large number of little states, ruled by petty chieftains, called *jarls*. But now some of the chieftains proved themselves stronger than their rivals, fought against them, and conquered them after the same fashion in which some of the English kingdoms were constantly bringing their weaker neighbours into subjection. Before long there was a single king governing all Norway, another all Denmark, and another all Sweden. The most famous of these was Harold Fairhair (860–872), the first king of all Norway. So sternly did Harold rule over the conquered tribes that the freedom-loving Norsemen bitterly resented his supremacy. As they were unable to overthrow him in his own land, many of them abandoned their native valleys, and sought out new abodes for themselves in the lands which they had already got to know during their plundering expeditions. Thus the latter part of the ninth century saw a great Norse migration, which profoundly affected the whole of western Europe. The first places chosen for these new settlements were the islands that were nearest to the coasts of Norway. After this fashion *Iceland*, hitherto almost uninhabited, became a Norse island, and ultimately the special home of the bravest, strongest, and most typical of the Scandinavian race. Some of the Norsemen made their way beyond Iceland, settled in *Greenland*, and sent

The Norse migrations of the ninth century.

out explorers, who discovered, five centuries before Columbus, the continent of North America. The districts at which they touched, which were afterwards called New England, they called *Vinland*, the land of the vine.



The Voyages & States of the Norsemen up to the Tenth Century.

6. More important for us than the movement westward was the migration southward, which now made the *Faroe Islands*, *Orkney* and *Shetland* the homes of Norse settlers. Before long the hardy seamen made their way to the coasts of Britain. They established themselves on the mainland of the extreme north, driving out the Celts from the northern parts of the modern Scotland, and establishing the Norse tongue and the Norse people in *Caithness* and *Sutherland*. This latter district, the south land, marked the southern limit of their settlements on the mainland. But along the western seaboard of Scotland the Norsemen penetrated very much further. They settled in the

Hebrides, and pushed their way from island to island until they had conquered the *Isle of Man*. *Ireland*, which had learnt little from the Romans save the Christian faith, and had stood outside the range of the English conquest, was now at last brought into the general current of great European movements by the establishment of Norse settlements upon its coasts. However, in Ireland, as in the Hebrides and southern islands, the invaders did not utterly displace the former inhabitants as the English had done in south-eastern Britain, and the Norse in Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness. Side by side with the new Danish states, the old Celtic tribal states still lived on; and perpetual wars were waged for many centuries between the new-comers and the older inhabitants.

The Norse settlements in Celtic lands.

7. At last South Britain itself was exposed to the Norse migration. The dependent kingdoms of the north-east of England were not strong enough to resist it, and before long East Anglia, southern Northumbria, and the northern parts of Mercia were conquered by the Danes. Nor were the British islands alone exposed to Danish settlement. Other swarms of Norsemen sought out new abodes on the Continent. A Swedish chief, named Rurik, conquered the Slavs on the east of the Baltic, and laid the foundations of the modern Russia. In the next generation they set up a Scandinavian state upon the north coast of Gaul, which took the name of Normandy, or land of the Northmen.

The first settlements in England and the continent.

8. Wessex was the last English state to feel the impact of the victorious Scandinavians. Yet even in Ethelwulf's lifetime Danish armies had taken up their winter quarters within his dominions, as, for example, in 855, when the Northmen settled for the cold season in Sheppey, an island off the coast of Kent, which had now virtually become a part of the West Saxon realm. During the short reigns of Ethelwulf's sons the full force of the Norse migration threatened Wessex with the fate of East Anglia and Mercia.

The attack on Wessex.

9. Ethelwulf died in 858, and was succeeded by his four sons in succession. After the Frankish fashion, he divided his dominions, making his eldest son, Ethelbald, king of the West Saxons, while Ethelbert, the second, became under-king of Kent. But after a short reign of two years Ethelbald died, whereupon Ethelbert became king of Wessex from 860 to 866. He was in turn succeeded by Ethelred, king of Wessex from 866 to 871. On Ethelred's death, Alfred obtained possession

The sons of Ethelwulf, 858-899.

of the throne, and ruled until 899. During the first three of these reigns the Danes perpetually troubled Wessex; but it was not until the last year of Ethelred's reign that they began the systematic conquest of that kingdom. Ethelred, a strenuous and mighty warrior, withstood the invaders with rare spirit and with partial success, and was ably supported by his younger brother, the Ætheling Alfred. In one memorable year, 871, the West Saxons fought nine pitched battles against the Danes. The most famous of these was the battle of Ashdown on the Berkshire downs, where the invaders were so rudely repulsed that they withdrew for a time to their camp at Reading. Within a fortnight, however, they resumed the attack, and, after another fierce fight, Ethelred died, worn out with the strain and exposure involved in the resistance to them. Alfred, his fellow-worker, then a young man of twenty-three, at once assumed the monarchy of the West Saxons. He assailed the Danes so fiercely that they were glad to make peace and withdraw over the Thames. For the next few years they left Wessex to itself. During this period they completed the conquest of Mercia by dividing its lands amongst their leaders. When this process was once accomplished, Wessex was once more to feel the weight of their power.

Alfred's year of battles, 871.

10. In January, 878, the Danes again invaded Wessex. They were led by a famous chieftain, Guthrum, and fought under a banner bearing the sign of a raven. It was unusual in those days to fight in winter, and Alfred was unprepared for their sudden onslaught. He was driven from Chippenham, where he was residing, and forced to withdraw, while the enemy overran his kingdom. But even in this crisis he kept up his courage. With a little band he made his way by wood and swamp to Athelney, an island amidst the marches of Mid Somerset, at the confluence of the Tone and Parret. There he built a fort, from which he kept fighting against the foe. Before long he was able to abandon his refuge and gather an army round him. In May he defeated Guthrum in a pitched battle at Edington in Wiltshire. The Danes fled in confusion to Chippenham, where they had entrenched a camp, and were pursued and besieged by Alfred. After a fortnight's siege, Guthrum was willing to make peace with his enemy. The Danes "swore mighty oaths that they would quit Alfred's realm, and that their king should receive baptism." Alfred stood godfather to Guthrum, and entertained him at Wedmore, in Somerset, for twelve days. For this reason

Alfred saves Wessex, 878.

the treaty between Alfred and the Danes is often called the treaty of Wedmore. By it the Danes not only agreed to withdraw from Wessex; they left southern and western Mercia in the hands of Alfred, and contented themselves with the northern and eastern districts of Mercia, where they had already made an effective settlement. But they kept their hold over Essex and London, and besides this, were rulers over eastern Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria. Thus Alfred saved Wessex from the Danes, and in saving his own kingdom, he preserved all England from becoming a merely Danish land.

11. For a season there was peace between Alfred and the Danes. Seven years later more fighting broke out, and Alfred once more proved victorious. In 886 Guthrum was once more forced to make a disadvantageous peace, by which he yielded up London and its neighbourhood to the West Saxons. By the second treaty, called *Alfred and Guthrum's Peace*, the boundary between Alfred s kingdom and the lands of the Danes was fixed as follows: It went up the Thames as far as the river Lea, then up the Lea to its source, and thence to Bedford, from which town it continued up the Ouse to Watling Street. Beyond that it is not known for certain where the dividing-line ran, but it is often thought that it followed the old Roman road as far as Chester, which thus became the northern outpost of Alfred's kingdom. Thus West Saxon Mercia formed a great triangle, whose base was the Thames, whose other sides were the Watling Street and the Welsh frontier, and whose apex was the old Roman city of Chester. Within these limits Alfred ruled as he pleased. But the tradition of independence was still strong in Mercia, and Alfred thought it wise to set up a separate government for that part of the midland kingdom which now belonged to him. He made Ethelred, a Mercian nobleman, alderman of the Mercians, and ensured his fidelity by marrying him to his own daughter, Ethelflaed. Before long the many princes of Wales submitted to his overlordship, and promised to be as obedient to him as were Ethelred and his Mercians. Alfred thus ensured West Saxon supremacy over all southern Britain that was not governed by the Danes.

Alfred and Guthrum's Peace, 886.

12. North of the boundary line the Danes still remained masters. They ruled the country after the Danish fashion, divided the lands among themselves, and forced the English to work for them. The Danish districts were called the *Danelaw*, because they were governed according to the law of

The Danelaw.

the Danes. But the Danelaw did not long keep itself distinct from the rest of England. The Danish conquerors were few in number,

and not very different, either in language or in manners, from the

English among whom they lived. They soon followed Guthrum's example, and became Christians. When they had renounced their old heathen gods, the chief thing that separated them from the English disappeared. Gradually they abandoned their own tongue and used the language of the English, which was not very unlike their own speech. The result was that English and Danes in the Danelaw were joined together in a single people, differing only from their West Saxon neighbours in the south because they still retained something of the fierceness and energy of the Danish pirates from whom some of them were descended. For many generations the mixed Danes and English of the north and midlands remained more warlike and vigorous than the sluggish West Saxons of purer English descent. Finally, however, it only became possible to distinguish the Danelaw from the rest of the country by the occurrence of certain Scandinavian suffixes in place-names such as "by," "ness," "force," "thwaite," and the like. Wherever such forms cluster thickly, as in Yorkshire and the northern midlands, there we know that the Danes had at one time settled most numerously.

13. Though the men of the Danelaw were better fighters, the greater civilization of the West Saxons still enabled them to exercise influence over the ruder north country. Moreover, while Wessex remained under Alfred and his successors a single state ruled by a strong king, the Danelaw was broken up into many petty states, each governed by its own jarl, or alderman. This division of the Danish power made it easy for Alfred to restore his overlordship over northern and eastern England, so that before he died he held quite as strong a position as ever Egbert had done. Thus the West Saxon supremacy, threatened with destruction by the Danish invasion, was restored on a broader basis after a very few years. The Danes had destroyed the old local lines of kings, whom Mercians and East Anglians had so long obeyed. This made it easier for the West Saxon kings to exercise authority over the north and east than had been the case in earlier times. Alfred had, in fact, done more than revive the overlordship of Egbert. He laid the foundations of that single monarchy of all England which was soon to become a reality under his son and grandson. "He was," says the *English Chronicle*, "king over the whole kin of the English, except that part which was under the sway of the Danes." But he still generally called himself "king of the West Saxons," like his predecessors. His self-restraint was wise, for the old English

Alfred's restoration of West Saxon supremacy.

local feeling still remained very strong, and the new blood in the Danelaw did something to strengthen it.

14. Alfred took care to prevent the renewal of Danish invasions by devising improved ways of marshalling the "fyrd," or local militia, in which every free man was bound in those days to serve. This force he divided into two parts, "so that always half were at home and half were on service." He also increased the number of fortresses in England. Moreover, he saw that the best way of keeping the Norsemen out of his kingdom was by building ships and trying to defeat the enemy at sea, so as to prevent them landing at all. He caused a new type of ships to be made, which were bigger and stronger than the frail craft of the Danes. Yet all his pains could not prevent his kingdom being assailed once more by a chieftain named Haesten, who, being driven from the continent in 892, tried to effect a regular conquest of Wessex. After a good deal of bloodshed, Haesten withdrew baffled. After his failure little is heard of fresh Danish invasions for the best part of a century. There was plenty of fighting between English and Danes, but the Danes against whom Englishmen had to contend were the Danes settled in England. The great period of Danish settlement was at last over, not only in Britain, but also on the continent. There, in 911, the Norsemen, under the leadership of a sea-king named Rolf, made their last and most famous conquest in the lower part of western France, on both sides of the lower Seine. From them the land took its name of "Normandy," or "land of the Northmen," and its people were called Normans, a softened form of Northmen. But just as the Norsemen in England quickly became English, so did their kinsfolk in France quickly become French. We shall see later how important these Normans became in English history.

Alfred's military reforms.

His wars with Haesten, 892.

Beginnings of Normandy, 911.

15. In resisting the Danes, Alfred won great fame as a warrior But there were many soldiers in that age of hard fighting who approached Alfred in military reputation. It is his peculiar glory that he was as strenuous and successful in the arts of peace as in the arts of war. He stands far above the mere soldier-king by his zeal to promote good laws, sound administration, and the prosperity and civilization of his people. He found England in a terrible state of desolation after the Danish invasions. He laboured with great zeal and no small measure of success to bring back to the land the blessings of peace and prosperity. He collected the old laws by which the West

Alfred's peaceful reforms.

Saxons had long been ruled, and put them together in a convenient form, long famous as the laws of Alfred. He encouraged trade, repeopled London, which the Danes had left desolate, and was a special friend to merchants and seafarers. He encouraged sailors to explore distant seas and tell him the results of their inquiries. He corresponded with the pope and many foreign kings, and sent gifts to foreign Churches, including the distant Christian Church of India. Yet his own country was always foremost in his mind. In England he restored the churches and monasteries that had been destroyed by the Danes, and strove to fill them with well-educated priests and monks. In his early years he had been appalled at the ignorance of his clergy. "There was not one priest south of the Thames," said he, "who could understand the Latin of the mass-book, and very few in the rest of England." To spread knowledge among those who did not understand Latin, he caused several books of importance to be translated, among them being Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and a treatise by Pope Gregory the Great on *Pastoral Care*. Moreover, he ordered the compilation of an *English Chronicle*, in which was set down all that was then known of the history of the English people, and which, continued in various monasteries up to the twelfth century, became from that time onward the chief source of our knowledge of Old English history, and the most remarkable of the early histories which any European people possesses written in its own language. He set up schools in the royal court, after the example of Charles the Great. As he found few West Saxons able to co-operate with him in these learned labours, he welcomed to his coast scholars from foreign lands, from Mercia, from Wales, and from the continent. The most famous of these was a Welshman named Asser, who became bishop of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, and afterwards wrote Alfred's life. Alfred's work was the more remarkable since he was constantly troubled by a painful illness, and never succeeded in winning many efficient fellow-workers among his sluggish fellow-countrymen. Even more wonderful than what he did was the spirit in which he worked. His character is among the noblest and purest in all history. He was truth-telling, temperate, virtuous, high-minded, pious, liberal, and discreet, the friend of the poor, and so eager to uphold justice that he often administered the law himself, and always kept a watchful eye on the decisions of his judges. He died in 899, amidst the lamentations of his subjects, and has ever since been known as King Alfred the Great.

Death of Alfred, 899.

CHAPTER VI

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALFRED AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHY (899–978)

Chief Dates:

899-924. Reign of Edward the Elder.
924-940. Reign of Athelstan.
940 946. Reign of Edmund the Magnificent.
946-955. Reign of Edred.
955-959. Reign of Edwy.
959-975. Reign of Edgar.
975-978. Reign of Edward the Martyr.

Edward the Elder, 899-924.

1. ALFRED was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, called Edward the Elder, who had already been associated in the government during his father's lifetime. Though carefully educated, Edward showed no trace of his father's love for the arts of peace. He was, however, as strenuous a warrior as ever Alfred had been. He worthily carried on the great king's work of bringing together England into a single state. In this he was much helped by his brother-in-law, Ethelred of Mercia, and, after his death, by his sister Ethelflaed, whom he continued in the government of Mercia with the title of the Lady of the Mercians. Edward and his sister waged constant war against the Danes. They strengthened their frontier both against the Danes and the Welsh by building or restoring "boroughs," or fortified towns, from which they might attack the enemy in his own lands. A further step soon followed when the West Saxons and Mercians overstepped the line drawn by Alfred, and gradually conquered the Danelaw after much hard fighting. The most famous of these contests centred round the district dependent on the *Five Danish Boroughs* of Derby, Stamford, Nottingham, Leicester, and Lincoln. At the moment of their final contest Ethelflaed died. She had shown as much warlike skill as her brother, and had loyally worked with him. Edward felt so much stronger than Alfred that he appointed no successor to his sister,

but took over the government both of Danish and of English Mercia into his own hands. He next assailed East Anglia, and easily subdued it. Then came the turn of Northumbria, in which Deira, or Yorkshire, was ruled by a Danish jarl, while Bernicia, which had escaped Norse conquest, was governed by an independent English alderman. Edward prepared for his northern advance by building a fresh line of fortresses from Chester eastwards along the line of the Mersey. In 923 he made his first conquest of Northumbrian territory by taking possession of "Manchester in Northumbria."

2. By this time the rulers of Britain perceived that there was no use in fighting against the great West Saxon king. Immediately on the conquest of Mercia the kings of the Welsh and all their people sought Edward as their lord. At their head was Howel the Good, the famous law-giver, and the most distinguished of the Welsh princes for many generations. "And in 924," says the *Chronicle*, "then chose him for father and lord the king of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, whether English or Danes, and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh." This was the culminating act of Edward's reign. He died before the end of 924, when still a young man. Conscious of his increasing power, he was not content to call himself king of the West Saxons as Alfred had done. He preferred to describe himself as king of the English, or king of the Anglo-Saxons—that is, of the two races of Angles and Saxons which we collectively call the English. From his day onward the monarchy of England, though often threatened, became a permanent thing. Thus the West Saxon overlordship grew into the kingdom over all the English.

Edward, the first king of the English, 924.

3. Three sons of Edward the Elder now ruled successively over the English. Of these, Athelstan, the eldest, was as vigorous a warrior as his father. He put an end to the dynasty of Danish princes that had hitherto reigned in Deira, and added that district to the dominions directly governed by him. He ruled, we are told, over all the kings that were in Britain. So firmly did his power seem established that foreign princes sought his alliance, and the greatest rulers of the age were glad to marry themselves or their kinsfolk to Athelstan's sisters. The empire of Charles the Great had now broken up, and separate kingdoms had arisen for the East and the West Franks, out of which the later kingdoms of Germany and France were soon to

Athelstan, 924–940.

arise. Henry the Fowler, king of the East Franks, or Germans, married his son Otto to Athelstan's sister Edith. This was the Otto who afterwards became the Emperor Otto the Great, the reviver of the Roman Empire and the founder of the great German monarchy, which annexed, so to say, the title of Roman emperors for itself. Other sisters of Athelstan were married to Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks, or French, and to Hugh, duke of the French, whose son, called Hugh Capet, finally put an end to the rule of the Carolings, or descendants of Charles the Great, and begun the Capetian dynasty which ruled over France as long as France retained the government of kings. The result of all these alliances was that no Old English king was so well known on the continent as Athelstan.

4. In 937 jealousy of their West Saxon overlord drew the dependent rulers of Britain into a strong coalition against him. The leaders of this were Constantine, king of Scots, the Danish kings of Dublin, and some of the Welsh princes. But Athelstan met the confederate army and crushed it at Brunanburh, a place probably situated in the north-west of England, though its exact site is unknown. This fight is commemorated in a magnificent war-song given in the *English Chronicle*. It ensured peace for the rest of Athelstan's lifetime. Three years later he died, in 940. Men called him Glorious Athelstan. He made many good laws, and was a great friend of the Church.

The battle of Brunanburh.

5. Athelstan's younger brother, Edmund, who had shared in the glory of Brunanburh, then became king. He was soon confronted by revolts of the Danes of northern Mercia and Deira. But he easily reconquered both the Five Danish Boroughs and Danish Yorkshire. He then took Cumberland from its Welsh princes and gave it to Malcolm, king of Scots, "on the condition that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land." For these exploits he was called the Magnificent, or the Deed-Doer. His career was cut short in 946 through his murder by an outlaw.

Edmund the Magnificent, 940-946.

6. Edmund left two sons, named Edwy and Edgar, but they were young children, and no one thought of making either of them king. The nobles turned rather to their uncle Edred, the youngest of Edward the Elder's sons, who was at once chosen king. Unlike his two brothers, Edred was weak in health and unable to play the warrior's part. But he was prudent enough to put the management of his affairs into the hands of the wisest man in all England. This was Dunstan, abbot

Edred. 946-955.

of Glastonbury, who was already famous for having reformed the lax state of the monks under his charge, and who now showed that he was a shrewd statesman as well as a zealous ecclesiastic. Under his guidance the West Saxon monarchy continued in its career of victory under its sickly king, though, as a rule, in those days a weak ruler meant an unlucky reign. Once more Northumbria was conquered from the Danes in 954, and with this event the unity of England seemed accomplished. Proud of his great power Edred was no longer content to call himself king of the English. He sometimes styled himself *emperor, king, and Cæsar of Britain*, as if to the English monarchy he had added the dominion over all the island. These titles must not be taken too seriously, yet they show that the aim now before the West Saxon house was nothing less than supremacy over all the British isles. Thus under Edred the work began by Alfred was completed. It was rendered the easier by the fact that Danes and English of the Danelaw had by this time become blended into a single people. Dunstan was wise enough to allow the men of the north country to retain their own laws and be ruled by their own earls. It was the best way to make them obedient to their West Saxon king. But the great difference of temper between north and south still remained, and there soon arose an opportunity for it to assert itself.

7. Edred died in 955, and his nephew Edwy, though hardly yet a man, was chosen king as the oldest member of the royal house available. Under him troubles soon began. The young king quarrelled with Dunstan, and drove him into banishment. The abbot was popular among the Northumbrians and Mercians, though he had many enemies among the West Saxon nobles who swayed the mind of the young king. It is very likely that after Dunstan's exile the rule of Edwy over the Northumbrians and Mercians became more severe than the mild government of Edred. Anyhow, Mercia and Northumbria rose in revolt, and declared that they would no longer have Edwy to reign over them. They then chose as their king the Ætheling Edgar, Edwy's younger brother. England was now so far united that even those who wished to divide it could only find a king in the sacred royal house of Wessex.

Edwy, 955-959.

8. Edgar easily became king of the north and midlands. He at once recalled Dunstan from exile, and made him bishop, first of Worcester, and afterwards of London as well. For the rest of his life Edwy reigned over Wessex alone. His early death in 959 resulted, however, in

Edgar the Peaceful, 959-975.

the reunion of England. Thereupon the West Saxons chose Edgar as their king. From that day till his death Edgar ruled over all England, and, alone of the great West Saxon kings, ruled without the need of fighting for his throne. For that reason men called him Edgar the Peaceful. Again, as under Edred, Dunstan became the king's chief adviser. He was made archbishop of Canterbury, and the crown became powerful and the country prosperous under his strong but conciliatory government. A great proof of Dunstan's willingness to make sacrifices to keep the peace was to be seen in the dealings between England and Scotland. In the weak days of division the Scots had taken possession of the border fortress of Edinburgh, hitherto the northernmost Northumbrian town. To avoid war and obtain the goodwill of the Scots, Edgar yielded up to their king the Northumbrian district called Lothian. Up to now the Scots had been Highland Celts, but since Edmund's cession of Cumbria the Scottish kings had had Welsh subjects. Now they had English subjects also. And before long the English element grew, until the modern Scottish Lowlands became English-speaking and very like England, and only the Highlands retained the Celtic tongue and manners of the old Scots.

Edgar as emperor of Britain.

9. The kings and chieftains of Britain gladly acknowledged the overlordship of a monarch so just and strong as Edgar. It is said that on one occasion he went to Chester, where he met six under-kings, who all took oaths to be faithful to him; and that the six kings rowed their overlord in a boat up the Dee to the Church of St. John's, outside the walls. The six were the king of Scots, his vassal the king of Cumberland, the Danish king of Man, and three Welsh kings. Even the Danish kings who ruled over the coast towns of Ireland submitted themselves to his dominion. It was no wonder that Edgar, like Edwy, took upon himself high-sounding titles. He called himself *emperor*, *Augustus*, and *Basileus* of Britain. Under him the process that begins with Alfred attains its culminating point. Edgar was the most mighty of English kings before the Norman conquest.

Dunstan and the Benedictine revival.

10. At home Edgar ruled sternly, but so justly, that the only fault that his subjects could find with him was that he loved foreigners too much. The chief event of this time was a religious revival, which Dunstan did much to foster. Despite Alfred's strenuous efforts at reform, the Church remained corrupt and sluggish. In particular, the monasteries were in a very lax state. Dunstan was first famous as the reformer of his own abbey of Glastonbury. He became

more eager for reform after his exile. When abroad he had seen the good results which had happened from a monastic revival that had already been brought about on the continent. Brought back to power, he strove with all his might to revive in England the spirit of the austere *Benedictine rule* which derived its name from St. Benedict of Nursia, the father of all later monasticism, who lived in the sixth century, and whose system St. Augustine had first introduced into this country. Dunstan was anxious to make the easy-going monks of England live the same strict life of poverty, chastity, and obedience which St. Benedict had enjoined, and which he had seen in operation during his banishment. Moreover, he felt sure that the career of the monk was higher and nobler than that of the secular clerk, who held property, married, and generally lived a self-indulgent and easy-going life. By this time many of the monasteries of earlier days had been changed into what were called churches of *secular canons*—that is to say, they were served by clergymen who did not take the monastic vows, but lived in the world side by side with laymen. Dunstan was disgusted at the lax ways of the secular canons, and did his best to drive them out of their churches, and put Benedictine monks in their place. But the canons were often men of high birth, and had powerful friends among the nobles, who disliked Dunstan's policy even in matters of state. Hence the attempt to supersede canons by monks met with much opposition, and Dunstan, who was a very prudent man, took care not to go too far in upholding the monks. Yet he managed to establish monks in his own cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, which henceforth remained a Benedictine monastery until the Reformation. Some of his fellow-workers were less cautious than Dunstan, and the struggle of monk and canon led to almost as much fighting as the contest between the West Saxons and the Mercians. As long as Edgar lived, however, Dunstan managed to keep the two parties from open hostilities.

11. Edgar died in 975, and with him ended the greatness of the West Saxon house. He left two sons by different mothers. Their names were Edward and Ethelred. North and south, friends of monks and friends of canons, quarrelled as to which of the two boys should become king. For the moment the influence of Dunstan secured the throne for Edward, the elder son. For four years the great archbishop went on ruling the kingdom as in the days of Edgar. But his task was much harder now that he was virtually single-handed. In 978 the young

Edward the Martyr, 975–978.

king was stabbed in the back, it was believed, at the instigation of his step-mother, who wished her own son, Ethelred, to mount the throne. This cruel death gave Edward the name of Edward the Martyr. His half-brother, Ethelred II., succeeded to the throne prepared for him by his mother's crime.

12. Dunstan's last important public act was to crown the new monarch. Soon afterwards the great archbishop withdrew from political affairs, and devoted what life was still left to him to the government of the Church and the carrying on of the monastic revival. He lived long enough to see the peace, which Edgar and he had upheld, utterly banished from the land, and to witness the ruin of the religious reformation amidst the tumults of a dreary period of civil strife and renewed invasion. He was the first great English statesman who was not a king and a warrior. In after days monks, who wrote his life, glorified him as the friend of monks with such excessive zeal that the wise statesman, who did so much to bring about the unity of England, was hidden underneath the monastic zealot and the strenuous saint. Yet, both as a prelate and as a politician, Dunstan did a great work for his country. In him the impulse to union and civilization, which began with Alfred, attained its highest point. He closes the great century which begins with the treaty of Chippenham, and ends with the murder of Edward the Martyr.

The work of Dunstan.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH KINGDOM AND THE DANISH CONQUEST (978–1042)

Chief Dates:

978–1016. Reign of Ethelred the Unready.
1002. Massacre of St. Brice's Day.
1013. Swegen's conquest of England.
1016. Rivalry of Edmund Ironside and Cnut.
1017–1035. Reign of Cnut.
1035–1037. Regency of Harold Harefoot.
1037–1040. Reign of Harold Harefoot.
1040–1042. Reign of Harthacnut.

1. The long reign of Ethelred II. (978–1016) was a period of ever-deepening confusion. At first the king was a boy, and the nobles managed things as they wished. But after Ethelred became a man things grew steadily worse. The son of Edgar had none of the great qualities of his race. Quarrelsome, jealous, and suspicious, he was always irritating his nobles by trying to win greater power for himself. Yet he was too weak and foolish to know what to do with the authority which he inherited. In scorn men called him Ethelred the *Unready*—that is, the *Redeless*, the man without *rede*, or good counsel. Under his nerveless sway the unity of the kingdom began to break up. Local jealousies and personal feuds set the great men by the ears, and the guiding hand of a wise monarch was no longer to be expected.

Ethelred the Unready, 978–1016.

2. To make matters worse the Danish invasions soon began again. Now that the Danes in England had become Englishmen, their kinsfolk beyond sea, learning the helplessness of the land, again began to send plundering expeditions to its shores. Ethelred was too cowardly and lazy to meet the pirate hordes with an adequate force of armed men. He persuaded his nobles to impose a tax on land, whereby a large sum of money was collected to buy them off. The Danes took the bribe and departed, but naturally they came again and wanted more.

Renewal of the Danish invasions.

Before long *Danegeld*, so this tax was called, was regularly levied, but every year the horrors of Danish invasion became worse and worse. As another means of conciliating the Danes, Ethelred married Emma of Normandy, the daughter of the duke of the Normans, who was himself a Norseman by descent, and the ally of the Danish kings.

Danegeld.

3. In the same year as his marriage, Ethelred, with equal folly and treachery, ordered all the Danes that happened to be living in England to be put to death. The day chosen for this evil deed was St. Brice's Day, November 13, 1002. Tidings of the massacre only served to infuriate the Danes in Denmark; and Swegen, their king, resolved to revenge his slaughtered countrymen by undertaking a regular conquest of Ethelred's kingdom. The state of the Scandinavian north was different from what it had been in the days of Alfred. There was now a strong king ruling all Denmark, and another ruling all Norway. In earlier days the Danes came in comparatively small and detached bands, whose greatest hope was to conquer and colonize some one district of England. It was now possible for the king of all Denmark to invade England with an army big enough to tax all the resources of the country. In 1003 Swegen carried out his threat. He came to England with a large fleet and army, and set to work to conquer it. Ethelred made few attempts to organize resistance to him, and, though some districts fought bravely and checked the Danish advance, there was no central force drawn from the whole country capable of withstanding the foe. For the next ten years England suffered unspeakable misery. One famous incident of the struggle was the cruel death of the archbishop of Canterbury, Ælfheah, or Alphege, whom the Danes, after a drunken revel, pelted to death with bones because he would not consent to impoverish the poor husbandmen who farmed his lands by raising from them the heavy ransom demanded by the invaders. Alphege was declared a saint, and his memory long held in honour.

Massacre of St. Brice's Day, 1002.

Swegen's invasions.

4. At last Englishmen began to see it was no use resisting Swegen, or upholding so wretched a king as Ethelred. In 1013 the Danish king again appeared in England and easily conquered the greater part of the country. Thereupon Ethelred fled to Normandy, the country of his wife. His withdrawal left Swegen the real ruler of England. Had he been a Christian, the English might well have chosen him as

The rule of Swegen, 1013-1014.

their king. As it was, some districts still resisted when Swegen died in 1014.

5. The Danish soldiers chose Swegen's son Cnut as their king. Cnut was as good a soldier as his father. Moreover, he was a Christian and a wise and prudent man. But the English still regretted their old king, and some of them foolishly asked Ethelred to come back from Normandy and take up his kingship again. Ethelred returned, and war went on between him and Cnut until 1016, when Ethelred died.

Ethelred's return, 1014, and death, 1016.

6. Ethelred's successor was a man of very different stamp. Edmund, his son before his marriage with Emma, was a strenuous warrior, so valiant and persistent that men called him Edmund Ironside. In him Cnut found a worthy foe, and a mighty struggle ensued between the two rivals, which made the year 1016 as memorable in military history as the "year of battles" in the midst of which Alfred mounted the throne. Six pitched battles were fought, the most famous of which was one at Assandun (now Ashington), in Essex, in which Cnut won the day. In the long run neither side obtained a complete triumph over the other, and before the end of the year the two kings met at Olney, an island in the Severn, near Gloucester, where they agreed to divide England between them. By the treaty of Olney, Cnut took Northumbria and Mercia, and Edmund, Wessex. A little later Edmund died, and in 1017 the nobles of Wessex, weary of fighting, chose Cnut as their ruler.

The rivalry of Edmund Ironside and Cnut, 1016.

7. Cnut thus became king, first of part and then of the whole of England, very much as Edgar had done. Though his real claim to the throne was not the choice of the people, but his right as a conquerer, he soon proved himself an excellent king. Under him the prosperity of Edgar's days was renewed. He sent home most of his Danish troops, chose English advisers, and married Emma, Ethelred's widow, so as to connect himself as closely as possible with the West Saxon royal house. He promised Danes and English in England to rule according to King Edgar's law. But Cnut was king of Denmark as well as of England, and a few years later became king of Norway also. Visions of a great northern empire rivalling the realm of the German emperors, who still called themselves emperors of Rome, may well have floated before his mind. But he was wise enough to make England, not Denmark, the centre of his power. Rough as England then was, Scandinavia was still

Cnut, 1017-1035.

ruder. It was still largely heathen; and the only way in which the power of Cnut could be kept together there was for him to use English bishops and monks to help him in civilizing and teaching the faith to his born subjects in the north. But though Englishmen thus found new careers in the service of their conqueror, the cares of his great empire compelled Cnut to absent himself from England for long periods. Besides necessary journeys to his northern kingdoms, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, whence he wrote a touching letter to his subjects, declaring that he had "vowed to live a right life in all things, to rule justly and piously, and to administer just judgment to all." He steadily lived up to the high ideal thus set out before him, and in every way proved himself to be one of the best of our kings. He was enabled to rule his realm strongly, as he kept up a sort of standing army in a force of two or three thousand *House carles*, or palace guards, whom he paid well and kept under discipline. It was dangerous to rebel against a monarch with such a force always ready at his disposal.

8. Early in his reign Cnut divided England into four parts. One of these, Wessex, he kept for himself, but the other three, Mercia, Northumberland, and East Anglia, he handed over to be governed by great *earls*, or, as they had been called in earlier days, aldermen. Before his death he seems also to have assigned Wessex to an earl. For this important post he chose a wealthy, eloquent, and shrewd Englishman named Godwin, whom he married to a lady of the Danish royal stock, and to whom he showed many other signs of favour. As long as Cnut lived these great earls remained faithful to him, but their establishment was a dangerous experiment. They were necessarily entrusted with a great deal of power. When they had become well established in their jurisdictions they made themselves the centres of the old local traditions that still remained strong, despite a century and a half of centralization. Things grew worse when son succeeded father in the earldoms as in the ancient sub-kingdoms that had preceded them. Finally, the great earldoms revived in fact, if not in name, the separatist feelings of Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex. The next half-century showed the realm of Edgar gradually splitting up into its ancient threefold division.

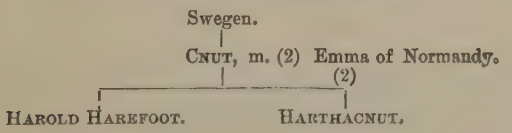
The great earldoms.

9. Cnut died in 1035. He left two sons, Harold, the firstborn, and Harthacnut, his son by Emma of Normandy. A meeting of the wise men took place at Oxford to decide how the succession was to be settled. Party feeling ran high, and Leofric, earl of Mercia, stood in fierce antagonism to Godwin, earl of Wessex.

Godwin and the West Saxons wished to make Harthacnut king, but he was away in Denmark, and this fact played into the hands of Leofric, who was supported by north and midlands in his efforts to uphold the cause of Harold. Finally, as a compromise, it was agreed to make Harold regent of all England, on behalf of himself and his absent brother. This suggests that a division of the kingdom was contemplated, but for more than a year England had no king at all. However, Harthacnut abode obstinately in Denmark, and neither Godwin nor Emma could long maintain the rights of an absentee claimant. In 1037 Harold was definitely chosen king. He drove Emma out of the country, and reigned until his death in 1040. Harthacnut was then at Bruges, in Flanders, where his mother lived, and was waiting with an army in the hope of invading England. He was at once sent for, and elected king of all England. He showed great sternness to his enemies, casting his dead brother's body into a sewer, and levying heavy taxes on those who had resisted his authority. He was much under Emma his mother's influence, and to please her called home from Normandy her son by King Ethelred, whose name was Edward. However, Harthacnut proved a bad ruler, and, says the *Chronicle*, "did nothing like a king during his whole reign." In 1042 he died suddenly at the wedding-feast of one of his nobles. With him expired ignominiously the Danish line of kings which had begun so well with his father. The influence of Emma and Godwin secured the succession for his half-brother Edward, and Englishmen rejoiced that the son of Ethelred had obtained his true natural right to the throne of his ancestors.

Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut, 1035-1042.

GENEALOGY OF THE DANISH KINGS



CHAPTER VIII

THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND HAROLD (1042–1066)

Chief Dates:

1042. Accession of Edward the Confessor.
1052. Godwin's return from exile, and death.
1064. Harold's Welsh war.
1066. Jan. 5, Death of Edward the Confessor. Jan. 6, Accession of Harold, son of Godwin. Sept. 25, Battle of Stamford Bridge. Oct. 14, Battle of Hastings. Dec. 25, Coronation of William the Conqueror.

1. EDWARD, the new king, was nearly forty years old when he was called to the throne of his ancestors. Driven from England as a mere child, he had been brought up in his mother's land of Normandy, and was Norman rather than English in speech, manners, and tastes. A pious, affectionate, gentle, well-educated man, his outlook on life was that of the cultivated Norman cleric rather than that of the hard-fighting English warrior-king. His austerity and religious zeal gave him such a reputation for sanctity that he was canonized after his death, and became famous among royal saints as *Edward the Confessor*. But he was of weak health, feeble character, and somewhat childish disposition. He was too old and sluggish to learn anything fresh, and too wanting in self-confidence to be able to live without favourites and dependants. Under such a weakling the government of the country passed largely into the hands of the great earls, such as Siward of Northumbria, Leofric of Mercia, and, above all, Godwin of Wessex. It was Godwin who had secured Edward his throne, and for long the king leant upon his strong and resolute counsel. Godwin's chief helpers were his vigorous young sons, chief among whom were Harold and Tostig, who held dependent earldoms under their father. Godwin's daughter Edith became King Edward's wife, and for a time all seemed to go well. But Edward had little sympathy with his wife's strenuous kinsfolk, and gradually gave his chief confidence to

Character and rule of Edward the Confessor.

Norman clerks, soldiers, and adventurers, who crossed over to England, hoping to win a career in a country whose monarch was so devoted to Normans and Norman ways. Thus it happened that England, which had withstood successfully all foreign influence when ruled by her Danish sovereigns, was threatened with something like foreign domination as the result of the restoration of the old line of kings.

2. The Normans had many great qualities that explain Edward's devotion to the land of his mother's kinsfolk. Though little more than a hundred years had passed since Rolf and his followers had established themselves in their new homes in northern France, the Norman duchy had already won a notable place for itself in western Europe. The same ready sympathy for the people among whom their lot was cast, which had rapidly made Englishmen of the Northmen of the Danelaw, had made Frenchmen of the Northmen on the banks of the Seine. They had dropped their old tongue and spoke French. They had adopted French customs and manners. But like the Anglo-Danes of England, the Normans retained much of the energy and fierceness of their pirate ancestors. They were more active, enterprising, and vigorous than most Frenchmen. They took up with every new movement, were great champions of the growing authority of the Church, and were learning the newest fashions of fighting, ruling, and holding land. Their duke, though a subject of the French king, was quite as powerful as his master, and was generally strong enough to restrain his turbulent, unruly subjects. The duke of the Normans at that time was Edward's cousin William. William had come to the throne as a child with a disputed title. But he had from earliest manhood shown so much activity and skill that he had put down the revolts of his fierce nobles, and made himself almost a despot. The gentle English king always looked up greatly to his stern cousin, and gladly took his advice.

Normandy and the Normans.

3. From the beginning of the reign many Normans were raised by royal favour to eminent positions in Church and State in England. They were not always the best of their class, for Edward had very little discrimination in his friendships. One Norman friend of Edward's was a bishop, "who," said the English chronicler, "did nought bishop-like;" and a Norman raised by Edward to an English earldom became infamous in his new home as the "timid earl." Highest in rank among Edward's Norman favourites was Robert, abbot of Jumièges,

The Normans in England.

who, to the disgust of Englishmen, was made archbishop of Canterbury. After ten years the Normans had won so many places and estates that a loud outcry was raised against them. Godwin and his sons, who gradually lost all influence over the king, made themselves the spokesmen of the national hatred of the foreigners. In 1051 they gathered together an army and prepared to drive the Normans from court. But the old jealousy of Wessex and its earl was still strong in the north and midlands. Siward of Northumbria and Leofric of Mercia took sides with Edward and his Normans against the house of Godwin. Godwin could not at the moment resist such odds. His army melted away; he and his sons were banished, and his daughter was sent by her husband into a nunnery. Soon after, as if to complete the Norman triumph, William, duke of Normandy, came to England with a great company of Frenchmen, and was royally received by his cousin. Edward, who had no children and no near relations, seems to have promised William to make him his successor to the throne. Thus the permanence of Norman influence seemed assured.

And the exile of Godwin, 1051.

4. Godwin and Harold did not remain long in exile. In 1052 they gathered together a fleet and an army, sailed up the Thames, and beset London. Edward and his Normans collected another army to withstand them; but the English people were so strongly on Godwin's side that even Edward's soldiers were loath to fight for him. They said to each other that they ought not to fight against their own countrymen, and insisted upon negotiating with the invaders. Edward was powerless in their hands, as there were not enough Normans to make a good show in a battle. The result was that Godwin and Harold were restored to their earldoms, "as fully and freely as they had possessed them before." "And then," writes the English chronicler, "they outlawed all the Frenchmen who had judged unjust judgments and had given ill counsel, save only such as they agreed upon whom the king liked to have with him and were true to his people." Archbishop Robert and two other Norman bishops escaped with difficulty beyond sea; and Englishmen were appointed as their successors, the new archbishop's name being Stigand. Edith came back from her cloister to her husband's court. The threatened tide of Norman invasion was driven back for the rest of Edward's lifetime.

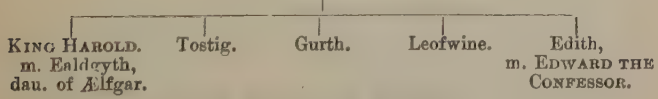
The return and death of Godwin, 1052.

5. Godwin died soon after his restoration, and Harold then became earl of the West Saxons. He was a brave warrior and a

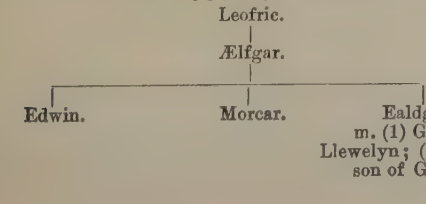
shrewd and self-seeking statesman, strong enough to dominate the will of his weak brother-in-law and control his policy. When Earl Siward died Harold made his brother Tostig earl of Northumbria in his place, while his younger brothers, Gurth and Leofwine, were made earls of East Anglia and Kent. Two-thirds of England was now directly ruled by the house of Godwin. After this Leofric of Mercia was the only great earl who was independent of Harold. He soon died, but his son Ælfgar secured the succession to Mercia, and tried to strengthen himself by making an alliance with his Welsh neighbours. The Welsh were excellent soldiers, but as a rule they were too much divided under the rule of rival kings, and too jealous of each other to be able to make headway against the English. It happened, however, at this time that a very powerful Welsh prince, Griffith ap Llewelyn –that is, "son of Llewelyn," had defeated all his rivals, and had made himself king over all Wales. Griffith married Earl Ælfgar's daughter, Ealdgyth, and became his close friend; but Ælfgar soon died, and the Mercian alliance profited him very little. At last, in 1064, Harold led an army into Wales, and overran the country. The Welsh suffered so cruelly that they abandoned their own king, and made their submission to Harold. Soon Griffith was murdered by some of his own subjects, and Harold divided his dominions among Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, two representatives of a rival family. For the first time since the days of Offa, the English boundary was pushed westwards at the expense of the Welsh as far as the Clwyd, the Radnor moors, and the Usk. Harold himself married Griffith's widow, the daughter of the Mercian earl. Her brother Edwin, now earl of Mercia, was not strong enough to give Harold any trouble.

Harold, earl of the West Saxons.

THE HOUSE OF GODWIN



THE HOUSE OF LEOFRIC



6. The only foes Harold now feared were those of his own household. His brother Tostig ruled so badly over the Northumbrians that they rose in revolt against him, and forced Edward to banish him. They chose as his successor Morcar, the brother of Edwin of Mercia. It was the greatest blow that Harold's power had received, and was the more formidable since the king's health was now breaking up. Since the expulsion of the Normans, Edward had withdrawn himself more and more from politics. His chief interest now was in building a new monastery dedicated to St. Peter on a marsh hard by the river Thames, some distance to the west of London, in a region which took from the king's foundation its later name of Westminster. He just lived long enough to witness the completion of the magnificent church which Norman craftsmen had erected for him in honour of his favourite saint. On Innocents' Day, December 28, the abbey church was dedicated, but Edward was too ill to be present. He died on January 5, 1066, and the very next day was buried behind the high altar of St. Peter's Church. Miracles, it was believed, were worked by his remains as attestation of his claims to sanctity.

Death of Edward the Confessor, 1066.

7. The same day that Edward was buried, Harold was chosen king, and crowned in the new abbey. For many years he had been king in all but name, and it seemed the easiest course to give him the office which his ambition had doubtless long coveted. But though the old English throne was in a sense elective, the choice of Harold constituted a real revolution. Save in the case of the Danish kings, the *Witenagemot*, or Council of the Nobles, had never gone outside the sacred house of Cerdic in their choice of the ruler. All that election had really meant hitherto was some liberty of deciding which member of the royal house should mount the throne, and this freedom of choice was limited in substance to preferring a brother of the late king who was old enough to govern, to his children who were still under age. Even the election of Cnut was no real exception, since it was simply the recognition of the power of a foreign conqueror. But Harold was in possession of power, and it is hardly likely that the Witenagemot had much really to say in the matter. The nearest heir to the dead king was his great-nephew, Edgar the Ætheling, a grandson of Edmund Ironside, a mere boy, and very little known. Practically the same course was pursued as in France, where in 987 Hugh Capet, the greatest of the French nobles, was made king in preference to the heir of the house of Charles the

The reign of Harold, 1066.

Great. French history showed that Hugh, though the strongest of dukes, was the weakest of kings. It was the same with Harold. He had not the mysterious dignity which came from membership of the sacred royal house. His brother earls were jealous of him,

and thought themselves as good as he was. Thus the election of Harold proved a failure; and with all his energy and strenuousness he was not able to hold his newly won throne for a year.

8. William of Normandy had not forgotten the promises made

him by Edward in 1051. Two or three years before his accession Harold had been shipwrecked in France. The lord of the district where the wreck had taken place threw him into prison. William procured his release, and entertained him with great kindness at his court. However, before he allowed Harold to go home, William had forced him to take an oath that he would help him to become king of England after Edward's death. The Norman duke now claimed the crown as King Edward's heir, and denounced Harold as a perjurer for breaking his oath. He began at once making preparations for invading England, and many adventurers from all parts of France joined with his Norman subjects in an expedition which held out great prospects of glory, pay, and booty. Moreover, the pope gave his support to the expedition. Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, had taken the place of Robert of Jumièges without asking the pope's permission, and had offended Rome by other irregularities. All therefore who joined William were looked upon as fighting for the cause of the Church.

William of Normandy's preparations for invasion.

9. Before William's expedition was ready another trouble came upon England. Tostig, the sometime earl of Northumbria, hearing of his brother's elevation to the throne, was anxious to win his earldom back by force. With this object he made an alliance with the king of the Norwegians, Harold *Hardrada*—that is, *Hard rede*, or Stern in Counsel. Hardrada was a true descendant of the Norse pirates, and had had adventures and expeditions in many lands. He gladly took up Tostig's cause, hoping, perhaps, that if successful he might, like Cnut, rule over England as well as his own land. In September the fleet of Harold and Tostig sailed up the Humber. Earl Morcar came to defend his earldom, and his brother Edwin joined him with the Mercian levies. But they were defeated by the invaders at Fulford, and on September 20 the victors took possession of York.

Tostig and Harold Hardrada.

10. When the Norwegians landed, King Harold was in the south, waiting anxiously lest William should cross the Channel. He at once proceeded northwards, and joined his forces with those of the northern earls. On his arrival Hardrada and Tostig took up a position at *Stamford Bridge* on the Derwent, a few miles east of York. On September 25 Harold fell stoutly upon them. The English won a complete victory. Tostig and the Norwegian king were slain, and the survivors of the northern host gladly made peace, and returned

Battle of Stamford Bridge, Sept. 25.

home. It was the last of the great Norse invasions, and the defeat of so famous a hero as Hardrada proved once more the skill of Harold as a soldier.

11. Three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, William of Normandy crossed the Channel. Landing at Pevensey in Sussex, he made Hastings his headquarters, and set up there a wooden castle. On news of his arrival reaching York, Harold at once hurried southwards to meet the Norman invasion. But Edwin and Morcar did not follow him, though he had saved the latter his earldom. Very few of the heroes of Stamford Bridge accompanied Harold against his new enemy; and he paused in London while the levies of the south country poured in to reinforce his scanty ranks. Tidings came that the Normans were horribly wasting the lands near the coast, and Harold resolved to march out of London and give battle to them. He led his troops to within seven miles of *Hastings*, when he halted, took up a strong position on the hill, on which the town of Battle now stands, and passed the night of October 13. The place was far removed from human habitations, and had not even a name. For that reason the fight which was to be fought next day took its name from Hastings, the nearest town.

Landing of William, Sept. 28.

12. Early on the morning of October 14 the English saw William and his Normans arrayed on another ridge, some distance to the south of the hill on which they were posted. The great battle began soon afterwards. It was a struggle, not only between two nations, but between two different schools of warfare. After the fashion of both English and Danes, Harold's army fought on foot. The best soldiers, including Harold's house-carles and personal followers, were arrayed on the top of the hill, facing southwards towards the enemy. They were armed with helmets and long coats of chain-mail, and their chief weapons were axes, broadswords, and heavy javelins, which they hurled at the enemy. They stood shoulder to shoulder in close array, and protected themselves with their long, kite-shaped shields, which interlocked with each other so as to form a *shield-wall*, which it was difficult for the enemy to break through. On the two wings of the main array, where the precipitous nature of the ground made a frontal attack very difficult, were stationed the swarms of ill-covered but zealous countryfolk, who had flocked to the king's standards to defend their country against the foreigner. Harold ordered his troops to maintain their close order, and on no account to break their ranks by pursuing the enemy.

Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14.

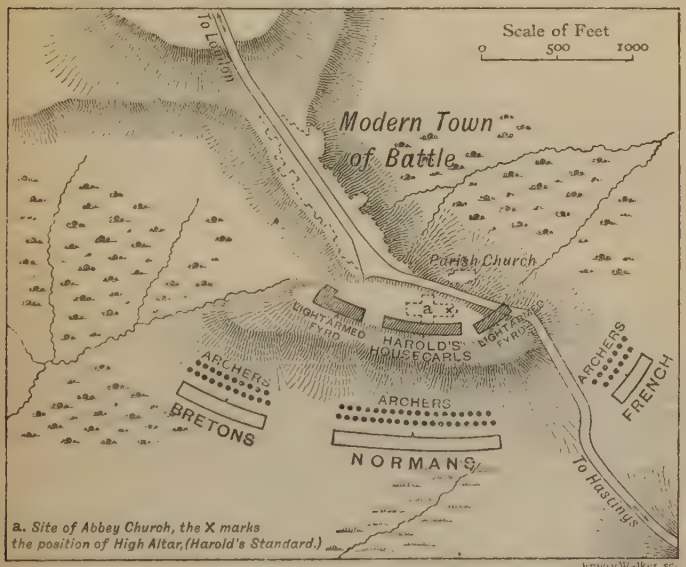
13. The Normans prepared to fight after the newer fashion which had recently grown up in France. The infantry, mostly archers, were sent on in advance to wear down the enemy by volleys of arrows. But their shafts had very little effect, and the shield-wall still remained unbroken on the crest of the hill. Then came the turn of the cavalry, in whom William placed his chief confidence. The best soldiers of the Norman host fought on horseback, wearing helmets and armour very similar in pattern to that of the English, and protecting themselves by great shields, also of the same type as those of their foes. Their chief weapon was a long lance, but they also used swords at close quarters. In the centre of the Norman line was Duke William with his brothers, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, a hard-fighting prelate, and Robert, count of Mortain. Around him were his Normans, and against them the shield-wall of Harold. The right and left wings of William's army were held by his French and Breton mercenaries; these were opposed to the lightly armed levies on the wings of the English host.

The early stages of the fight.

14. Time after time the Norman army charged on horseback up the slopes of the hill. Each time they failed to break through the impenetrable shield-wall, and retired discomfited to their original position. But William was a shrewder commander than the English king. His troops were better equipped, and more easily moved; they could shift their position and method of attack at will; while all that the English could do was to stand firm in their ranks and await each fresh assault. Finding Harold's centre quite impenetrable, William threw his main energy into assailing the lightly armed troops of the wings. His archers discharged repeated flights of arrows, which spread havoc among the unarmoured English peasantry; and in order to lure them to break through their close formation, the Norman cavalry were ordered by their duke to pretend to run away. The English believed that they had gained the victory. Rashly breaking their ranks, they rushed down the slopes of the hill in pursuit. Then the Normans turned, and it was soon found that in open fighting the bravest of foot soldiers were no match against the mail-clad horsemen. The Normans thus gained access to the crest of the hill, and furiously attacked the tried troops on Harold's centre, who alone still maintained a semblance of order. The Norman archers now shot their arrows high into the air, so that they might fall on the English from above. One shaft struck Harold in the eye, and he fell, bravely fighting to the

The victory of William and the death of Harold.

last, close by his own standard. With him died his brothers Gurth and Leofwine, and the bravest of his followers. The day was now won, and at nightfall the Normans pitched their tents upon the blood-stained field. In pious memory of his victory William erected an abbey for monks on the site of the English lines, and called it the *Abbey of the Battle*, a name which also attached itself to the little town that grew up round its walls. The high altar of the



BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

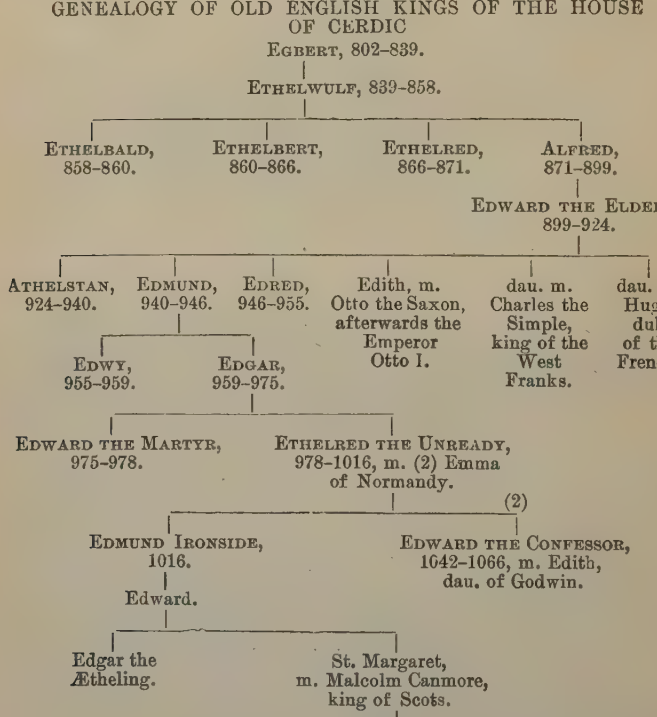
abbey church marked the spot on the crest of the ridge where Harold's banner had once stood.

15. In the weeks succeeding the battle William busied himself with securing the strong places in the south-eastern counties. Edwin and Morcar at last appeared in London with their troops. The Witenagemot met and chose Edgar the Ætheling as king of the English. Thereupon the two earls went home with their men, leaving London and the south to depend upon their own resources. William then advanced almost to the gates of London, but made no effort to attack it. He next marched up the Thames

The advance to London and coronation of William I.

valley as far as Wallingford, crossed the river, and approached London from the north, so as to cut off all hope of succour in case the two earls once more changed their minds, and reassembled their levies. The best soldiers of Wessex and the south lay dead at Hastings, and there was no hope of opposing the conqueror without the help of the north and midlands. In these circumstances the West Saxon nobles thought further resistance useless. With Edgar at their head, they sought out William and accepted him, like another Cnut, as their king. On Christmas Day, December 25, William was crowned king in Westminster Abbey, which thus within a year of its completion saw two coronations and one royal burial. The first stage of the Norman conquest of England was completed when the duke of the Normans became the king of the English.

GENEALOGY OF OLD ENGLISH KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CERDIC


EGBERT, 802–839.
ETHELWULF, 839–858.
ETHELBALD, 858–860.
ETHELBERT, 860–866.
ETHELRED, 866–871.
ALFRED, 871–899.
EDWARD THE ELDER, 899–924.
ATHELSTAN, 924–940.
EDMUND, 940–946.
EDRED, 946–955.
Edith, m. Otto the Saxon, afterwards the Emperor Otto I.
dau. m. Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks.
dau. m. Hugh, duke of the French.
EDWY, 955–959.
EDGAR, 959–975.
EDWARD THE MARTYR, 975–978.
ETHELRED THE UNREADY, 978–1016, m. (2) Emma of Normandy.
(2)
EDMUND IRONSIDE, 1016.
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042–1066, m. Edith, dau. of Godwin.
Edward.
Edgar the Ætheling.
St. Margaret, m. Malcolm Canmore, king of Scots.
Matilda, m. HENRY I., 1100–1135.

(See table on page 157.)

CHAPTER IX

ENGLISH LIFE BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. Before the Norman conquest England stood almost isolated from the rest of the world. Not only was there little intercourse between our island and lands beyond sea; there were few dealings between different districts in England, and each single group of villagers lived a life of its own, self-sufficing and self-contained, and cut off from intercourse with any but its nearest neighbours. The English were a nation of farmers and herdsmen, tilling their fields and watching their cattle after the fashion of their forefathers, and dwelling either in scattered homesteads or in little villages, whose houses were placed together for mutual protection, and surrounded by a quickset hedge. Land held by individuals was called *folkland*, when the title to its possession depended upon witness of the people and common fame. It was called *bookland* when the owner's claim to it was based upon a written document, a book or charter. Most free Englishmen held land of their own. But when harvest was over all the villagers had the right to feed their flock upon their neighbours' fields as well as their own; and there were wide *commons* and wastes which belonged to the community as a whole. The chief products of the soil were corn and grass, and custom prescribed a regular rotation of crops, which no husbandman dreamt of departing from. The land was ploughed by rude heavy ploughs drawn by teams of oxen, and every year a half or a third of the arable soil lay fallow. The richest and most thickly inhabited part of the country was the south-east, where the open downs afforded rich pasture for sheep, and the forests provided plentiful store of acorns and beechmast to fatten swine. But the whole land was scantily peopled, and England contained less than two million inhabitants. The rude system of agriculture with the wasteful fallows yielded a scanty return to the farmer's labour.

Agriculture and land tenure before the Norman conquest.

Moreover, communications were so difficult that a bad harvest in a district meant famine to its inhabitants, even if there were plenty a few shires off. Each farmer grew enough to support his own household, and was independent of fairs and markets, except for a few luxuries.

2. The nobles possessed great influence, and held great tracts of land scattered over the country, which were cultivated by their serfs and dependants. The most important of the nobles were called the king's *theyns*, or servants. The service of the crown was thought in itself to ennoble; the king's thegns received grants of land from their master, and were bound to fight his battles for him. They attended his councils, helped him in the government, and often became so powerful that they were a source of trouble and danger to him. In later Anglo-Saxon times the nobles became increasingly important. In many cases the smaller freemen, or *ceorls*, found it hard to make their living, and had a difficulty in resisting the greediness of the great landlords, who wished to make them their dependants. Many surrendered their estates to a neighbouring noble, and took them back to be held of him in return for protection. This was particularly the case in Wessex and the south. In Northumbria and the Danelaw there was still a large class of small free landholders up to the days of the Norman conquest. But even there the great nobles had the preponderating influence. Men who did not possess land were compelled to choose a lord to be answerable for them in the law courts. The lowest class of the community were bond-slaves, called *theows*. These were bought and sold in the markets like cattle. Poor men sometimes sold themselves in order to avoid starvation, and others became slaves of those to whom they owed money. There was a brisk slave trade, especially from Ireland, and slaves were perhaps the most important article of merchandise.

Thegns, ceorls, and theows.

3. There was little trade and towns were few. The English were not strenuous enough to make great gains by commerce, and the self-sufficing life of each family made it unnecessary to go often to market. The result of this was that most of the towns were more important as fortresses than as commercial centres. Surrounded by a ditch and earth-works, and fenced about with timber stockades, they were more defensible than the houses of the nobles scattered over the country, or than the ordinary village packed thickly together behind its quickset hedge. Stone walls were almost unknown even for towns, and stone houses were also very rare. Most of the people dwelling

Towns.

within the towns' earthen ramparts were farmers living on the land, who huddled together for protection from Danes, robbers, and turbulent nobles. Some of the greater towns were on Roman sites, like London, Chester, York, or Lincoln. Others became important as chief residences of kings, such as Tamworth, the royal city of the Mercians, Canterbury, the home of the kings of Kent, and Winchester, the favourite abode of the West Saxon royal house. Others grew up round famous churches and monasteries, such as Peterborough or Lichfield. But it was characteristic of the old English dislike of town life that most of the bishops lived not in the chief towns, but in country places that owed their whole importance to their being the bishop's residence. In France and Italy every important town had its bishop as a matter of course. Some towns united these various elements, as, for example, York, a Roman city, a strong fortress, the sometime residence of Northumbrian kings, and the seat of the northern archbishopric. London was by far the most important commercial town. It had been so in Roman days, and was so again by the time that the English became Christians. Desolated by the Danes, Alfred again filled it with inhabitants. Edward the Confessor preferred it to Winchester, and the royal palace that grew up hard by the great abbey of Westminster made it in Norman times the seat of government as well as a great commercial centre. When London submitted to William the Norman, the whole country accepted him as its king.

4. Even the houses of the wealthy were made of wood, and so roughly put together that hangings of tapestry were necessary to keep out draughts. Glazed windows were almost unknown, and when the openings in the walls were closed with wooden shutters the interiors must have been dark and depressing. The chief feature of a nobleman's house was the great hall, where the lord and his dependants lived and feasted, and where the majority of the inmates slept on the ground. There were no chimneys. A big fire blazed in the middle of the floor, and the smoke found its way out through a hole in the roof. Yet there was plenty of good cheer, hard drinking, and coarse revelry, all of which men loved even more than fighting. The nobles amused themselves with hunting and hawking; and when indoors listened to songs and stories, watched jugglers and tumblers, guessed riddles, and played chess. The chief luxuries were foreign silk, linen cloth, quaint jewellery, and jugs and vessels made of silver

Houses.

Food and drink.

and glass. These latter were so curiously fashioned that they would not stand upright, so that the reveller had to empty his cup before he could set it down. The chief sweetmeat was honey, for sugar and spices were rare, and costly foreign luxuries. The women were engaged in spinning, weaving, and embroidery. Most clothing was made of woollen cloth, which the women spun and wove from the fleeces of their own sheep. The people drank mead, made from fermented honey, and sweet thick beer, brewed from malt without hops. In the south some wine was made, and the rich used also wine imported from France. Food consisted chiefly of barley bread, oat cakes, and the flesh of oxen and swine. At the approach of winter most of the live-stock was killed, and the people lived on salt flesh until the spring allowed the grass to grow, and fattened the half-starved flocks and herds that had escaped the autumn slaughtering.

5. There were so few large rooms that meetings and councils commonly took place in the open air. Even the churches were small rude structures of wood. Stone churches were the exception, though some of them have come down to our own days. They were described as being built "after the Roman fashion." They were small in size, roughly finished, with round arches and narrow, round, or triangular-shaped windows. Some of the towers were elaborately ornamented with patterns marked out in stone. They were often used as fortresses and meeting-places as well as for worship. It was quite a revolution in English building when Edward the Confessor's Norman craftsmen erected Westminster Abbey on a scale almost as large as the present church, though much less lofty.

Architecture.

6. The laws of the old English were short and simple. Few new laws were passed, and kings like Alfred, who were famous as legislators, did little more than collect in a convenient form the traditional customs of the race. The greater part of the Anglo-Saxon codes is taken up with the elaborate enumeration of the money penalties which could atone for almost every offence. Even murder could be bought off by a payment in money. The price paid for a man's life was called his *wergild*. It varied according to the rank of the person slain. At one end of the scale was the wergild of the king and archbishop, and at the other that of the common freemen. The sum thus paid went to the kinsfolk of the murdered person. Very often, however, the kinsmen took the law into their own hands, and executed summary vengeance upon the manslayer.

Laws.

7. The land was divided into shires, hundreds, and townships. The origin of the *shires* differed in various parts of the country. Some of them represent the lesser kingdoms which were gradually absorbed in larger ones as English unity grew. Kent, Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, and Surrey have still the boundaries of the little kingdoms from which they took their names. Yorkshire is a somewhat smaller Deira, with a new name taken from its chief town. Northumberland is what is left of Bernicia, after Lothian had been given to the Scots, and other districts put under the government of the bishop of Durham. East Anglia is represented by the two shires of Norfolk and Suffolk, names which indicate the division of the East Angles into a northern and a southern people. The West Saxon shires are different in origin. That kingdom became so large that some sort of subdivision of it was found necessary. By the ninth century most of the West Saxon shires had come into existence. They are sometimes said to represent the lands held by different tribes of the West Saxons. It is more likely that they owe their existence to divisions of the kingdom between different members of the royal family, who held subkingdoms under a chief king. Beyond Wessex, Cornwall represents the old kingdom of the West Welsh, which was absorbed in Wessex by the tenth century. The midland or Mercian shires are later in origin, and were artificial in character. Each of them (except Rutland) takes its name from the county town, and in nearly every case that town is, or was, the real centre of the life of the district. They were probably created at the time of the conquest of Mercia and the Danelaw by Alfred and his successors. Some of the east midland shires may be Danish in origin.

The shires.

8. The shire was divided into smaller districts, called *hundreds*, except in the Danelaw, where they are generally called *Wapentakes*. They vary very much in size in various parts of the country; those in the south being, as a rule, smaller and therefore more numerous than those of the north. Each hundred in its turn consisted of a number of *townships*, or villages.

Hundreds and townships.

9. Both shires and hundreds each had a *moot*, or court, of their own. Both *shire moot* and *hundred moot* were attended by four men and the reeve, or chief officer of every township within it. Besides these, the thegns, landholders, and other persons of importance had the right to be present. Lawsuits were dealt with first by the hundred, and afterwards

Law courts.

by the shire. The method of trial was very rigid and formal. Everything depended on the suitors saying the right word or doing the right thing at the proper moment. If a man were accused of a crime he answered it by producing *compurgators*—that is, persons of good character, who, knowing the person and the district, took oath that in their opinion he was guiltless of the offence. Another way of clearing an accused person was by the *ordeal*, or appeal to the judgment of God. The suspected criminal grasped hot iron or was thrown into water. It was believed that if he were innocent a miracle would be wrought; the iron would not burn or the water drown. The whole body of suitors and members formed the judges, so that justice must have been of a very rough-and-ready sort. Besides these local popular courts, kings and great lords also had courts of their own, where they exercised jurisdiction over their dependants and servants. As time went on many nobles received special grants of jurisdiction over their lands, which had the effect of removing their tenants from the sphere of the hundred court altogether. But the shire court always remained of great importance. It was not only a court of justice, it was also the means of governing the country, and those attending it took advantage of its periodic meetings to transact all sorts of business with their neighbours. Its activity kept vigorous the local life, but also made it more difficult to induce the men of various shires to work together for the general profit of the nation.

10. The king was the head of the people, and surrounded by every form of respect. His chief officers were the *aldermen*, called, from Cnut's time onward, the *earls*. An earl or alderman seems to have been set over every shire. But it became customary to assign several shires to the same alderman, and this habit received a further extension in Cnut's great earldoms, which in practice revived the old kingdoms under a new name. The earls thus became such dignified persons that they could not spend their time going round to the various shires and holding shire moots. A new officer, called the shire reeve, or *sheriff*, seems to have been created as the earls withdrew from the administration of their shires. By the Norman period the working head of the shire was the sheriff and not the earl. But the earl continued the natural commander of the *fyrd*, or military levy of the shire. This consisted of all the landowners, who were bound to provide themselves with arms and serve the king in the defence of the country.

The king's officers.

11. The administrative machinery was very simple. The local courts and the great landlords had to see that the law was observed. If a landholder broke the law, his land could be seized as a pledge of his making amends. The lords were responsible for landless men and others who had become their subjects. Moreover, the whole nation was divided into *frithborhs*, or *tithings*—that is, into groups of ten men, who were mutually made responsible for each other's doings, and compelled to pay the fines of their erring associates. Yet the land was full of disorder; outlaws and robbers lurked in every moor and forest, and increasing difficulty was found in making the nobles obey the king.

Frithborh and tithing.

12. The central power was vested in the king. He had a small revenue, and, until Cnut's house-carles, no standing force of soldiers at his disposal. Yet if he were a strong man he could generally enforce his will. If he were weak, every great man took the law into his own hands, and the country was plunged into confusion. There was no popular council of the nation to correspond with the local moots. But a gathering of magnates met together at the chief festivals of the Church, and gave the king their advice. This body was called the *Witenagemot*—that is to say, the *Council of the Wise Men*. It included all the earls, archbishops, bishops, the chief abbots, and sometimes Welsh kings and other subject princes. Besides these the *Æthelings*, or near kinsmen of the king, sat in it, as also a number of king's thegns. These latter, who were more dependent on the king, were generally numerous enough to outvote the official leaders of Church and State. The Witenagemot assented to the passing of new laws, ratified royal grants of public lands, elected the kings, and discharged the general functions of a great council of the nation. We have no evidence, however, that it acted as a real check on the monarch. If the ruler were strong, he could have his own way; if he were weak, the different members each took their own course. The Witan were useless in moments of trouble to the kingdom.

The king.

The Witenagemot.

13. The Church held a great position, but after the days of Dunstan it was afflicted with the same deadness that had gradually seized upon the State. The bishops were very great and powerful personages; but there were so few men fit for high rank in the Church that the custom grew up of giving more than one bishopric to the same individual. The chief ecclesiastics of the eleventh century were politicians rather than teachers

The Church.

of the people. They advised the king in the Witenagemot, sat with earl and sheriff in the shire moot, and took a leading share in the government of the country. The monasteries became increasingly stagnant. Great movements profoundly influenced the Church on the continent, but the English Church was quite indifferent to them. Like the English State, it stood apart from the rest of the world. Though the pope was treated with great respect, and every archbishop went to Rome to receive from his hands the *pallium*, a stole that marked the dignity of the archiepiscopal office, there was no country in Europe where the Roman Church had less real power, or took less part in the daily life of the local churches. Thus the Anglo-Saxon Church corresponded in its sluggishness, as in its independence, to the Anglo-Saxon State.

14. Language and literature reflect the same characteristics. Though Latin was the tongue of the Church and of most learned books, the old English language had a greater place in letters than had the vernacular speech of the continent. We have seen how Alfred busied himself with translating books from Latin into English. The *English Chronicle*, which the same great king began, was still kept up in various monasteries, and stands quite by itself as a contemporary history written in the speech of the country. The noble songs it contains, as, for example, that of Brunanburh, show that the poetic spirit had not yet left the English people. But the great age of Anglo-Saxon poetry was over. Homilies, translations of Scripture, lives of saints, collections of medical prescriptions and lists of leading plants, now formed the bulk of the literary output. Alfred himself complained that whereas foreigners had of old come to Britain to get learning from the English, the English had now to get their knowledge abroad, if knowledge they would have at all. The language was rapidly changing. Not only did many new words come in with the Danes, but the English tongue was throwing off its old inflections, and becoming more like modern English. In letters, as in so many other ways, Anglo-Saxon England had worn itself out. The new blood brought in by the Danes did not do very much to restore it. It needed the stern discipline of the Norman conquest to restore the vitality of the sluggish race, and direct England into new channels of progress.

Language and literature.

Books Recommended for the Further Study of Book I

For Prehistoric Britain, W. Boyd Dawkins' *Early Man in Britain* and B. C. A. Windle's *Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England*. For Celtic

Britain, J. Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, and J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, vol. i.; for the Celtic Church, H. Zimmer's *Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, translated by A. Meyer, E. J. Newell's *History of the Welsh Church*, and J. Dowden's *Celtic Church in Scotland*. For Roman Britain, Haverfield's *Romanisation of Roman Britain*, and *Military Aspects of Roman Wales*. Mommsen's *Roman History*, vol. v. ch. v., translated by Dickson. For Early English history a brilliant but somewhat imaginative account is contained in J. R. Green's *Making of England* and *Conquest of England*. For institutions, W. Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. chaps. i.–ix., corrected by C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, i. i.–v. (translated from the French). For social and economic history, *Social England*, by various writers, vol. i., especially the illustrated edition; and W. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages*, pp. 1–128. For the whole period, the *Political History of England*, edited by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, vol. i. (to 1066) by T. Hodgkin. For historical geography see maps xv. (Roman Britain) and xvi. (England before the Norman Conquest) in the *Oxford Historical Atlas*, and for all periods Gardiner's *School Atlas of English History*. For Scottish history, see Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, and P. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, vol. i., the latter more recent, but on a much smaller scale.

BOOK II

THE NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM I. THE CONQUEROR (1066–1087)

Chief Dates:

1066. Accession of William I.
1067–1070. English revolts.
1071. Hereward subdued.
1075. Revolts of Earls Ralph and Roger.
1079. Battle of Gerberoy.
1086. Domesday Book.
1087. Death of William I.

1. The coronation of William was succeeded by a few months of peace so profound that it looked as if England had been completely subdued, and that the king would have no more trouble with his new subjects than Cnut had had. William gave himself out as the lawful successor of Edward the Confessor. Those who had fought for the usurper Harold were traitors, and had forfeited their lands for their treason. It was natural that William should hand over their estates to his Norman followers. But Englishmen who had not been in arms against him were allowed to continue in their possessions, and nearly all the old officers in Church and State were kept on. Edwin and Morcar still governed the midlands and north. The king brought in no new laws, upheld the old courts, and promised to rule as Edgar and Cnut had governed.

Early policy of William I.

2. Despite William's fair words and acts, the English soon found that he had very different ideas as to how a king should govern his country from those of any of his predecessors. In particular, he was not likely to follow the example of Edward the Confessor, and be content with a nominal superiority over earls like Edwin and Morcar.

The English revolt of 1067.

Bitter experience in Normandy had taught him to distrust the great nobles, and he had also to satisfy the swarm of Norman adventurers who had helped him, and who were by no means content with the small reward meted out to them after Hastings. Before long nothing but the fierce will of the king kept the English nobles from rebelling, or his Norman followers from robbing the conquered people of their lands and offices. In 1067, however, William was forced to revisit Normandy. He left the government in the hands of his half-brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, and of William Fitzosbern, a great Norman noble. These men began to oppress the English terribly, and encourage the greedy Normans to seize their lands and build castles upon them. Only the south had really felt the weight of the Norman power. The lands north of the Thames had submitted, and had not been conquered. They at once rose in revolt against the misdeeds of William's regents. The king came back from Normandy and discovered that his conquest of England had only been begun at Hastings. For the next five years he was busily engaged in putting down rebellions, and subduing England piece by piece. It was not till 1071 that the process was completed.

3. All through these years the English were constantly in revolt. They fought bravely; but their leaders were incompetent, and were always quarrelling with each other. Moreover, different parts of the country did not work together. One district rebelled and was subdued, and then the next region rose in rebellion. It was, therefore, possible for the Normans to put down piecemeal these piecemeal rebellions. Had the English shown as much union as their enemies, they might well have avenged the death of Harold. As it was, whenever the Normans conquered a district, they erected in it a castle, whose garrison kept down the English in obedience. Even if another revolt broke out, the Normans could take refuge behind the walls of the castle until the king was able to come up and release them. The English, unaccustomed to fortresses, had few means of capturing these new strongholds. Before long the whole land was covered with Norman castles.

The completion of the Norman conquest, 1067-1071.

4. The extremities of the country, the north and the west, were the most difficult to conquer. The men of the south-western shires rose in rebellion in 1068, and called in the sons of Harold, who had taken refuge in Ireland, to help them. But before the end of the year the king captured Exeter, and put down the western revolt for good. William had harder work in the north; but even here the divisions of the

The conquest of the West and North.

enemy greatly helped his progress. Edwin and Morcar more than once headed a revolt. But they were not strong or resolute enough to prove successful leaders, and were divided between their anxiety not to compromise themselves fatally with William, and their conviction that William's supremacy meant the loss of the great position so long enjoyed by the house of Leofric. After a half-hearted attempt they made their submission to William, who treated them with remarkable leniency. Nor was the north country more fortunate when Edgar the Ætheling appeared among them, and they chose him as their king. Edgar had, however, one powerful backer in his brother-in-law, Malcolm Canmore (or Big Head), the most powerful king the Scots had yet had; and the Northumbrians expected much from him in their struggles against William. The Danes, however, were also called upon to help them, and Malcolm was so jealous of the Danes that he gave the rebels little help. A Danish fleet appeared in the Humber, and lent its powerful aid to the English. The Danes joined with the best of the northern rebels, Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon, and son of Siward, the sometime earl of Northumbria. But after William came up, the Danes withdrew to their ships, and Waltheof made his submission. William treated him with marked favour, and reinstated him in his earldom. But the king wreaked a terrible revenge on the rebel country. He laid waste the whole land from the Humber to the Tees. Many years afterwards all Yorkshire still lay desolate and untilled. It was an awful example of the ruthlessness of William, and effectually stopped future rebellion in the north country.

5. In 1070 the last English revolt against William broke out in the district bordering on the Wash. Driven out of the open country, the rebels took refuge in the Isle of Ely, a real island in those days, and surrounded on every side by a wilderness of fen and morass. At the head of this gallant band was a Lincolnshire thegn, named Hereward, whose wonderful deeds of daring made him the hero of the English. Among others who joined him were Edwin and Morcar, who had learned too late that their hesitating policy was of no avail against the power of William. For long the Ely fugitives defied the power of William; but at last the king made his way to their camp of refuge by building a hard causeway over his fens, so that his soldiers could attack Hereward's position. In 1071 Ely was captured. Hereward reconciled himself to William, and was kindly treated by him. So faithful was he henceforth that

Hereward subdued, 1071.

William gave him a high command in the army, with which two years later the king conquered Maine. Edwin was murdered by his men during the siege of Ely, but Morcar submitted, and was also pardoned. Gentle to the leaders, William was inexorable to the common rebels. But he had taught the English their lesson. Henceforth neither he nor his sons had anything to fear from them.

6. During the years of conquest nearly all the leading English lost their lands and offices. Waltheof was the only English earl now left, and such Englishmen as still held estates were, as a rule, poor and insignificant. Their successors in property and power were William's Norman followers, who soon formed a new foreign aristocracy of landholders. They did not, however, hold their estates in the same fashion as their English predecessors. After the system already prevalent in Normandy, William granted lands to his followers on condition of their serving him in his wars. Already before the conquest the English kings had looked to their thegns, or personal followers, for help in fighting their battles. But what was previously the exception now became the general rule. The result was the general establishment in England of what was called *feudalism*, or the *feudal system*. Under it William, as king, was lord of the whole land, and his followers held their estates of him as his *vassals*, or subjects. A piece of land was called a *fief*, and the person receiving it took an oath to be faithful to his lord, called the oath of *fealty*, or fidelity. Those who took this oath also did *homage*—that is to say, they promised to become the *men*, or vassals, of their lord. Ultimately the whole country was divided into *knight's fees*, each knight's fee being sufficient land to support the knight, or heavily armed horseman, on whom, after Hastings, the strength of every army depended. Thus there grew up the system of *military tenures*, or *tenure by knight service*, whereby the landholders paid their rent to the king by equipping and paying for knights to fight for him. The most important of the nobles held their lands directly of the king, and bound themselves to supply him with a large number of knights. They were called the king's *tenants in chief*, or *tenants in capite*, and were about fifteen hundred in number. Often they were called *barons*, from a word which originally meant man, but which soon became equivalent to landholding nobleman. But each tenant in chief granted out a large part of his land to vassals of his own, who were called *sub-tenants*, or *mesne* (that is, mediate) *tenants*. These were, in their turn, bound to fight for their immediate lord, and it was only with their help

The establishment of feudalism.

that the tenants in chief could fulfil their feudal obligations to the king. Sometimes the sub-tenants, in their turn, granted out their lands to minor sub-tenants, so that many links were forged in the feudal chain. Though some of the lesser landlords continued to be English, the majority of those to whom by this system military power was entrusted were Normans. The mass of the English sank to the bottom of the social scale. They became the dependants of the Norman barons, and lost their tradition of freedom as they grew accustomed to serve foreign masters.

7. Soon a great division of interests began to show itself between William and the Norman barons. William and his nobles were at one in bringing in the feudal system of land tenure. But the barons were not contented with this. They wished to extend into England the system which prevailed in Normandy, whereby each feudal landlord was like a little king over his own estate. William wished to be a strong monarch, ruling with the help of his barons, but never allowing them to set up their will against his. The nobles, on the other hand, looked with great alarm on the establishment of a royal despotism. They were willing to acknowledge the king as their superior lord, provided that in practice he delegated all his power to the great landlords. They cared nothing for the unity of the kingdom, or the prosperity of the people. They thought of nothing but their own estates, and they bitterly resented all attempts to restrain their liberty of ruling their vassals after their own fashion, even when the attempt came from the king himself.

William and the Norman barons.

8. William did all that he could to prevent the Norman barons from becoming too powerful. He put an end to the great earldoms which, since the days of Cnut, had threatened to revive the old kingdoms. Even the earldoms over one county he looked upon with suspicion, and took care that only the most faithful of his followers should be advanced to these dignities. He was anxious to prevent the growth of great local powers, and, luckily for him, he found that the chief Anglo-Saxon landlords had held widely scattered estates. He took care that the estates of the Norman barons should, like those of their predecessors, be distributed over different parts of England. A baron who held lands in Cornwall, Norfolk, and Yorkshire was less dangerous than one whose whole estate was concentrated in one of those counties. Few exceptions were made to this general rule; and the chief of these were in the border districts, where military necessities made it desirable that there should be a strong local

The Palatine earldoms.

earl, able to protect the boundary from the invasion of foreigners with the help of his local levies. On this account there grew up on the Welsh and Scottish borders powers afterwards known as the *Palatine Earldoms*. In these regions the great feudal landlord was allowed to play the part of a petty king. The palatine earl raised the taxes, ruled the local army, made laws, set up law courts, and gave judgments in them according to his own pleasure. Nothing bound him to the king save his oath of fealty and act of homage: for most purposes he was an independent prince. Earldoms of this sort grew up on the Welsh frontier, at Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, though the latter two were of brief duration. Moreover, on the Scottish border, the bishop of Durham was similarly invested with such great power over his extensive estates that his bishopric practically became a palatine earldom like those of the west. If such powers had to be established, they were less dangerous in the hands of a priest, who could not be the founder of a legal family, than in those of a layman, whose children succeeded to him by hereditary right. This process of reasoning accounts also for the establishment of Odo of Bayeux as earl of Kent with hardly less authority than that of the border earls.

9. In one part of his dominions William's power was particularly oppressive. Like all his race, he was a mighty huntsman, and he set apart great forests all over England, where husbandry had to stand aside in order that he might chase deer freely. "He made," says the English chronicler, "great forests for the deer, and passed laws for them that whosoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing deer, so also did he forbid slaying boars: and he loved the tall deer, as if he had been their father." The most famous of William's forests was the district still called the *New Forest* in Hampshire. Henceforth the forests were treated as exempt from the ordinary law. In them the king's will was almost unrestrained. For generations the English had no more real grievance than the cruel forest laws of the Normans. **The forests.**

10. The Norman barons watched with great discontent the anti-feudal policy of the Conqueror. Before long they formed schemes to overthrow him, and strove to make common cause with the few English nobles that were still left. In 1075 Roger, earl of Hereford, associated himself with Ralph, earl of Norfolk, in a plot against the king, and the two invited Waltheof to join them. Their plan was to dethrone William, and divide England into three parts, ruled severally by one of **The baronial revolt of 1075.**

themselves, the chief of whom was to bear the title of king. It was practically a proposal to go back to the state of things under Harold. Waltheof was now earl of Northumberland and married to the Conqueror's niece Judith. He refused to have anything to do with the conspiracy, though he thought himself bound in honour not to reveal to the king what the two earls had suggested to him. Before long earls Ralph and Roger rose in rebellion, but were easily subdued. Ralph fled to the continent, and Roger lost his earldom and was imprisoned for life. No later earls of Hereford were allowed to exercise the *palatine* privileges which Roger had enjoyed. A sterner fate was meted out to Waltheof, whose wife told William of his negotiations with the rebels. Waltheof confessed that he knew of their designs, and thereupon William beheaded him as a traitor. Thus perished the last of the English earls. Henceforth the Norman traitors could not obtain even the partial support of men of native birth. Yet for the next hundred years there was a continued struggle between the Norman feudal party and the Norman king. Whenever the ruler was weak or embarrassed, there was sure to be a rising like that of Ralph and Roger. But though the barons sometimes won a temporary triumph, the final victory was with the king.

Rebellion of Robert, 1079.

11. Very soon the barons had another chance of attacking the monarchy. William's eldest son, Robert, was an open-handed, good-tempered soldier, eager for personal distinction, but weak, easily led, and impolitic. In 1077 Robert rose in revolt against his father, and found support from many of the barons, both in Normandy and in England. The Conqueror's strong hand prevented any fighting in England, but in Normandy Robert waged war against his father, with the help of the French king. In 1079 William besieged his son in Gerberoy, on the eastern frontier of Normandy. In a scuffle that ensued Robert wounded his father with his own hand; but William loved his children fondly, and soon forgave him and restored him to favour.

William and the English.

12. The disloyalty of the Normans led William and his successors to rely more and more upon the English. The English soon found that the barons were their worst oppressors. William, though terrible when opposed, was anxious that those who obeyed him should be justly governed and live in peace. No such thoughts of policy or prudence checked the rapacity and violence of the Norman barons. Before long the English began to look up to their foreign king for protection

against the nobles. Thus William cleverly played off the two nations against each other. Without the Normans he could never have subdued the English. When they were put down, he used the English to keep his overpowerful countrymen in check. In the same way he claimed every right of the old English kings, and added to them every power which the Norman dukes exercised in their own country. This combination of the national position of the English king, and the feudal status of the Norman duke, gave William a position of very great authority; the more so as the chief checks on both powers were no longer operative. William was the first English king who was strong enough to control the whole of the land. Though his power destroyed liberty, it made order possible. And the great want of England in those days was a strong government, keeping good peace. Such a rule William provided for England, but the country had to pay heavily for it. He was the first king to raise much money by direct taxation, and his subjects groaned under his exactions. "The king and his chief men," wrote the English chronicler, "loved overmuch to amass gold and silver. The king made over the lands to him who offered most and cared not how his sheriffs extorted money from the miserable people." Yet the same authority recognized the benefits of his rule. "He was a stern and wrathful man, and none durst do anything against his pleasure. The good order which he established is not to be forgotten. He was a very wise and a very great man."

13. In 1085 William ordered an inquiry to be made as to the wealth and resources of England. His object was to find out how many taxes he could raise from his subjects without altogether ruining them. "He sent," said the chronicler, "his men into every shire, and caused them to find out how much land it contained, what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were, and how much revenue he ought to receive. So narrowly did he cause the survey to be made that there was not a single rood of land, nor was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in his book." In 1086 information thus collected was put together in the famous *Domesday Book*. Its exactness gave much offence to the tax-hating Englishmen; but William's inquiries have this great advantage to us, that they enable us to draw a picture of the England of his day such as we can form of no other country at so remote a period. Even after fifteen years of peace the desolating work of the Conqueror's early years still

The Domesday Book, 1086.

left its mark. Very commonly the value of land and property was less than in King Edward's days. In some districts, notably in Yorkshire, great tracts still remained waste.

14. Soon after the commissioners had done their work, William summoned a great moot, or council, at Salisbury. "There," says the chronicler, "there came to him all the landholders in England, whose soever vassals they were, and they all became his men, and swore oaths of loyalty to him that they would be faithful to him against all other men." In this fashion William maintained his hold over the under-tenants, who held their land of the great barons. There was a danger lest their immediate lord should usurp such authority over them that they would be expected to follow him, even when he waged war against the king. The Salisbury oath bound all men of substance to put their duty to the king above their duty to their immediate lords.

The oath at Salisbury, 1086.

15. The conquest affected the Church as profoundly as the State. Sent to England with the pope's blessing, William did his best to carry out the pope's wishes and make the English Church like the Church on the continent. He deprived Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, of his office, and appointed as his successor Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of St. Stephen's at Caen, which William himself had founded. Lanfranc was an Italian lawyer from Pavia, who made his way to Normandy to push his fortune. Seized with a sudden religious impulse, he forsook the world and became a monk at a new monastery called Bec. The fame of his learning and piety soon made Bec a famous place, and before long Lanfranc was made its prior, the chief officer after the abbot. He became William's friend, and was called away by him to Caen, and afterwards to Canterbury. William and Lanfranc henceforth worked harmoniously together for the reform of the English Church. They gradually filled up the bishoprics and abbeys with Normans, so that in Church as in State all the high places in England went to the foreigners. Up to now many bishops lived in the country, far away from such towns as England then possessed. The Norman bishops transferred their residences to the leading towns of their dioceses, as, for example, the bishops of Lichfield went to Chester, the bishops of Dorchester in Oxfordshire removed to Lincoln, and the bishops over Northumbria and East Anglia took up their abodes in Durham and Norwich. In their new sees they built magnificent cathedrals after the Norman pattern which

Lanfranc and the Church.

Edward the Confessor had first introduced into England at Westminster. More learned, energetic, and vigorous than their English predecessors, the Norman prelates did much to reform the English Church. They made the clergy more hard working, better educated, and more zealous.

16. The Normans brought in the new ideas as to how the Church should be governed, which had been growing up on the continent, but were quite unknown in England. These views, first taught by the monks of Cluny in Burgundy, were now upheld by the famous Hildebrand, archdeacon of Rome, who, soon after William's accession, became pope as Gregory VII. Horrified at the worldliness of the clergy, and of the power which lay rulers of evil life exercised over the Church, Hildebrand wished to separate the Church as strictly as he could from the State. He waged war against *simony*, or the selling of benefices for money or corrupt consideration. He taught that the clergy should, like monks, refrain from marriage, for if they had families of their own there was danger lest they should be too much mixed up in worldly affairs, and should aim at advancing their children and handing on their benefices to them rather than devote themselves to advancing the cause of the Church. He saw everywhere cruel kings and princes dominating the Church and oppressing the clergy, and thought that the best remedy for this was to claim for the Church as complete a freedom as was possible from the secular power. With that object he prohibited secular rulers from continuing the old custom of *investing* or conferring on bishops and abbots a ring and staff, which were looked upon as the symbols of their ecclesiastical office. In carrying out this object he fell into a fierce conflict with the emperor, Henry IV., who refused to surrender his ancient rights. This struggle, called the *Investiture Contest*, lasted nearly fifty years, and filled all Germany and Italy with confusion. It was soon clear that Hildebrand, in trying to reform the Church, was likely to set up an ecclesiastical despotism which in the long run was more dangerous than even the despotism of kings and emperors. But the full results of this were not yet seen, and most of the more high-minded and enthusiastic reformers were on the side of the pope.

The Hildebrandine movement extended to England.

17. William and Lanfranc were quite in agreement with Hildebrand. To keep the Church apart from the world, William passed a new law separating the courts of the Church from the courts of the nation, and enacting that every bishop should

henceforth try his clergy in his own ecclesiastical court, and not in the hundred or shire court. Lanfranc held a series of councils, in which he introduced into England the pope's laws against simony, and for the first time ordered that no clergyman should marry. From all this it resulted that the Church and State in England were separated clearly from each other; the courts and law of the Church were strengthened, and the pope's power over England was greatly increased. All these changes made the Church stronger, though it also became less national. William, as the ally of the Church, profited by its strength, and his close friendship with Lanfranc and the reformers did much to increase the royal power. Gregory was so well satisfied with William that he took no steps to prevent him from investing his bishops in the fashion that was not allowed to the emperor. For the moment the friendship of William and Lanfranc united the Church with the State.

The separation of Church and State.

18. There was danger, however, in the background. The clergy were constantly claiming more and more authority, and some of them spoke as if kings and princes only existed in order to carry out the orders of popes and prelates. William himself was alive to the danger of clerical usurpations, and sought to strengthen himself against them by keeping up the traditions of English independence. He ordered that no pope should be obeyed in England until the king had recognized him. He would not allow Church councils to meet or pass *canons*, or Church laws, without his sanction. He prohibited the introduction of papal *bulls*, or letters, into England unless he approved of them. When Gregory VII. requested William to do homage to the Roman Church, he refused to obey him, on the ground that no previous English king had ever performed such an act. Thus in the Church as in the State, William strove to limit the action of the forces that he himself had brought into the country. The pope, like the barons, was useful to the king in establishing his hold over England; but both were dangerous if not kept within strict bounds. The reign of William's sons showed the wisdom of the Conqueror in watching narrowly the power of the Church.

Limits imposed on ecclesiastical authority.

19. Master of England, William strove to revive the English overlordship over the rest of Britain which Edgar and Cnut had exercised. Malcolm Canmore's support of Edgar the Ætheling gave the English king a good excuse for attacking Scotland. In 1072 William crossed the

William as overlord of Britain.

border, and advanced to Abernethy, on the Tay. There Malcolm, despairing of resistance, went to meet him, and did homage to him as his lord. The Welsh were also brought under William's power. Defeated and divided since Harold's days, they were kept in check by the border earldoms, and could offer no effective resistance. William accordingly pushed Harold's conquests still further westwards. He went on pilgrimage to St. David's, and built a castle at Cardiff. Like Edgar, he established relations with some of the Danish princes in eastern Ireland, and thought of crossing over St. George's Channel and conquering that land. Never had an English king exercised wider power. Like Cnut, he was lord of all Britain, and also governed great continental possessions.

20. The union of England and Normandy under one ruler made foreign policy more important than ever it had been before. William had plenty of feuds with his French neighbours and many designs to extend his Norman dominions. He was glad to get the help of the English to carry out these enterprises, and within a few years of the completion of the conquest we find Englishmen loyally fighting William's battles in France. To the south-west of Normandy was the county of Maine, whose capital is the city of Le Mans. It had long been an object of Norman ambition to conquer this district. In 1073 William succeeded in effecting this purpose. The army which conquered Maine was largely composed of Englishmen, among them being the gallant Hereward. William was often on unfriendly terms with his overlord, King Philip I. of France, who was jealous of his overmighty vassal's power. Philip gladly intrigued with his barons against William, and gave help to Robert in the days of his rebellion. At last, in 1087, there was open war between the two kings. The English king headed a raid from Normandy up the Seine valley, and took possession of the town of Mantes. He set the town on fire, and rode out on horseback to witness the ruin that he was working. His horse stumbled and threw him from the saddle. He was now an old man and very stout, so that the heavy fall caused him a fatal injury. Borne by his followers to Rouen, he died on September 9, and was buried in his own favourite foundation of St. Stephen's at Caen. Stern and cruel though he had shown himself, he was, after his own lights, a just and religious man. With all his faults, he did much good to England. His reforms changed the whole course of our history.

William's foreign policy.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM II., RUFUS (1087–1100)

Chief dates:

1087. Accession of William II.
1088. Revolt of the Norman barons.
1089. Death of Lanfranc.
1093. Anselm made Archbishop of Canterbury.
1095. The First Crusade.
1097. The exile of Anselm.
1100. Death of William II.

1. By his wife, Matilda of Flanders, William the Conqueror left three sons, Robert, William, and Henry. As the firstborn, Robert was his father's natural successor. But he had forfeited William's favour by his rebellion, and the old king feared lest, under Robert's weak and sluggish rule, the feudal barons should upset all his plans for the continuance of a strong monarchy. Normandy was a strictly hereditary fief, and the Conqueror neither could nor would prevent Robert from succeeding to it. But England was the conquest of his own hand, and just as he had claimed its throne as the nominee of the Confessor, so he professed to have some right of disposing of the succession. On his death-bed he had expressed a wish that his second son, William, should become the next king of England, and sent him to England with a letter to Lanfranc. The archbishop, faithful as ever to his master's policy, used all his great influence to carry out the dead ruler's wishes. The young prince strove to purchase the people's good-will by releasing some of his father's captives, among them being Morcar, the sometime earl of Northumbria, and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, whom he restored to his earldom of Kent. All turned out as the Conqueror had wished. No opposition was raised to William's accession, and on September 26, 1087, Lanfranc crowned him king in Westminster Abbey.

The sons of William the Conqueror.

2. In person the new king was stout and strong, with red hair and a ruddy complexion. On this account men called him *Rufus*, or the *Red King*. In character he was a coarse copy of his father.

He had the strong will, the high courage, the shrewd perception of his own interest, and the fierce resolution to rule England after his own fashion that distinguished the Conqueror. He was a faithful son, a gallant soldier, and a bountiful master to his servants. But he had none of his father's higher qualities, such as piety, sense of duty, and love of justice. His life was foul, his passions unbridled, his cruelty and avarice unchecked by pity or fear. One of the wickedest men who have ever filled the throne, he was nevertheless a strong and capable king. Under Lanfranc's influence he began to reign well.

Character of William Rufus.

3. It was at once clear that William would be an active king, and the barons soon began to regret that they had lost their chance of being ruled by a weakling like his brother. In 1088 they rose in revolt in favour of Robert. Though Robert sluggishly stayed in Normandy, and gave them no help, their rebellion was a formidable one. Odo of Bayeux, regardless of his nephew's recent mercy, put himself at their head, and all over the country the barons plundered the king's subjects and laid waste their lands. In his distress William turned to the English. He promised them better laws than they had ever had before, and declared that he would not tax them unjustly or carry out the forest laws oppressively. A great force of Englishmen then flocked to the king's banners, and drove Bishop Odo to take refuge in his strong castle of Rochester. After a long siege Rochester was subdued, and Odo was deprived of his earldom and banished from England for good. Thanks to English help, William put down the rebellion, and some of the greatest barons in England shared Odo's fate. Those who still retained their estates soon found that the tyranny of Rufus bore more hardly upon them than even the strong rule of his father. But they were powerless to resist him to any good purpose. Once in 1095 Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, plucked up courage to take up arms against the king. William hurried to the north, and shut up his rebellious vassal in his castle at Bamburgh. As he could not reduce the stronghold, William built a castle over against it, which he called *Malvoisin*, or *Evil Neighbour*, and went back to the south. Mowbray soon ventured to leave his castle, whereupon the garrison of Malvoisin fell upon him and took him prisoner. Mowbray forfeited his immense estates and was imprisoned for life. The feudal party, thoroughly cowed, remained quiet for the rest of Rufus's reign.

The baronial revolt of 1088.

Revolt of Robert Mowbray, 1095.

4. As long as Lanfranc lived, Rufus was restrained from his evil courses by his old friend's wise advice. But Lanfranc died in 1089, and henceforth the king chose counsellors of a very different stamp. His favourite minister was now Ranulf Flambard—that is, the *Torch*—a sharp-witted and unscrupulous Norman clerk, who rose from a low station by his readiness to suggest clever ways of filling the king's treasury. Finally, Ranulf was appointed to the rich bishopric of Durham. He was called the king's *Justiciar*, and in his hands the office so named became a permanent post. William I. had appointed regents to govern during his absences abroad, and had called them justiciars. But henceforth the justiciar acted in the king's presence as well as when he was beyond sea. From Flambard's time the justiciar was the prime minister and chief helper of the Norman sovereigns.

Ranulf Flambard.

5. Flambard showed great ingenuity in using the king's feudal rights over his vassals as pretexts for extortion. Thus when a tenant in chief died the king as his lord had the right of exacting a *relief*, or money payment, from the heir before he handed over to him his father's estate. In the same way the king had the right of levying *aids*, also money payments, from his vassals when he had any special occasion. He also was in the habit of acting as *guardian* over tenants who were not of full age, and of demanding a sum of money from tenants who wished to marry, and had to obtain their lord's consent before they ventured to do so. All these *feudal dues*, as they were called, had been levied by the Conqueror in a moderate and reasonable spirit. Flambard and William crushed the barons by exacting outrageous sums as reliefs or aids. They wasted the estates of minors, cut down their woods, and handed over to them lands so pillaged and tenants so impoverished that their property was a burden rather than a benefit. The penniless and disreputable courtiers of the king were enriched by being married to unwilling heiresses. The heavy hand of Flambard lay upon every baron in England. Though they chafed under the burden, they dared not throw it off. Nor were the English much better situated. The weight of taxation was far more oppressive than under the Conqueror, and Rufus, though protecting the people from the barons, was intolerably capricious in all his dealings with them.

Feudal extortions.

6. Rufus was even more shameless in maltreating the ecclesiastics than in robbing the lay barons. He scoffed at religion, and delighted to oppress its ministers. A bishopric or an abbey seemed

to him to be just like a lay fief, except that the defenceless character of the clergyman who held it made it easier to rob him with impunity. One of the royal rights which William most abused was called the *regale*, by which the king had the custody of the lands of all vacant bishoprics. The idea was that the king would protect the estate from violence, and hand it over in good condition to the new bishop when he was appointed. William resolved to keep rich bishoprics vacant as long as possible, so that he might keep the rents of the lands of the see for as long a period as possible. Accordingly, when Lanfranc died, the king prevented the appointment of a new archbishop for four years, during which period he plundered and mismanaged the archbishop's estates so as to get all he could out of them. So long as William was healthy and well, he persisted in his evil courses; but in 1093 he was prostrated by a violent fever, and feared that he was going to die. He was then smitten with repentance for all the evil that he had done, and in particular for his oppressions of the Church. He resolved, by way of atonement, to fill up at once the archbishopric of Canterbury, and he chose the best possible priest available to occupy the great office.

Rufus and the Church.

7. At that time Lanfranc's old monastery of Bec was ruled over by the abbot Anselm of Aosta. The son of a nobleman in the Alpine valley of Aosta, Anselm's outward history was curiously similar to that of Lanfranc. Like Lanfranc, he crossed the Alps and sought a career in Normandy, where he was impelled by an outburst of religious zeal to forsake the world to become a monk at Bec. There he won by his writings a reputation which far exceeded the literary fame of Lanfranc, and was venerated for a sanctity to which the hard and lawyer-like friend of the Conqueror had but few pretensions. In an age of brutal violence and cunning self-seeking, the gentle, compassionate, and kindly nature of Anselm was the more beautiful because of its rarity. He was now becoming an old man, and heard with alarm that the repentant king was wishing to raise him to the see of Canterbury. He was, he said, a weak old sheep, who should not be yoked to a fierce young bull like the English king. But Anselm, who happened to be in England at the time, was forced to appear at the bedside of the sick king, and literally compelled to accept the perilous preferment.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 1093.

8. Anselm had not wished to be archbishop; but having received the office, he was resolved to discharge all its duties to the utmost of his capacity. Very soon William recovered, and fell

back on his old courses of extortion, profanity, and profligacy. Anselm was horrified at the wickedness that went on unrestrained at court, and wished to summon a council of bishops to devise means for reforming the morals of the king and his friends. At the same time he strove to put an end to the scandal caused by the prolonged vacancies of bishoprics and abbeys. Rufus was moved to extreme anger. He refused to allow the reforming council to meet, and bitterly repented that he had weakly raised Anselm to the primacy. "What are the abbeys to you?" he cried. "Are they not mine?" "The abbeys are yours," replied Anselm, "to protect, and not to destroy. They belong to God, and their revenues are intended to maintain God's ministers, not to support your wars." Meek and gentle though he was, Anselm was strong enough to withstand William to his face, and a complete breach between them soon followed.

Quarrel of Anselm and Rufus.

9. At this time there were two rival popes in Christendom. Urban II. was generally acknowledged by the Church, but the *investiture contest* was still raging between Papacy and Empire, and the emperor had set up as a rival to Urban a partisan of his own named Clement. Anselm asked leave of William to go to Rome to receive the *pallium*[1] from Urban. William answered that he did not recognize either Urban or Clement as pope, and refused Anselm permission to leave the country. In 1095 a great council met in the royal castle of Rockingham in Northamptonshire to discuss the rival claims of pope and king on the allegiance of the archbishop. William declared that he would deprive Anselm of his archbishopric if he persisted in obeying the pope, whom the king had not acknowledged. The majority of the bishops were on the king's side, and advised Anselm to submit. The lay nobles were friendly to Anselm, and the king dared not carry out his threat. The council broke up without coming to any conclusion, but the resolution of the primate had won a moral victory over the time-serving of the bishops and the impotent violence of the king.

The Council of Rockingham, 1095.

10. During the next two years the relations of king and archbishop became worse and worse. The original cause of dispute was ended when Rufus suddenly acknowledged Urban, and, though not permitting Anselm to go to Rome for his *pallium*, allowed him to receive it from a papal legate who brought it from Rome. But fresh difficulties arose: Anselm would not pay the large sums of

[1] For the pallium, see page 80.

money which William required him to contribute to the expenses of his campaigns. He irritated William by sending to a Welsh war a contingent of soldiers which the king thought too small in numbers, and too ill-equipped for the work. When the king appealed to his own court to settle this dispute, Anselm declared that the matter must be referred to the pope. In 1097, upon this appeal, he withdrew to Rome, and William at once laid violent hands upon his estates. The archbishop remained in exile for the rest of the reign. Alone of the king's subjects, he had dared to resist his will.

Anselm driven into exile, 1097.

11. The dispute between Church and State did little to check the prosperous course of the king's affairs. Master of England, Rufus threatened the independence of Scotland and Wales even more signally than his father had done. In 1092 he conquered Cumberland, which had hitherto been an independent state, tracing back its origin to the old kingdom of the Strathclyde Welsh. Cumberland was made a new English county, and Carlisle, now an English city, became in the next reign the seat of a new bishopric. In 1093 there was war between William and Malcolm Canmore. Malcolm invaded England, but lost his life at Alnwick. His reign is of the greatest importance in Scottish history. The rude Highland chieftain had been tamed into civilized ways by his saintly wife Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Ætheling. Through Margaret's influence English fashions of life were spread throughout the Celtic kingdom. Her influence lived on during the reigns of her sons, and as Scotland became more English, it was inclined to be more friendly with the English kings.

Conquest of Cumberland and death of Malcolm Canmore.

12. Even more notable was the advance of the English power in Wales, though here it was brought about after a different fashion. The Welsh princes remained as fiercely Celtic as before, and William himself did not manage to subdue the stronger of them in any real fashion. But many Norman adventurers, debarred by Rufus's strong hand from ruling England as they wished, swarmed over the boundary-line, and, fighting for their own hands, carved out with their swords new lordships for themselves at the expense of the Welsh. Soon all eastern and southern Wales was overrun by Norman barons, who set up castles to hold the lands they had conquered. Thus arose what was afterwards called the *lordships marcher*, or border lordships of Wales. These were small feudal states, ruled almost independently by great Norman families, and owing little but bare

The Norman conquest of South Wales.

allegiance to the English king, who permitted their establishment because it was a cheap way of occupying his restless barons and keeping the Welsh in check. Prominent among these feudal states were the palatine earldom of Pembroke, the lordships of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Montgomery. Only amidst the hills of Snowdon did the Welsh succeed in maintaining their independence.

13. The separation of England and Normandy hardly lessened William's importance in continental affairs. Robert's weakness made his government of Normandy a sorry failure. He was soon in such dire distress for money that he sold the Cotentin and the Avranchin, the western districts round the towns of Coutances and Avranches, to Henry, the youngest and wisest of the Conqueror's sons. When William in his turn invaded Normandy, Robert bought off his hostility by yielding to him also a large tract of territory in the east. Maine revolted from Robert, and once more was ruled by her own line of counts. Sometimes William and Robert acted together. They grew jealous of Henry's power in the Cotentin, and united for a moment to drive him out. Before long, however, the prudent Henry found his way back again.

Rufus and Normandy.

14. In 1095 Urban II. urged all Europe to join in a holy war to rescue the sepulchre of Christ and the other holy places in Palestine from the yoke of the Mohammedans. Palestine had been ruled by the Mohammedans for many centuries, but so long as its masters were the Arabs, Christian pilgrims were still permitted to visit the spots consecrated by Christ's presence. Recently, however, the Turks, a fierce race of barbarians from central Asia, had made themselves the greatest power in the Mohammedan world, and had taken possession of Syria. Their fanaticism put all sorts of difficulties in the way of the pilgrims, and their complaints at last moved the pope to take up their cause. He promised the favour of the Church and all sorts of spiritual privileges to all who would join in the holy war. Those who agreed to go wore a cross sewn upon their garments, and the holy war was called a *Crusade*. It was just the sort of enterprise to appeal to a time when the warrior and the monk represented the two types of life that were most generally esteemed. All Europe sent its chivalry to fight against the infidel at the command of the pope. The *First Crusade*, as it was called, was a wonderful success. The Turks were expelled from the Holy Land, and Godfrey of Boulogne was established in 1099 as Christian king in Jerusalem.

The First Crusade, 1095.

15. Robert of Normandy was anxious to go on crusade, but he had no money to equip himself or his followers for the expedition. In 1095 William advanced him a sufficient sum, and Robert handed over to him Normandy as a pledge that he would repay it. This prudent bargain allowed Robert to win glory in Palestine while William ruled Normandy. Among Robert's companions in the holy war was Edgar the Ætheling. Meanwhile William's stern government soon restored order in Normandy. He won back Le Mans, and went to war against France. His success enhanced his reputation, and, to the alarm of the French king, Duke William of Aquitaine, anxious, like Robert, to go on crusade, offered to pledge his great duchy to him in return for the necessary funds. Visions of a power in France extending from the Channel to the Pyrenees floated before William's eyes; but before he could take any steps to realize his dreams he was suddenly cut off. On August 2, 1100, he went to hunt in the New Forest. There an arrow drawn by an unknown hand pierced him to the heart. The courtiers scattered, and next day some foresters bore the corpse to Winchester on a cart, and it was laid, without service or ceremony, in a tomb in the minster. A stone, called *Rufus's stone*, marks the place where the tyrant was traditionally said to have met his death. William, says the English chronicler, "was loathsome to all his people and abominable to God, as his end shewed, for he departed in the midst of his unrighteousness without repentance or atonement."

William gains Normandy and dies.

THE NEW FOREST

CHAPTER III

HENRY I. (1100–1135)

Chief dates:

1100. Accession of Henry I.
1102. Fall of Robert of Bellême.
1106. Battle of Tinchebray.
1107. Reconciliation of Henry and Anselm.
1120. Loss of the *White Ship*.
1135. Death of Henry I.

1. HENRY, the dead king's younger brother, was a member of the hunting party in which Rufus met his fate. Without a moment's delay, he hurried to Winchester, secured the royal treasure, and procured his election as king by the handful of magnates who happened to be there. Thence he hastened with all speed to London, where, on August 5, the fourth day after the New Forest tragedy, he was crowned as king.

Accession and early measures of Henry I., 1100.

2. Immediately after his coronation, Henry issued a *Charter of Liberties*, wherein he sought to win the favour of every class by promising to reign after a better fashion than his brother. To the Church, suffering from Rufus's constant encroachments on her liberties, he promised freedom of election to all bishoprics and abbeys, and declared that henceforth he would not sell or favour the revenues of vacant sees. To the barons he announced that he would not insist on the unreasonable reliefs, excessive marriage fines, oppressive wardships, and other exactions of his brother's days. To the nation at large he offered the abrogation of "all the evil customs whereby the realm has unjustly been oppressed," and the renewed enjoyment of the laws of Edward the Confessor. He stipulated that he would take care that his barons gave the same concessions to their tenants as he himself had given to his tenants in chief. Only in respect to the forests would Henry yield nothing. Besides issuing this charter, Henry imprisoned Ranulf Flambard in the Tower of London, wrote at once to Anselm to urge him to return

Henry's Charter of Liberties.

to England, and married Edith, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and St. Margaret, and sister to Edgar, the reigning king of Scots. In all these acts Henry posed as the friend of the English and the foe of the feudal baronage. His marriage with a descendant of the West Saxon kings was particularly popular, though to please the Normans he changed the lady's name to Matilda, or Maud, the name of his mother. She soon became loved as the good Queen Maud. But the Normans sneered at Henry's affectation of English ways, and derided him and his wife by nicknaming them Godric and Godiva.

3. Within a few weeks of his brother's accession, Robert of Normandy came back from the Holy Land, having won great glory by his exploits as a crusader. He resumed the government of Normandy, which again fell into the disorder which it needed a strong hand like that of Henry to check. Ranulf Flambard escaped from the Tower, and told Robert that the Norman barons were eager to put him on the English throne in place of Henry. Accordingly, in 1101, Robert collected an army and landed at Portsmouth in quest of his brother's crown. But the English rallied around their king, and Anselm, now back in England, marshalled all the forces of the Church on the same side. Robert saw that the good will of the barons availed him nothing against such odds. He was the last man in the world to persevere in a hopeless enterprise. He gladly accepted Henry's proposal to hold a personal interview. When they met the brothers made friends. Robert agreed to yield up his claim on England on consideration of Henry giving him a pension, and surrendering to him his lands in the Cotentin.

Failure of Robert's revolt, 1101.

4. Abandoned by Robert, the Norman barons in England were now exposed to the wrath of King Henry. The fiercest, strongest, cruellest of them was Robert of Bellême, who added to vast dominions in Normandy the lordships of Arundel and Chichester in Sussex, and the palatine earldom of Shrewsbury on the Welsh border. A mighty warrior, Robert had been one of the foremost of the Norman conquerors of Wales, and nearly all Mid Wales and much of South Wales was ruled by him and his brothers. In 1102 Henry picked a quarrel with him, and Robert had to defend himself. But his tyranny had made him odious to all; the Welsh and English refused to fight for him, and the weak Duke Robert was easily persuaded by Henry to attack his possessions beyond sea. The king made himself master of Arundel and other castles of his

The fall of Robert of Bellême, 1102.

enemy. Robert of Bellême strove to defend himself in his Shropshire estates. But Henry besieged the mighty new castle which Robert had erected at Bridgnorth, on the Severn, and the townsmen compelled the garrison to surrender. Driven to a last refuge at Shrewsbury, the lord of Bellême was forced to make his submission. He was allowed to leave England for Normandy, but all his English lands were forfeited to the crown. Henry put an end to the palatine earldom of Shrewsbury, as the Conqueror had put an end to the palatine earldom of Hereford. The English were overjoyed at the fall of the tyrant. "Rejoice, King Henry," ran a popular song that they sung, "and give thanks to the Lord God, for thou hast begun to reign freely now that thou hast conquered Robert of Bellême, and hast driven him from the boundaries of thy kingdom." Henceforth the feudal nobles were cowed, and Henry, having had good reason to distrust them, now gave his confidence to knights and clerks of lower birth, but of greater fidelity. Some of his ministers were even men of English origin.

5. Henry was soon able to turn the tables on his brother. Robert found Normandy was gradually slipping away from him.

Battle of Tinchebray, 1106.

Robert of Bellême, now limited to his Norman estates, deprived him of many great tracts of territory. In two successive expeditions Henry conquered much of Normandy for himself. At last, in 1106, Henry made a final invasion of such of his brother's inheritance as still remained faithful to him. The decisive battle was fought at Tinchebray, where Robert lost both his dominions and his liberty. For the rest of his life he was kept in kindly custody in his brother's English castles, and died at Cardiff nearly thirty years later. His comrade on the crusade, Edgar the Ætheling, and Robert of Bellême, were also taken prisoners at Tinchebray. Henry released them both from custody; but while Edgar lived for the rest of his life in obscurity in England, Bellême plunged into fresh revolts that involved him in lifelong captivity. Henceforth Henry ruled Normandy as well as England, and the duchy, like the kingdom, was reduced to good order.

6. Anselm had loyally helped Henry against the barons, yet from the moment of his return a grave question of principle in-

The Investiture Contest in England, 1103-1107.

volved a long dispute between the king and the archbishop. During his exile, Anselm had taken an active part in the famous Investiture Contest which was still raging between the pope and the emperor. He had attended a council in which prelates had been forbidden

to receive investiture from laymen, or even to perform homage to them. Hitherto English bishops, including Anselm himself, had received investiture from the king and done homage to him without a scruple. Now Anselm refused to renew his homage to the new king, and declared that he could not countenance any bishops following the ancient custom. The dispute was carried on in a good-tempered way, and, though Henry and Anselm were quite firm on the matter of principle, neither party lost his respect for the other. At last, in 1103, Anselm withdrew from England to lay his difficulties before Pope Paschal II., at Rome. The archbishop remained in exile until 1107. Then a satisfactory compromise was arranged, by which he was allowed to return. Henry yielded one of the points at issue, but Anselm surrendered on the other. The king utterly renounced lay investitures, while the archbishop withdrew his objection to clerks performing homage to the king. Henry's change of front was intelligible, since lay investitures were hard to defend upon the principles which all men then accepted, for the ring and the staff were admittedly symbols of spiritual dignity, and no lay prince had any authority to confer spiritual jurisdiction. But Henry regarded investiture as the means by which he asserted his authority as king over the prelates of his realm. Anselm, by giving up his point about homage, enabled the king to maintain his hold over the higher clergy in a way less offensive to their scruples. Henceforth, in return for the abandonment of investitures, it was arranged that no bishop was to be consecrated or abbot enthroned until he had rendered homage to the king for his temporal possessions. Seemingly, the compromise was in favour of the Church, for Henry had given up lay investitures. But Henry might well maintain that he had surrendered the shadow and retained the substance. How far the compromise would work depended upon the good sense and forbearance of future kings and prelates. But it gave peace for the time, and was so far looked upon as satisfactory that, more than fifteen years later, the original conflict between pope and emperor was ended upon the lines of the agreement of Henry and Anselm by the *Concordat of Worms*. But the dispute, which in England was amicably settled after five years of negotiations, had plunged all Germany and Italy into confusion for nearly fifty years.

7. Master of Church and State alike, absolute lord of England and Normandy, Henry's power exceeded that of his brother and father. Scotland, ruled by the queen's brothers and nephew, was friendly and submissive, and so close were the relations of

the two courts that pushing Norman adventurers began to insinuate themselves into the good will of the Scottish kings, and to receive so many lands and favours from them that the Scottish nobility became ultimately almost as Norman as the baronage of England. After 1124 the king of Scots was David, Matilda's brother, who had passed his youth at his sister's court, and as the husband of Waltheof's heiress, received Waltheof's old earldom of Huntingdon. David was even more thoroughly normanized than his father, Malcolm, had been anglicized. He had no scruple in frequently attending King Henry's court, or in performing homage to him. Norman ideals of warfare, law, government, and social life spread from his example over all northern Britain. In this indirect way a sort of Norman conquest of Scotland was gradually brought about; but it was due, not to violence, but to the peaceful permeation of Norman influence.

Extension of Norman influence over Scotland.

8. During the same years the more forcible Norman conquest of Wales which began under Rufus was completed, save that the Welsh princes of Gwynedd, or North Wales—they no longer were called kings—held their own amidst the hills of Snowdon, where Henry was powerless to dislodge them. In the conquests of the marchers, Henry had little interest, for after the fall of Robert of Bellême none of them were strong enough to threaten his power. Yet it was with his good will that Flemings were settled in the earldom of Pembroke, where their successors became so numerous that they drove out the Welsh speech from southern Pembrokeshire, and, adopting the English tongue, made that district the "Little England beyond Wales," which it still remains. Moreover, a prudent marriage secured to Henry's own family some of the chief spoils of conquest. The king married his favourite illegitimate son, whose name was Robert, to the daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Gloucester and conqueror of Glamorgan. Robert inherited his father-in-law's possessions which were erected by Henry into the earldom of Gloucester. This earldom of Gloucester, always including the great marcher lordship of Glamorgan, was henceforth one of the greatest of English dignities. Robert himself was a famous warrior and man of ability. He loved literature, and particularly history, and showed such sympathy for the legends of his Welsh subjects, that it was at his direction that a Welsh clerk, named Geoffrey of Monmouth, wrote his *History of Britain*. This book made famous

Completion of the Norman conquest of South Wales.

Robert of Gloucester and Glamorgan.

all over Europe the picturesque romance which Geoffrey palmed off as true history.

9. After the conquest of Normandy, Henry had constant trouble with France, now ruled by Louis VI., a much more capable and powerful king than his predecessor, Philip I. Duke Robert's son William sought to drive his uncle out of Normandy, and was supported by Louis, who was jealous of Henry's power. There was a good deal of fighting, in which Henry was generally successful. At last the chief source of danger was removed by the death of William.

Henry I. and Louis VI.

10. In England Henry ruled as an absolute king, after the fashion of his father. He chose as his justiciar, or prime minister, a Norman priest named Roger, who became bishop of Salisbury. Roger was as devoted to the king's interests as Flambard had been, but he was no mere extortioner, but an orderly-minded, careful, and prudent statesman with a genius for administration and organization. He set up a body of well-trained clerks and lawyers, whose help and advice enabled the king to govern his dominions better than they had ever been ruled before. Two great courts arose, each with its staff of trained officials, which divided between them the chief business of the crown. One of these, the *Curia Regis*, or *King's Court*, was mainly a judicial body. It sat in judgment on cases where the tenants in chief were concerned, and on other cases which were transferred to it from the courts of the barons, or from the shire moots. It sent its judges, called justices, all over the country, to hold periodical circuits and try locally cases that it was not convenient to bring before the king's presence. It soon became a privilege to have a cause tried by the king's judges rather than in the local courts, and henceforth the Curia Regis proved a formidable rival to the ancient Anglo-Saxon moots as well as the private courts of the nobles. Side by side with this body was the *Exchequer*, served by officials called *barons of the Exchequer*. This assembly collected and controlled the vast revenue which Henry exacted, and in return for which the people got peace and sound rule. Despite the heavy price they paid for it, the people gained by the process. The land became prosperous, and such good justice was done between man and man that the English called Henry the "Lion of Righteousness."

Roger of Salisbury and the administrative system.

11. Misfortunes clouded Henry's later days. His queen, Matilda, died, leaving him a son named William and a daughter named Matilda. The latter was married when a young girl to

the Emperor Henry V., the same prince who concluded with the pope the Concordat of Worms. William was drowned in 1120,

The loss of the White Ship, 1120.

when returning from Normandy to England. The king's son sailed in a vessel called the *White Ship*. He gave the sailors so much wine that they became careless, and kept a bad watch. Then the ship struck on a reef of rocks, and soon began to sink. A boat was got out, and William and others embarked in it and rowed away from the wreck. But then he found that one of his half-sisters had been left behind, and returned to save her. When the boat came alongside, a rush of the panic-stricken crew swamped it and drowned the heir to the throne. The blow was a cruel one to Henry, and it is said that he never smiled again.

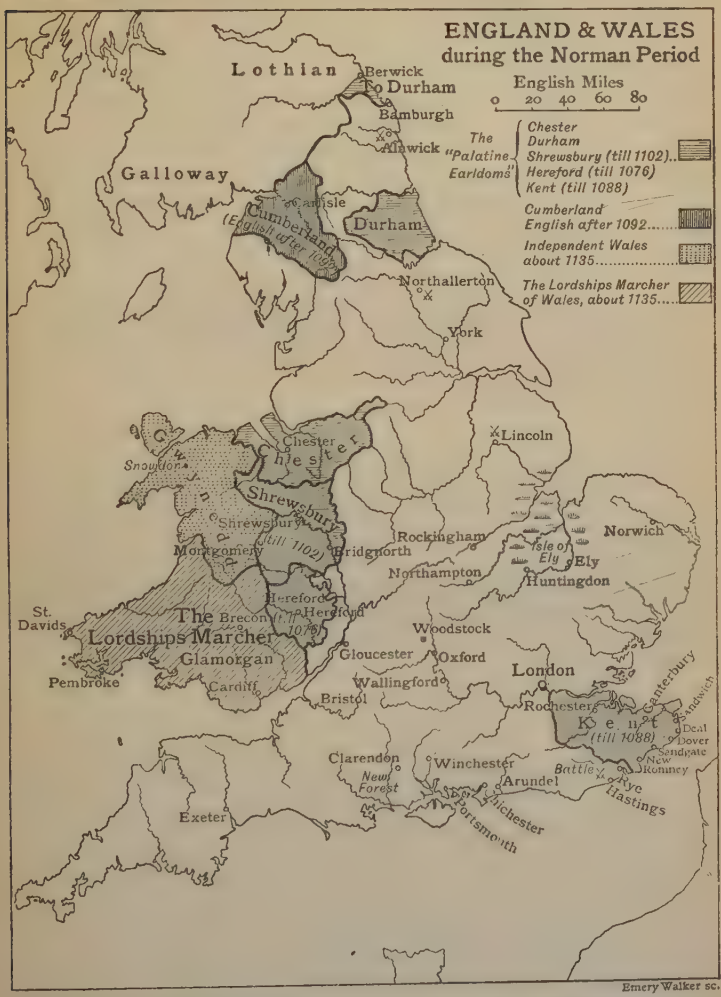
12. Henry married a second wife named Adelaide of Louvain, but she brought him no children. In 1125 the Emperor Henry V. died, and his childless widow, Matilda, came back to

Normandy and Anjou.

England. Henry had resolved to make his daughter his heir. It was an unheard-of thing in those days for a woman to rule a race of warriors like the Normans, and Henry's barons were disgusted at the proposal. But they dared not withstand the king's will, and bit by bit they were cajoled or dragooned into taking oaths to recognize Matilda as Henry's successor. She found another husband in Geoffrey, count of Anjou, called Geoffrey Plantagenet, because he wore a sprig of bloom, or *planta genista*, in his helmet as his cognizance. The county of Anjou was but a small district situated on the lower Loire, with Angers and Tours as its chief towns, and divided from Normandy by the county of Maine. Yet the race of counts that ruled this little territory was so fierce, enterprising, and able that Anjou was a much more important state than most lands of its size. Anjou and Normandy had long been rivals, and the Normans hated its people, who were called the Angevins, while the Angevins grudged the Normans the possession of Maine, which they thought ought to be theirs. Henry married Matilda to Geoffrey, hoping that the match would end the long feud between the two lands, and would ultimately unite the two countries. He was delighted when the young couple had children, and foresaw the time when his grandson Henry would be lord of England, Normandy, and Anjou.

13. Henry died in 1135, his end being hastened by an over-hearty meal of lampreys, which he ate contrary to the orders of his physician. He was buried in Reading Abbey, a monastery of

his own foundation. He was a good king, though personally he was as hard and selfish as ever Rufus had been. But he was wise



enough to see that his interests required that his dominions should enjoy peace and prosperity, if only because he could raise heavier

taxes from prosperous than from impoverished subjects. Unlike Rufus, he kept his fierce passions in such check that he never did cruel deeds save with a politic object. His subjects respected him even though they feared him. The English chronicler thus writes about him: "He was a good man, and there was great awe of him. No man durst misdo another in his time. He made good peace for man and beast. Whosoever bore his burden of gold or silver, no man durst say ought to him but good." Under him the full effect of the Conqueror's policy was worked out, and England became a peaceable, orderly state, ruled by a strong but wise despot.

Death and character of Henry I.

CHAPTER IV

STEPHEN OF BLOIS (1135–1154)

Chief dates:

1135. Accession of Stephen.
1138. Battle of the Standard.
1141. Battle of Lincoln.
1153. Treaty of Wallingford.
1154. Death of Stephen.

1. Among the kinsfolk to whom Henry I. had given lands and power was his nephew, Stephen of Blois, a younger son of the powerful count of Blois, who ruled over the Loire country between Anjou and the domains directly governed by the French king. Stephen's mother was Adela, a daughter of William the Conqueror. Henry I. had shown marked favour to his sister's sons. He had procured Stephen's marriage to Matilda, heiress of the rich county of Boulogne, and had obtained the important bishopric of Winchester for his younger brother Henry. During his lifetime Stephen had been unswervingly faithful to his uncle, and had joined with the other barons in taking oaths to acknowledge his cousin, the Empress Matilda, as Henry's successor. But he knew how unpopular among the barons was the prospect of being ruled by a woman and an Angevin, and on Henry I.'s death made a bold and successful attempt upon his crown. He hurried to England, and was welcomed by most of the barons. The wealthy citizens of London showed him marked good will, and his brother, Bishop Henry of Winchester, used his powerful interest in his favour. Even the justiciar, Roger of Salisbury, forgot his pledges to his old master and declared for Stephen, and his action brought all the justices and officials of the old king to take the same side. Accordingly Stephen was chosen king, and crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, William of Corbeil. Like Henry I., he issued a charter, and tried to win to his side all sorts of supporters. His first charter was a hasty affair, and couched in vague language. He soon supplemented it by a fuller one, in which he set

Accession of Stephen of Blois, 1135.

forth in detail the many liberties which he was willing to give to the Church. He promised to root out all injustice and extortion, and pledged himself to uphold the good old laws and customs of the realm. Though keeping for his use the forests as they were under the two Williams, he offered to relinquish the new ones created by Henry I.

Stephen's Charters of Liberties.

2. At first Stephen seemed to have won complete recognition as king. The barons of Normandy, hating the rule of the Angevin and his wife, recognized him as their duke. It was to no purpose that some of the English baronage, seeing that he was carrying on the same policy as that of Henry I., rose in revolt against him. He was equally successful in dealing with David, King of Scots, who in 1138 invaded the northern counties as the champion of Matilda. Thurstan, the old archbishop of York, stung to indignation at the merciless raiding of the Scots, summoned the levies of the north to repel them. The English met the Scots at Northallerton. In the middle of their ranks was a cart, on which were placed the standard of the king and the banners of the three most famous Yorkshire saints. The English fought on foot after the old fashion, but they broke the charge of King David's knights, and drove the Scots in disorder from the field. The fight was called *the Battle of the Standard.*

Battle of the Standard, 1138.

3. Stephen was a man of very different mould from Henry I. Like Robert of Normandy, he was a gallant soldier and a kind, open-hearted, chivalrous gentleman. Yet a worse man of greater firmness and policy would have proved a better king. If Stephen's earlier years remained peaceful, the merit was due not to the sovereign, but to Roger of Salisbury and the tried ministers of Henry I. Unluckily, Stephen grew to mistrust the justiciar, and became jealous of the great power which he and his kinsfolk were wielding. Besides Roger's own high offices in Church and State, his son was chancellor and two of his nephews were bishops of Ely and Lincoln. Fearing lest so mighty a family should encroach still further on the royal dignity, Stephen in 1138 called upon Roger and his nephews to surrender their castles. The result was a complete breach between the king and the powerful official class. Roger was driven from office, and no competent successor to him was found. Gradually the administrative system set up so laboriously under Henry began to grow weaker, and henceforth nothing prospered with Stephen.

Stephen's quarrel with Roger of Salisbury.

4. Robert, earl of Gloucester, was a partisan of Matilda, but he

had been compelled to acknowledge Stephen after his father's death. Within a few weeks of Roger's disgrace he landed in England, accompanied by the empress, who now demanded Stephen's throne. Civil war at once broke out, and went on with hardly a break for the rest of Stephen's reign.

Beginnings of civil war.

5. Stephen strove to withstand Matilda with the help of Flemish mercenaries, hired with Henry I.'s gold. He never threw himself upon the people as Henry I. had done, and never obtained much support from them. Matilda was almost as badly off. Her only competent adviser was Robert of Gloucester, for the barons who professed to uphold her cause fought in reality for their own hands. Whichever side they championed, the barons had no wish for either Stephen or Matilda to win outright, but preferred that the civil war should go on as long as possible, so that they should make their profit from the weakness of both rivals. The result was that neither party was strong enough to defeat the other, and neither was able to control its followers or govern the territory which it held. The barons took advantage of the dispute to win for themselves the independent position which the first three Norman kings had denied them. England was plunged into indescribable anarchy and confusion, and the wretched peasantry suffered unspeakable misery.

The rivalry of Stephen and Matilda.

6. The English chronicler, who finally laid down his pen at the end of this reign, gives us a moving picture of the desolation of the country. "Every nobleman built a castle and held it against the king; and they filled the land with castles. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took all who had any property and put them in prison and tortured them to get their gold and silver. They taxed the villages, and when the wretched countrymen had no more to give them they burnt their villages. Then was corn dear, and meat and cheese, for there was none in the land. Men starved for hunger, and some that were once rich men went about begging their bread. They robbed churches and churchmen, and though the bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, they cared nothing for their curses. The land was all undone with their deeds, and men said that Christ and his saints slept." Another writer says that "there were as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were lords of estates."

Desolation of England.

7. A few greedy nobles profited by the necessities of the rival claimants to make their own profit out of both. Conspicuous

among these was Geoffrey of Mandeville, a cunning, strong, and cruel self-seeker, who, by joining first one side and then the other, obtained from both grants of enormous estates and his recognition as earl of Essex. At last he overreached himself, and provoked Stephen to make a mighty effort to crush him. Geoffrey fled to the fens, the region once famed for the daring deeds of Hereward. He held his own there until he was slain in a chance skirmish. His power perished with him, but there were plenty of others to take his place, though none could play his daring game so cleverly or so successfully.

Geoffrey of Mandeville.

8. The course of the war between Stephen and Matilda had little effect on the country at large. Stephen's strongest partisans were the Londoners and the rich and populous shires of the south-east and south. Matilda's chief strongholds were Bristol and Gloucester, the main centres of the power of her brother, Earl Robert. The greater barons were largely on her side, among them being Robert's son-in-law, Randolph, earl of Chester. In 1141 Robert and Randolph strove to relieve Lincoln, which Stephen was besieging. In a battle fought outside the town Stephen's army was overwhelmed and he himself taken prisoner. Many of the king's partisans fell away from him now that he was helpless. His own brother, Henry of Winchester, deserted him and declared to a council of barons, gathered in his cathedral city, that by the defeat of Lincoln God's judgment had been clearly shown to be against Stephen's claim to the throne. The barons then chose Matilda as their queen, and she went to London to be crowned. But her cold and haughty manner disgusted her best friends, and the Londoners, who always wished well to Stephen, rose in revolt and drove her from their city. A strong reaction in favour of Stephen broke out. Henry of Winchester again changed sides, and in a battle fought at Winchester, Robert of Gloucester was taken prisoner in his turn. Matilda now had to lead her own side as best she could, while Stephen's cause was ably upheld by his heroic wife Matilda of Boulogne. Before long, however, the two Matildas agreed to exchange Stephen and Robert for each other, and so the war went on as before. But the empress had lost her best chance, and in 1148 the death of her wise and strenuous brother ruined her last hopes. In despair she quitted England for Normandy, and Stephen henceforth reigned nominally as sole king. But the land remained in horrible confusion, and the broken-spirited monarch was far too weak to restore

The Battle of Lincoln, 1141.

Matilda's failure.

order. Only in the northern counties, where David, king of Scots, was in possession, was there any approach to good government. The Welsh profited by England's anarchy to throw off the yoke of the marcher lords.

9. In 1153 Matilda's eldest son, Henry, landed in England to claim his mother's heritage. Though only twenty years old, he had made himself duke of Normandy. On his father's death he had succeeded to Anjou, and a prudent marriage with Eleanor, heiress of Poitou and Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, had secured him the overlordship of all France from the Loire to the Pyrenees. Carefully trained in war and statecraft by his uncles Robert and David, he proved himself a much more formidable enemy to Stephen than ever his mother had been. The king had no heart to struggle against his young rival, and the deaths of his high-souled queen and of his eldest son Eustace made him anxious to end his days in peace. Accordingly, he yielded to the advice of his wisest counsellors, and made terms with Henry by the treaty of Wallingford. By this it was arranged that Stephen was to go on reigning for the rest of his life, but that Henry was to succeed him to all his dominions. Henry remained in England for a time, and did his best to help his rival to pacify the kingdom.

The Treaty of Wallingford, 1153.

10. Soon after Henry's return to Normandy, Stephen died. His reign is only important because it showed what the rule of the barons really meant. The cruelties of the Conqueror and his sons pale into nothingness as compared with the horrors wrought in the name of this well-meaning king. Stephen's failure showed how vital to England's prosperity was that strong and ruthless despotism which the Norman kings had set up. The power of the crown was proved to be necessary, since it was the only way of saving England from anarchy.

Death of Stephen, 1154.

CHAPTER V

HENRY II. OF ANJOU (1154-1189)

Chief dates:

1154. Accession of Henry II.
1159. War of Toulouse.
1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.
1166. Assize of Clarendon.
1170. Murder of St. Thomas.
1171. Norman conquest of Ireland.
1174. Feudal revolt suppressed.
1181. Assize of Arms.
1184. Assize of the Forest.
1189. Death of Henry II.

1. On Stephen's death Henry of Anjou became Henry II. according to the treaty of Wallingford. Under him the houses of Normandy and Anjou, hitherto rivals and enemies, became united. Moreover, through his grandmother, Matilda, queen of Henry I., Henry was descended from the old English line of kings. He was one of the ablest of all our monarchs, and no ruler has left a deeper impress on our history. He was a strong, restless man, who worked so hard that he would never sit down except at meals and at council meetings. He had little respect for tradition, and was fond of making experiments in government. A mighty warrior, he showed even more ability as a statesman and a lawyer. He was well educated, and amused himself with reading as well as with hunting. He took no pains to win popularity, and was indifferent to royal pomp. Generally shrewd and prudent, he was at times swayed by fierce bursts of passion which made him the terror of all around him.

Accession and character of Henry II., 1154.

2. Henry's first business was to put an end to the disorders of Stephen's reign and bring back England to the condition in which it was when Henry I. died. He sent Stephen's Flemish mercenaries back to their workshops. He annulled his predecessor's lavish grants of land, and called upon the barons who had built castles without the king's

The restoration of order.

permission to destroy them at once. These strongholds were called *adulterine castles*, and the barons bitterly resented their destruction. Some tried to resist by force, but Henry easily put down their rebellions. He compelled Malcolm IV., king of Scots, who had recently succeeded his father David, to surrender the northern counties and pay him homage. He led an expedition against Wales, and though his troops fled from the Welsh in disgraceful panic, the Welsh prince Owen found it prudent to make peace with him. But Owen's success secured the freedom of Gwynedd, even though, with Henry's help, the lords marcher regained their power in the east and south of Wales.

3. After a few years the administrative system of Henry I. was fully restored. The *Curia Regis* and Exchequer were again hard at work; justice was executed, and the reign of law upheld. In carrying out these changes, Henry's chief helpers were Richard of Lucy and Robert, earl of Leicester, who divided between them the office of justiciar. Nigel, bishop of Ely, Roger of Salisbury's nephew, became treasurer. Perhaps the king's most trusted officer was Thomas of London, the chancellor, called in later times Thomas Becket. Thomas was the son of a London merchant, and first became important as archdeacon of Canterbury. He was as indefatigable a worker as Henry himself. Though an ecclesiastic, he seemed wholly devoted to the interests of the king. So convinced was Henry of his loyalty that in 1162 he procured his appointment as archbishop of Canterbury. Henry's wish in raising him to this office was to have an archbishop of his own way of thinking. He was jealous of the growing claims of the Church, and thought that the privileges claimed by ecclesiastics stood in the way of the extension of the royal power. He thought the best way to make his reforms acceptable to churchmen was to have an archbishop by his side with whom he could work as cordially as William I. had worked with Lanfranc. Thomas took a very different view of his new office. He hesitated to accept the post because, as he said, he knew that Henry's ecclesiastical policy would differ from that which as archbishop it would be his duty to uphold. Much to Henry's disgust he resigned the office of chancellor. As chancellor he had been the most zealous of servants of the king, but as archbishop he became a strenuous upholder of ecclesiastical privileges. He gave up his pompous and magnificent manner of life, and lived as strictly and austerely as a monk. He took Anselm as his model, and resolved to maintain strenuously all the rights of the Church. It was

Thomas Becket.

inevitable, under these circumstances, that Henry and Thomas should soon quarrel. Disputes at once arose upon various grounds. Thomas complained that the king had appropriated some of the property of the archbishopric, and opposed a plan of Henry's for changing the method of levying some taxes. Soon these quarrels sank into insignificance as compared with the question of the trial of criminous clerks.

Canon Law and the question of criminous clerks.

4. From early times the Church had had courts of its own under the control of the bishops. Ever since William the Conqueror's law separating the bishop's court from that of the hundred, these *ecclesiastical courts* had been steadily increasing in importance. They administered a special law of their own called *Canon Law*, whose chief source was the decrees of the popes. The anarchy of Stephen's reign had immensely increased the importance of the Church courts, for they continued their regular meetings when civil war had made irregular the sessions of the king's courts of justice. By this time the courts of the Church had become rivals to the courts of the State. They claimed to try not only all ecclesiastical suits, but all cases in which clergymen were concerned. It was thought to be against the privileges of the Church for a clerk to be brought before one of the king's courts. This claim was the more dangerous from the wide sense in which the word "clerk" was used. Not only persons in *holy orders*, bishops, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, were clerks; the term included a multitude of persons in *minor orders*, and a still larger number who had merely been set apart to the service of the Church by receiving the *tonsure*. In short, nearly every man who could read was called a *clerk*, and claimed as such the privilege of being tried in the Church court only. Things were made worse because the ecclesiastical judges were lenient to brother clergymen, and because they could inflict no harsher punishment than imprisonment. In those days death, mutilation, and torture were regarded as the appropriate penalties for more heinous crimes.

The dispute between Henry and Thomas.

5. To an order-loving king like Henry, the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of his courts was most unpalatable. He had brought several clerks before his own judges, and was bitterly indignant when Thomas denounced his action as a breach of the liberties of the Church. In great disgust, Henry summoned the bishops to meet at Westminster, and asked them whether in the future they were willing to accept the old customs of the realm as they existed

in the days of his grandfather. The bishops agreed to this "saving the rights of their order." Thereupon, Henry drew up in writing a list of these ancient customs which in January, 1164, was laid before a great council held at the king's hunting-lodge of Clarendon, near Salisbury. For this reason it was called the *Constitutions of Clarendon.*

6. The sixteen articles of the constitutions covered the whole ground of the relations of Church and State. They provided that clerks accused of crimes should be brought before the king's justices. If they could prove that they were clergymen they were to be sent to the Church courts to be tried; if convicted, the ecclesiastical court was to degrade them from their orders, and then they were to be brought back to the king's court and to receive, as laymen, a layman's punishment. The Church courts were to be carefully watched, and their jurisdiction limited to strictly ecclesiastical matters. Moreover, the rules which William the Conqueror had drawn up to determine doubtful points between Church and State were to be reasserted. The compromise arranged between Henry I. and Anselm was reaffirmed, and bishops were to hold their lands like other barons. Appeals to Rome were not to be made without the king's consent, and prelates were to be elected in the king's chapel under the king's eye.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

7. After a momentary acquiescence, Thomas refused to accept the Constitutions of Clarendon, declaring them to be against the liberties of the Church. Henry was moved to deep indignation, and resolved to ruin him. Courtiers were encouraged to bring lawsuits against him, and Henry called upon him to give an account of the money which he had received when he was chancellor. The king's violence gave Thomas a better argument than he had previously had for rejecting the constitutions. If the king's courts could be made the instrument for ruining the king's enemies, it was not unreasonable that the Church should strive to protect her clergy from such unrighteous bodies. As in the days of Anselm, most of the bishops were on the king's side, and begged Thomas to submit. In the Council of Northampton, October, 1164, the archbishop met Henry face to face and refused to surrender. The justiciar declared Thomas a traitor, whereupon the archbishop appealed to the pope and withdrew. A few days later he sailed in disguise to France. The angry king banished all his kinsfolk from England.

Thomas leaves England.

8. For six years Thomas remained abroad and carried on

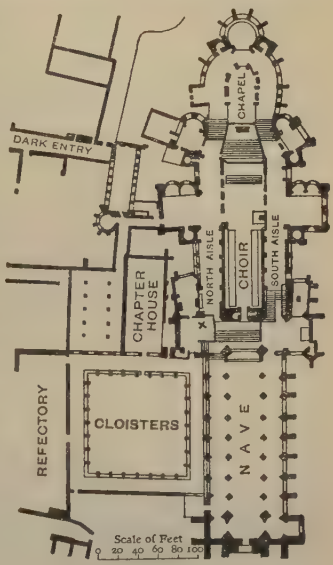
a violent controversy with the king. He was disgusted to find that the pope, Alexander III., gave him only a lukewarm support. Alexander himself was engaged at the moment in a great quarrel with the powerful Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who had driven him from Italy to France. In his distress the pope was anxious not to break utterly with so mighty a prince as Henry, and did what he could to smooth matters over. Henry, on his part, was desirous of avoiding a breach with the pope. Gradually he became more reasonable, and after years of exile even Thomas was less stiff in his attitude. At last, in 1170, a vague agreement was patched up. Henry and Thomas met in France; they said not a word about the Constitutions of Clarendon, but the king promised to restore the archbishop and his friends, and to be guided by his counsel in future. On December 1, 1170, Thomas returned to England and took up his abode at Canterbury. During the negotiations for his restitution fresh causes of difficulty had arisen. The king's eldest son, Henry, was now a young man, and the king, following a custom usual in France, resolved to have him crowned during his own lifetime, so that the prince might learn the business of kingcraft under his father's eye, and share with him the heavy task of governing his vast dominions. The younger Henry's coronation took place on Whit Sunday, 1170. To crown the king was one of the most cherished rights of the archbishop of Canterbury, but, as Thomas was still abroad, Roger, archbishop of York, a close supporter of the king, had performed the ceremony. Thomas bitterly complained of this as a violation of the privileges of Canterbury, and excommunicated Archbishop Roger and all the bishops who took part in the ceremony. Matters stood thus when Thomas returned to England. It is strange that Henry should have omitted to make terms with Thomas in this matter, but he probably thought that their agreement to let bygones be bygones included the question of the coronation as well as the Constitutions of Clarendon. He was at once disappointed in this hope. No sooner was Thomas established at Canterbury than he renewed the excommunication of the offending prelates.

Thomas's return to England, 1170.

9. Henry was moved to a characteristic outburst of temper when he learned that the archbishop's return meant a new quarrel. "What fools and dastards have I nourished in my house," he cried, "that not one of them will avenge me on one upstart clerk?" Four knights took Henry at his word, and rode straightway to Canterbury,

Murder of Thomas, 1170.

which they reached on December 29. They made their way to the archbishop's chamber and bade him forthwith obey the king's order and absolve the excommunicated bishops. Thomas declared that he was only obeying the pope, and gave the knights no satisfaction. They left him in a rage, and the archbishop went into the cathedral, where the terrified monks were singing vespers. Meanwhile the knights put on their armour and, accompanied by a band of soldiers, followed Thomas into the church. The archbishop's attendants would have closed the door which led from the cloister into the north transept. Thomas forbade them to do this, and moved slowly up the steps into the choir, as the four knights burst into the building. They cried, "Where is the traitor?" Thomas then returned to the transept, crying, "Here am I; not traitor, but archbishop and priest of God." A fierce altercation followed, but soon the knights drew their swords and slew him as he stood. His last words were, "For the Name of Jesus and in defence of the Church, I am ready to embrace death."



× *Place where St. Thomas was slain.*

PLAN OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.
(The buildings are mainly of later date than 1170.)

10. The cruel murderers of Thomas had done the worst service they could to their master. Against the living archbishop Henry had been able to contend on equal terms, but he was powerless to hold his own against the outburst of popular indignation which attended their deed of blood. Men forgot that the cause for which Thomas had died was not the cause of the Church, but the cause of the see of Canterbury over its rival York. They hailed the dead archbishop as a martyr who had laid down his life for the sake of justice. Stories were spread of his sanctity and devoutness. It was believed that miracles were wrought by his mangled

Canonization of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

remains. Pilgrims flocked from all Christendom to do honour to the martyr's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. Alexander III., who had neglected him in his life, declared him a saint after his death. All went ill with Henry until he solemnly renounced the Constitutions of Clarendon, bought off the threatened censures of the pope by an unconditional submission, and purged himself of complicity in Thomas's death. As the last sign of his penitence Henry himself went on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas, and was scourged with rods as a penance for his hasty words. In the broader question of the treatment of criminous clerks the martyred archbishop secured a substantial victory. From that time till the Reformation the ecclesiastical courts remained the sole tribunals in which a clerk could be condemned. All that Henry gained was that henceforth all persons accused of crimes were in the first instance brought before the king's tribunals; but any criminal who could prove that he was a clergyman, was allowed what was called *benefit of clergy*, and the king's courts had no more to say to him. It shows how widespread was clerical privilege that the proof of clergy required was ability to read Latin. Despite all Henry's power the Church remained a state within the State, and the strongest of his successors was warned by the great king's failure to respect those inordinate privileges of the clergy for which Thomas thought he had laid down his life.

11. The long struggle with Archbishop Thomas quickened rather than slackened Henry's zeal to improve the government of his dominions. Hitherto he had been content to restore the system of Henry I. Now that he had accomplished that, he began to devise new laws of his own. Henry I. had done a great work, but in his scheme the old popular institutions of Anglo-Saxon times and the new monarchical institutions of the Norman kings had not been completely welded into a single scheme. It was the special work of Henry II. to put an end to this double system. His reign has been called a *period of amalgamation*, because he joined together what was best in old and new alike. Before he died the old local courts of the shire and hundred were closely bound together with the new royal courts administered by the king's officials. Not only was there an amalgamation of English and Norman institutions; the English and Norman races, which had hitherto stood apart from each other, were similarly united by community of interests and frequent intermarriages. We have the testimony of one of Henry's ministers that the two peoples were

Henry's reign as a period of amalgamation between Normans and English.

already so indistinguishable that no one knew who was a Norman or who was an Englishman by race. The higher classes still spoke French, and French Christian names alone were popular. But these French-speaking Englishmen were becoming English in feeling, and as the old Norman families died out, new ones arose who had neither estates nor kinsmen in Normandy, and were sometimes purely English in blood.

12. Henry II. was one of the greatest legislators in English history. The most important of his laws are called *Assizes*, and the first of these was the *Assize of Clarendon*, drawn up in that same Wiltshire hunting-lodge that had witnessed the beginning of Henry's struggle with Becket. The Assize of Clarendon completed the constitution of the new judicial system, towards which things had been drifting since the reign of Henry I. By it the king's justices were directed to go on circuit throughout the country, and visit every shire in turn and try criminals. At their coming each county court was to choose a committee of landholders, which was to bring before it all persons suspected of criminal offences within the shire. This body was called a *jury* because its members were sworn (*jurati*) to accuse truly. It was called a *jury of presentment* because it presented criminals for trial before the justice. The justice represented the new jurisdiction of the crown, the jury the old popular court of the shire. Their combination in this judicial system proved permanent. The modern *Grand Jury* still continues to discharge the work of Henry's juries of presentment, and to this day the king's judges go on circuit to each shire after the fashion systematized by the Assize of Clarendon. Ten years later the Assize of Clarendon was reissued in the *Assize of Northampton*, which imposed severer penalties on offenders.

The Assize of Clarendon, 1166.

The Assize of Northampton, 1176.

13. Another law of Henry's, the *Grand Assize* of uncertain date, extended the jury system from criminal to civil cases. Since the Norman conquest, the ordinary way of deciding disputes about land was by *trial by battle*. The idea was that the two claimants should fight out their claims with each other, and that God would work a miracle by giving the victory not to the better warrior, but to the man with the better claim. So crude a system now seemed impious to the clergy and foolish to the lawyer. The Grand Assize gave claimants to estates the opportunity of referring their claim to the decision of a jury, as an alternative to the barbaric custom of trial by battle. This was welcomed as an especial boon to the weak and feeble.

The Grand Assize.

14. Another famous law of Henry's was the *Assize of Arms* of 1181, by which the old English national militia of the *fyrd* was revised and organized. By it every freeman was required to provide himself with arms of a kind suitable to his estate, so that he might when called upon defend the country from invasion or assist in putting down rebellion. This assize made the feudal service of the barons less important. Long before this the kings had established the custom of levying taxes called *scutage*, or shield-money, from the military tenants, whereby they paid to the crown sums of money instead of serving personally. With this money the king was able to hire professional soldiers, who fought better than the barons. But the mercenaries were expensive and unpopular, and after the Assize of Arms Henry employed them for foreign service only, and depended chiefly on the fyrd for home service. Despot though he was, he was popular enough to be able to trust the English people to bear arms, even though those arms might be used against him.

The Assize of Arms, 1181.

Scutage.

15. In 1184 Henry issued the *Assize of Woodstock*, or the *Assize of the Forest*. He was an indefatigable hunter, and his chief object was to protect the game which he preserved for his sport. Moreover, like his predecessors, Henry regarded the forests as the districts specially subject to his arbitrary control. This assize accordingly was very severe, and shows Henry's government at its worst. It was the first formal code of regulations drawn up for the forests, and something was gained when even a severe law was set up in place of the royal caprice which had hitherto alone regulated them. A system of forest courts was established analogous to those of the rest of the country. Even in the forests Henry found scope for his favourite system of juries.

The Assize of Woodstock, 1184.

16. Henry II. won back the authority over Britain as a whole which his grandfather had exercised. The lords marcher in Wales regained the position which had been threatened under Stephen; but the princes of Gwynedd, though acknowledging Henry as their overlord, were able in practice to keep him at arm's length. Thrice Henry led expeditions to the wilds of Snowdon, but not one of them was really successful. The result of this was that North Wales remained a strong and nearly independent national Welsh state; but Welsh and marcher lords alike looked up to Henry as supreme. Under him the Welsh bishops finally accepted the claims of the archbishop

Henry II.'s relations to Wales and Scotland.

of Canterbury to be their metropolitan. In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin traversed Wales from end to end to preach a new crusade. Scotland, even more than Wales, felt the weight of Henry's arm. We have seen how he compelled Malcolm IV. to surrender the advantages won by David under Stephen. Malcolm's brother and successor, William the Lion, was a warlike and powerful king. In 1173 he united with Henry's foreign and baronial enemies in a great attack on his power. Taken prisoner at Alnwick, he was forced, as the price of his release, to sign the ignominious treaty of Falaise; by this he fully accepted Henry as liege lord of Scotland, and admitted English garrisons into Edinburgh and other chief towns of his realm.

17. Henry II.'s reign is remarkable for the extension of the Norman power to Ireland. Ireland, which in the days of Anglo-Saxon barbarism had been the most civilized country in western Europe, had now fallen far away from its ancient glory. The land was divided among many petty kings, who were always waging war against each other. Though one of these claimed to be overlord of the whole land, he had little real power. The old Celtic system, by which the chief of each tribe really ruled over his clansmen, still prevailed, and kept back the political development of the island. Danish chieftains bore rule over coast towns, such as Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, and added a new element to the general confusion. The Church was as disorganized as the State.

The last period of Irish independence

18. The quarrels of the Irish with each other first gave the Normans a pretext for establishing themselves in Ireland. The heroes of the Norman conquest of Ireland were the Norman marchers of South Wales, who extended their power over the island by the same devices that had secured for their grandfathers the richer parts of South Wales. Dermot, king of Leinster, was driven in 1166 from his dominions, and rashly invited some of the Norman lords of South Wales to help him to win them back. At their head was Richard of Clare, surnamed *Strongbow*, lord of Chepstow and palatine earl of Pembroke. He restored Dermot to his kingdom, married his daughter, and seized upon his dominions after his death. Other Norman adventurers followed his example, and added to the confusion of Ireland by setting up small feudal lordships in the districts which they had won by their swords. Henry II. had no part in their conquests, but he became alarmed lest they should establish a power dangerous to himself. In 1171 he betook himself to

The Norman conquest of Ireland.

Ireland, in order to establish his authority over Irish, Dane, and Norman alike. None dared resist him. The native Irish welcomed him as their protector against the new-comers from Wales, and the Normans submitted because they had not sufficient strength to withstand him. In these circumstances it was easy for Henry to obtain acknowledgments of his supremacy from all the chief powers in Ireland. He added to his titles that of *lord of Ireland*, and set up an English government in Dublin. He introduced Norman ecclesiastics, who strove to reorganize the Irish Church after the Roman pattern. English traders established themselves in the towns, and strong castles kept the fertile plains in subjection. But the Irish clans held their own amidst the mountains and bogs, and everywhere Henry's influence was very superficial. In this fashion Henry carried out in a way the dreams of Edgar and William I. He was the first English king who was in any sense lord of all the British islands.

The Angevin Empire.

19. By inheritance and marriage Henry was suzerain over all western France. From his father came the county of Anjou and Touraine; Normandy and Maine he inherited from his mother; his marriage made him duke of Aquitaine. His wife, Eleanor, was the heiress of the old line of the dukes of Aquitaine, whose authority extended over all south-western France, from the river Loire to the Pyrenees, and from the Bay of Biscay to the mountains of Auvergne and the Cevennes. The northern part of this region was the county of Poitou, whose capital was Poitiers. More to the south lay Guienne and Gascony, of which the chief towns were Bordeaux and Bayonne. Over the whole of this region the French kings had never exercised any substantial authority, and even the dukes of Aquitaine were little more than its overlords. Real power belonged to the turbulent feudal nobles, whose constant feuds with each other, and with the towns, kept the whole land full of violence and bloodshed. Nevertheless it was a rich and vigorous region, differing so widely from northern France that its inhabitants looked upon both king of Paris and dukes of Rouen as foreigners. South of the Dordogne the people spoke the Gascon or Provençal tongue, which was a different language from the French of the north. They cherished dearly their local independence, and even a strong ruler like Henry was not able to subject them to the severe discipline which had made England peaceable and law-abiding.

20. Eleanor of Aquitaine was a woman of vigorous character and unruly disposition. She had married Henry because she had been

at variance with her first husband, Louis VII. of France, who had wedded her for the sake of her dominions. Before long she quarrelled with Henry also, and inspired her sons to join with her former husband in attempts to overthrow their father. It was easier for her to do this, since Henry was an affectionate father, and anxious to share with his sons the government of his dominions. We have seen how he crowned his eldest son Henry king in 1170, and proposed to make him his partner in power. He wished to establish the younger sons also in the government of some outlying portion of his dominions. Richard, the second son, was made duke of Aquitaine, and showed great valour and energy in his efforts to reduce his mother's inheritance to some sort of order. Geoffrey, his third son, married the heiress of Brittany, and the lands under Henry's overlordship were still further extended when Geoffrey became reigning count of Brittany under his father's supremacy. John, the youngest and best beloved of Henry's sons, was married to the heiress of the great Gloucester earldom, and sent to rule Ireland. But none of Henry's sons were worthy of their father's generosity; their constant intrigues and rebellions embittered the last years of his life.

Henry II. and his family.

21. Neighbouring princes were extremely jealous of Henry's great position, and did their best to undermine his power. Among his chief enemies was the count of Toulouse, the hereditary rival of the duke of Aquitaine, and against him Henry waged, in 1159, a war called the *war of Toulouse*; later on he compelled the count of Toulouse to do homage to him. The count of Toulouse was only saved from destruction by the help afforded him by Louis VII. of France, against whom Henry had scruples in waging war because Louis was his overlord. In the hope of keeping up friendly relations with France, Henry married his eldest son to Louis's daughter; but Louis was as treacherous as Henry's own children. During the period when the outcry against Henry as the cause of St. Thomas's death had turned public opinion against him, Louis made an alliance with the young king and his brothers Richard and Geoffrey. This grew into a great confederation of all the English king's enemies. William of Scotland, as we have seen, joined the league, and the feudal barons, both in England and Normandy, though afraid to attack Henry so long as he was at peace, eagerly availed themselves of his difficulties with his children and foreign neighbours to unfurl once more the banner of baronial independence. In 1173 and 1174 the great struggle

Henry's foreign policy.

The war of Toulouse, 1159.

The wars of 1173 and 1174.

Emery Walker sc.

FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES, SHOWING THE CONTINENTAL DOMINIONS OF THE NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS.

between Henry and his enemies extended from the Tweed to the Pyrenees. Henry was everywhere victorious. We have seen how he crushed William of Scotland and forced him to sign the humiliating treaty of Falaise. Louis of France failed in his invasion of Normandy, and the fleet with which the younger Henry set out to invade England was scattered by a storm. The fidelity of the official class, and the loyalty of the English people, made it an easy matter for Henry to suppress the baronial rebellion. Over his nobles his triumph was a permanent one; the rising of 1173 and 1174 was the last of the many feudal revolts against the national monarchy which had begun a hundred years earlier with the rebellions of earls Ralph and Roger against William I.

22. For the next few years Henry ruled in peace. With wonderful magnanimity he forgave his rebellious children, and restored them to their governments. He was now one of the greatest kings in Christendom, and foreign princes eagerly sought his alliance. He married his daughters to the kings of Castile and Sicily, the count of Toulouse, and to Henry the Lion, the greatest of the German dukes and the rival of the mighty Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. By these alliances, and by other means, Henry obtained powerful support against his natural enemy the king of France. He established friendship which long outlasted his life with Castile, the chief Spanish kingdom, with Germany, and with Flanders. For the rest of the Middle Ages there was a traditional friendship between England and these three lands, just as there was a traditional enmity with France. Thus the foreign policy of the Angevin king coloured the foreign policy of England for several centuries.

Henry's foreign alliances.

23. The folly and wickedness of his children cast a gloom over the last years of Henry's life. The young King Henry went to war with his brother Richard, and forced the old king to take up arms on behalf of the latter. In the course of the struggle the young king expired in 1183. Geoffrey of Brittany died two years later, in 1185; but Richard still gave him plenty of trouble. In 1189 Richard once more rose in revolt, and made a close alliance with the son of Louis VII., Philip II., called Augustus, who became king of France in 1180. It was a grievous disappointment to Henry that his youngest son, John, who had hitherto remained faithful, joined his brother in this rebellion. After this Henry had no heart to fight against his treacherous sons. Smitten with a mortal illness, he threw himself on his bed, and cried, "Let things go as they will:

The rebellions of Henry's sons.

I care no more for myself or for anything else in the world." A few days later he died, on July 7, murmuring, "Shame, shame on a conquered king." Here Henry was unjust to himself; his work was far from being undone, even by the treachery of his own sons. He had established the unity of England on so firm a basis that it could not be shaken even by the incompetence of those who came after him.

Henry's death, 1189.

CHAPTER VI

RICHARD I. CŒUR DE LION (1189–1199)

Chief dates:

1189. Accession of Richard I.
1189–1192. Richard on Crusade.
1194. Richard's release and second visit to England.
1199. Death of Richard I.

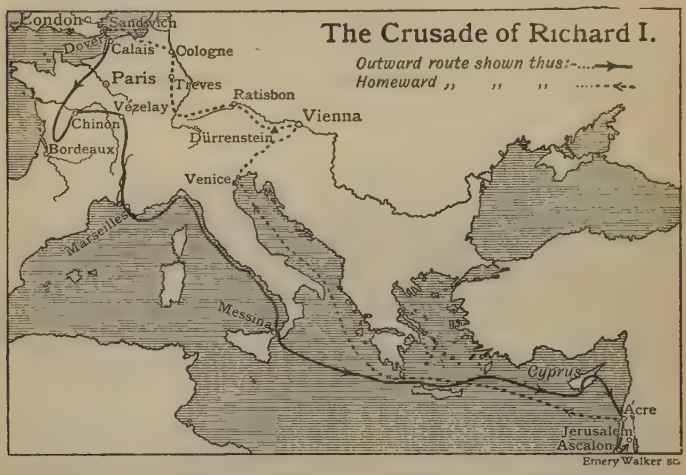
1. Richard of Aquitaine succeeded without difficulty to all his father's dominions. Despite his treachery to his father, he was not without noble qualities, and shed bitter tears when he heard of Henry's miserable end. Brought up amidst the constant tumults of his mother's inheritance, he became a consummate warrior and a famous knight. He was tall and handsome, with fair hair and blue eyes. Well educated, he could, it was said, talk Latin better than an archbishop. He loved poetry, and was himself a poet, while among his friends was Bertrand de Born, the greatest of the *troubadours*, or poets, of southern France. He had ability enough to make him a good ruler; but he cared little for extending his power over his dominions, and threw his whole soul into the quest of personal adventures. He was the least English of our kings, and during his reign of ten years only paid two short visits to England. During those years his exploits as a warrior made him the hero of all Christendom, and gained him his surname of Richard the Lion Heart. But the personal adventures of the king go on quite different lines from the history of his kingdom.

Character of Richard I.

2. When Richard became king, all Europe rang with the preaching of a new crusade. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, established by the First Crusade, had long fallen into evil days. The energy of the western lords of Syria withered away amidst a tropical climate and oriental surroundings. For a time the Crusaders held their own because of the divisions of their Mohammedan enemies. At last a great Mohammedan state grew up in Syria, whose head was the

Richard and the Third Crusade, 1189.

Sultan Saladin. In 1187 Saladin won a great victory over the Christians, and wrested from them Jerusalem itself. The crusading kingdom was reduced to a few seaport towns, and would clearly be destroyed altogether unless Christendom united in a great crusade to restore it. The new expedition, called the Third Crusade, was preached with energy and success. Frederick Barbarossa, the old emperor, and Philip Augustus, the young king of France, both took the cross. To Richard the crusade offered the chance of personal



adventure and military distinction such as he loved. He went to England, was crowned king, and used every means to raise money to equip himself and his followers on the crusade. He sold to the highest bidder the chief offices of Church and State in England. William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, a foreigner by birth, bought the offices of chancellor and justiciar. He allowed William of Scotland to renounce the hard conditions of the treaty of Falaise in return for a money payment. So eager was he to amass treasure that he declared that he would have sold London could he have found a purchaser. Then he started for Palestine, and England saw no more of him for five years. Richard travelled to the Holy Land by way of France. At Marseilles he took ship for the East, but tarried on his way in Sicily and Cyprus, where he married his wife Berengaria of Navarre. In 1191 he landed near Acre, the chief

port of the crusading kingdom, which had recently fallen into Saladin's hands. Philip Augustus had arrived there before him, and the two kings soon forced Acre to surrender. From Acre Richard marched towards Jerusalem, and arrived within a few miles of the holy city; but bad weather prevented further progress, especially as the French and English elements in the army were quarrelling bitterly with each other. Philip Augustus was already jealous of his old ally, and hurried back to Europe to profit by his absence. In these circumstances all Richard's personal heroism could not procure complete success for his cause. In 1192 he made a truce by which the Christians were consoled in some measure for the loss of Jerusalem by the condition that pilgrims were allowed free access to the holy places.

3. Richard then started to return to Europe; news reached him that Philip Augustus was so hostile that the direct route back through France was unsafe. Richard therefore determined to travel by way of Germany. To avoid attention he went in disguise, accompanied by only a few followers; but he soon attracted notice, and near Vienna was arrested by Leopold, duke of Austria, an old crusader with whom he had quarrelled in the Holy Land. The supreme ruler of Germany was now the Emperor Henry VI., son of Frederick Barbarossa, who had died on the crusade. Henry VI. hated Richard because he had given a refuge to his brother-in-law, Henry the Lion, whom Frederick Barbarossa had expelled from Germany. He welcomed the accident which had brought Richard within Leopold's power, and soon the Austrian duke handed Richard over to the emperor's direct custody. Henry kept Richard in prison until he agreed to pay the enormous ransom of £100,000—a sum almost amounting to two years of the royal revenue, at a time when the people were taxed to the uttermost. Besides this, Richard was forced to surrender his kingdom to the Emperor, and receive it back as a fief of the empire. In compensation for this humiliation Henry granted Richard the kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles—a grant which meant nothing at all, as Henry had little power over that district. Meanwhile strenuous efforts were made to raise the king's ransom. Every landholder was called upon to pay a fourth of his income, and the very chalices in the churches were melted down to make up the sum. By 1194 the money was paid, and Richard was free to go home.

Richard's captivity in Germany.

4. During the five years of Richard's absence there had been much confusion and some civil war in England. Yet it was a

remarkable testimony to the abiding strength of Henry II.'s administrative system that the machinery of government continued to work even in the absence of the sovereign. Bishop Longchamp, the justiciar, was not a successful minister. He offended the barons by his pride and his foreign ways, and they called on Earl John, the king's younger brother, to help them to drive him from power. Longchamp could not resist the force they brought against him, and was forced in 1191 to quit the realm. At that moment Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, came back from crusade with a letter from Richard, nominating him as justiciar. The barons accepted the king's candidate, and the archbishop ruled England peaceably for two years. But when Richard's captivity was known, Philip of France invaded Normandy, and tried to capture Rouen. John allied himself with the French king, and rose in revolt against Richard. It is good evidence that the archbishop of Rouen was a wise minister, that he drove Philip out of Normandy, put down John's revolt, and raised the king's ransom.

England during Richard's absence, 1189-1194.

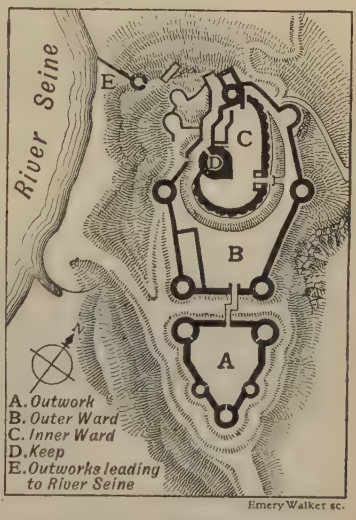
5. In 1194 Richard again appeared in England. His second visit was almost as short as his first, and, as before, he devoted most of his energy to raising money. He generously forgave his treacherous brother, but was eager to have revenge on the French king, who had striven to rob him of his dominions when he was the emperor's captive. Leaving his comrade on the crusade, Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, as justiciar, Richard soon left England, and was never seen there again. He spent the rest of his life in waging war against the French king, and left the whole administration of England in the hands of the justiciar. Hubert Walter was a nephew of Ranulf Glanville, justiciar of Henry II., and had been well trained in the work of administration. He was powerful enough to make several improvements in the administrative system, and was ingenious in devising expedients to supply Richard with money for fighting his battles. In 1198 he imposed such burdens upon the people that they could bear them no longer. When called upon to furnish knights to fight for Richard in France, the barons resisted. Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln, a saintly man who had once been a hermit, made himself the spokesman of the opposition. He declared that he would rather go back to his old hermit's life than lay fresh burdens on the tenants of his bishopric. Hubert was forced to withdraw the proposal, and soon

England from 1194 to 1199.

after resigned office. His successor was a layman, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, earl of Essex.

6. During all these years Richard was doing his best to break down the power of Philip of France, and achieved a fair measure of success. To protect Rouen and Normandy from invasion he built a new castle on a chalk cliff dominating the Seine, near the town of Les Andelys. It was a large and well-planned structure, and it was built within twelve months. Proud of his skill as an engineer, Richard cried, "Is not this a fine saucy baby of mine, this child of a year old?" From this jest Richard's castle took its name of *Château Gaillard*—that is, *Saucy Castle*. Gallant soldier though he was, Richard's campaigns were somewhat unfruitful. His energies were consumed in petty wars which had no real influence on events. In one of these he met his death in 1199. A vassal of Richard's, lord of Châlus, near Limoges, discovered a treasure buried in the earth. Richard claimed the find for himself, on the ground that, as treasure-trove, it belonged to him as overlord. His vassal resisted, and Richard went in person to besiege the castle of Châlus, which the rebel held against him. One day, as the king was watching the progress of the siege, he was struck in the breast by the bolt of a crossbow. The wound was treated by so unskilful a surgeon that the flesh mortified. As Richard lay dying the castle was taken, and the soldier who had shot him was brought captive before him. "What have I done to thee," said the dying king, "that thou shouldst slay me?" "Thou hast slain," answered the archer, "my father and two of my brothers; torture me as thou wilt, I shall die gladly since I have slain thee." Richard ordered the man to be set free. He then gathered his barons round him, and urged them to accept John as his successor. He died on

Richard's last wars and death, 1199.



PLAN OF CHÂTEAU GAILLARD.

April 6, 1199, and, in spite of his commands, the crossbowman was cruelly put to death. Though he had done so little for England, Richard's reputation as a warrior long kept his memory green. Apart from his personal exploits, the importance of his reign rests in the fact that it proved that the foundations of the system of Henry II. had been so carefully laid that the ministers were able to rule England in peace, despite Richard's absence and neglect.

CHAPTER VII

JOHN LACKLAND (1199-1216)

Chief dates:

1199. Accession of John.
1204. Loss of Normandy.
1208. England put under Interdict.
1213. John's submission to Innocent III.
1215. The Great Charter.
1216. Death of John.

1. On Richard's death John hurried to England, and easily got himself accepted as king. He was not the nearest heir by birth, for his elder brother, Geoffrey of Brittany, had left a son named Arthur. Many who distrusted John wished that Arthur should succeed Richard. But Arthur was a boy, and it was quite in accordance with old English precedent that his uncle, who was a grown man, should be preferred to him. Philip of France, ever anxious to make mischief in the Angevin dominions, supported Arthur's cause; but Queen Eleanor, though now very old, used all her influence against her grandson, and in favour of her youngest son. On May 27 John was crowned in Westminster Abbey by Hubert Walter.

Accession of John, 1199.

2. John's previous career was ominous for the future. When sent as a young man to rule Ireland, his petulance and folly had so disgusted the Irish chieftains that Henry II. was compelled to withdraw from him the government of the island. We have seen already his treachery and ingratitude to his father and elder brother. Able, like all the Angevins, and capable, on occasion, of energetic action, both as a warrior and statesman, he wrecked his whole career by the narrow selfishness which sacrificed all his highest interests to gratify the caprice of the moment. His life was foul; he was cruel, treacherous, and deceitful; he could be bound by no promise, and kept steadfast in no course of action. The history of William Rufus had shown that a bad man might be a competent king. As a man, John

His character.

was not much worse than Rufus; as a king, he was utterly lacking in that intelligent sense of self-interest which gave purpose to Rufus's wickedest acts of tyranny. From the beginning of his reign he was only saved from disaster by the restraining influence exercised over him by three wise advisers. His mother, Eleanor, secured his succession to the whole of the Angevin Empire. Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, kept up some sort of terms between him and the Church. The justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, managed, despite many obstacles, to carry on the internal government of England on the lines laid down by Henry II. As time went on the removal of these three faithful friends left John free to follow his own caprice, and in each case his personal action involved him in humiliation and disaster. The death of Eleanor was quickly followed by the loss of Normandy. The death of Hubert Walter soon led to a mortal quarrel with the Church. When Fitz Peter died John blundered into a quarrel with his English subjects which cost him his greatest and last humiliation. Round these three great calamities the history of his reign centred. The Angevin Empire, which had survived the neglect of Richard, was destroyed by the active tyranny of John.

3. It was with great difficulty that Eleanor had succeeded in winning over all the Angevin dominions in France to John's side.

John and Arthur of Brittany.

She was helped by the treachery of Philip II., who took up arms on Arthur's behalf, but kept all the conquests he made for himself. This annoyed Arthur's friends so much that they made terms with John, and finally, in 1200, Philip himself recognized his rival as his brother's heir. Within a few months of this recognition John's folly and greed compelled him to fight once more for his dominions. He repudiated his rich wife Isabella of Gloucester, and married Isabella of Angoulême, the heiress of the county of that name. Isabella was betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan, son of the count of La Marche, a powerful lord of Poitou, who was bitterly incensed at losing both the lady and her possessions. He called upon the barons of Poitou to help him; many of these had grievances of their own against their capricious sovereign, and they willingly appealed to Philip II. as overlord to protect them from the lawless acts of their immediate lord. After long delays Philip accepted their appeal, and in 1202 summoned John to Paris to answer the complaints brought against him. John refused to appear, and the court of the French king condemned him to lose all his lands in France. Philip at once invaded Normandy, in the hope of enforcing the sentence

in person. He recognized Arthur of Brittany as lord of Aquitaine and Anjou, and invited him to conquer his inheritance. Arthur, though only fifteen years old, showed gallantry and resolution. He invaded Poitou, and took possession of Mirebeau, one of its chief strongholds. His grandmother, Eleanor, who was in the town, was forced to take refuge in the castle, where she was strictly blockaded by her grandson. John himself came to his mother's rescue, defeated Arthur's troops, and took his nephew prisoner. Arthur was imprisoned at Rouen, and was murdered in 1203 by his uncle's orders. Next year old Queen Eleanor died, and John's cause speedily collapsed.

4. Philip II. threw all his energies into the conquest of Normandy. John remained inactive at Rouen, and seemed unmoved by his rival's successes. "Let Philip go on," he said; "whatever he takes, I shall retake it in a single day." At last Philip besieged Château Gaillard. Richard's favourite castle held out gallantly for eight months, and its reduction was one of the greatest feats of military engineering of the time. John made but feeble efforts to succour the garrison, and in April, 1204, Philip captured the place by assault. Normandy was now open to attack, and many of its barons, disgusted with John's slackness, made common cause with the French king. With the surrender of Rouen in June, the whole of the duchy passed into Philip's hands. Next year Philip established his power over the greater part of Poitou. Anjou was overrun with equal ease, and by 1206 John's authority over France was limited to the lands south of the Charente.

The loss of Normandy and Anjou.

5. For the rest of his reign John made half-hearted and generally unsuccessful attempts to reconquer his father's lands, and the levity and instability of the Poitevin barons gave him many chances of turning the tables on Philip. His most serious attempt was made in 1213, when he managed to win back much of the ground lost in Poitou and Anjou. His nephew Otto, son of his sister and Henry the Lion, who had been brought up at his court, was now Roman emperor, through the support of Pope Innocent III. Otto, however, soon quarrelled with the pope, and as John was also on bad terms with Rome, uncle and nephew worked closely together. As Philip of France was the close ally of Innocent, Otto and John formed a great league of excommunicated princes against him. In 1214, while Otto carried on the war in the northern frontier of France, John went to Anjou and besieged the

Battles of La Roche au Moine and Bouvines, 1214.

castle of La Roche au Moine, on the Loire. Louis, Philip II.'s eldest son, led an army to its relief, and a battle seemed imminent, but at the last moment John shirked an engagement, and fled to the south. In the same year Otto was defeated by Philip in a great battle at Bouvines, near Tournai. This double disaster broke up the coalition. It secured the establishment of Philip's power in Anjou and Poitou, and for the rest of his life domestic concerns occupied John too fully to allow him to contend any longer against his adversary. Henceforth the northern parts of the Angevin empire were permanently annexed to France. Though the circumstances of their loss was very disgraceful to John, yet the separation of England and Normandy proved, in the long run, a good thing for France and England. The two countries were bound to remain separate and independent nations, and it was best for both that they should be so. Philip's conquests so immensely increased the strength of France that henceforward the French monarchy, so feeble under the early Capetians, became one of the greatest states of Europe. It was also a gain to England that Normandy should no longer be under the rule of the English king. Up to then many English barons had had estates in both countries, and the consequent division of their interests made it hard for them to become good Englishmen. They had now to choose between France and England. Those who had their main estates in England lost their Norman possessions, so that their sole interests were for the future on this side of the channel. Thus the separation of the kingdom and the duchy was another step forward in the growth of English unity and English national feeling. The Norman aristocracy of England had no longer any reason for acting otherwise than as Englishmen.

6. In 1205 Hubert Walter, the wise archbishop of Canterbury, died. His death removed a powerful check from the king, and a dispute about the succession soon led John into a fierce conflict with the Church. The right of electing any bishop rested with the chapter of his cathedral, and the Benedictine monks of the cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, had an undoubted legal claim to choose the new archbishop. But the monks were apt to take a narrow view of their duty, and to forget that the selection of the head of the English Church was a business that concerned the whole country. As a matter of fact, the king had always a large share in deciding who was to be archbishop, and the tendency was to reduce what was called the canonical election by the chapter to the mere form

The disputed election at Canterbury, 1205.

of the monks accepting the king's nominee. On this occasion, however, the monks of Christ Church could not agree among each other or with the king. The younger brethren, thinking of the interests of their monastery, rather than the interests of the Church as a whole, elected as archbishop their sub-prior Reginald, a boastful and commonplace monk, with no claim to so distinguished an office. They did not ask John's permission to proceed to election, and made their choice in the utmost secrecy. They sent Reginald to Rome to get the *pallium* from the pope, and told him to say nothing about their action. Reginald, however, was so pleased with his new dignity that he could not keep it to himself. News of the monks' hasty choice soon reached John, who in great anger ordered the chapter to choose one of his ministers, John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was a mere politician. Some of the monks consented to do this from fear of the king, and soon Grey also was urging the pope to give him the *pallium* as the rightly elected archbishop.

7. As supreme head of the Church the popes had long claimed a voice in the appointment of the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries. A disputed election such as this always gave them a special opportunity of interfering with effect. The Roman see was now held by Innocent III., who was perhaps the most powerful of all the popes of the Middle Ages. He was eager to extend his influence in every direction, and being a high-minded and honourable man, was anxious that the best possible person should become archbishop of Canterbury. He soon convinced himself that both Reginald and John were unfit for so great a burden. He summoned representatives of the chapter to Rome, and advised them to pass over both candidates and make a fresh election. He recommended them to choose Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, and a famous theologian, who was then living at Rome as a cardinal of the Roman Church. The monks could not resist papal pressure, and elected Langton. Thereupon Innocent gave him the *pallium*, and consecrated him bishop with his own hands.

Innocent III. procures Langton's appointment, 1207.

8. Langton was likely to be a much better archbishop than the foolish monk and the greedy worldling respectively favoured by chapter and king. But however wise Innocent's appointment was, it was a dangerous thing that the head of the English Church should be forced upon the country by the pope, and wiser kings than John might well have hesitated to accept the nomination from Rome. There is no need however, to

Quarrel of John and Innocent III.

suppose that deep motives of policy and a high-minded desire to resist papal aggression moved John to resist Innocent's nominee. John's sole wish was to get as archbishop a dependant who would help him to plunder and oppress the Church. But, whatever his motives, he would not give way to the pope, and as Innocent was equally unbending, a fierce conflict broke out between them. Meanwhile the church of Canterbury remained vacant, for Innocent would not recognize Grey, and John would not allow Langton to enter the country. After a year Innocent put England under an interdict. An *interdict* was one of the severest punishments which the Church could inflict. By it all public worship was forbidden; churches were closed; no bell was tolled; the dead were buried in unconsecrated ground without any religious rites; it was a favour that the dying were admitted to the last sacraments, and baptism allowed to the newborn child. Men thought that God's favour was withdrawn from a land under interdict, and in that age of faith the loss of the consolations of the Church was a thing grievous to be borne. John, who was as godless as William Rufus, cared little for the interdict. He was strong enough to force many of the clergy to continue their services and ignore the pope's orders. Those priests who observed the interdict were driven into banishment. A year passed by, and John remained as obstinate as ever. In 1209 Innocent *excommunicated* John; that is to say, he refused to allow him to participate in any of the services of the Church. The king was as careless of excommunication as he had been of the interdict, and Innocent was forced to seek a more effective weapon against him. As head of the Church the pope had long claimed the power of declaring that princes who were foes to the Church had ceased to reign over their dominions. By virtue of this Innocent had already deposed John's nephew, Otto. In 1212 he declared that if John resisted any longer he would deprive him of his throne. Innocent called upon John's enemy, Philip II., who was now a close friend of the papacy, to execute the sentence. Philip willingly accepted the commission, and prepared to invade England.

The Interdict, 1208.

John's excommunication, 1209.

9. John was seriously alarmed, and sought to buy off the pope's hostility by an offer to accept Langton as archbishop. Innocent insisted on a more abject submission, and John, in despair, yielded to all his demands. In 1213 there came to Dover a papal envoy named Pandulf, appointed to reconcile John to the Church if he

John's submission to Innocent, 1213.

fulfilled the hard conditions imposed upon him. John agreed to recognize Langton as archbishop, to restore to their benefices the partisans of the pope whom he had banished, and to surrender his crown to the triumphant pope. Two days later he received it back again from Pandulf, on promising to be the pope's vassal for the future. Like any other feudal vassal, he took an oath of fealty to Innocent as to his suzerain, and performed the humiliating act of homage to the pope's representative. Moreover, he agreed to pay henceforth a tribute of 1000 marks a year to the Roman see.

10. Thus John became the vassal of the pope, as Richard had become the vassal of the emperor. To the men of the time there seemed little that was humiliating in both acts; to moderns both seem equally disgraceful. As regards their consequences, there was all the difference in the world between the two surrenders. The emperor's power was small, and constantly growing less. He had no means of enforcing his lordship over England, so that Richard's surrender was a mere form which even the emperor did not care to revive, and which was soon forgotten. The pope had more influence in every country in western Europe than the king, and he had in the clergy permanent agents of his will. To the enormous ecclesiastical authority exercised by the pope in England after the Norman conquest was now added political supremacy as overlord. Henceforth England was regarded as depending on Rome in the same way that Gascony depended on France, or Wales on England. John, however, thought little of the ultimate consequences of his act, for to him it was but a move in the game. Henceforth he had the pope on his side, and having by his surrender stopped the French invasion, he was in a position to renew the attacks on France, which ended so disastrously, as we have seen, at La Roche au Moine and Bouvines. Luckily he was turned from this purpose by a quarrel with his subjects.

John becomes the vassal of the Papacy.

11. From his accession John had ruled England capriciously and tyrannically, and had offended many of the most powerful of his barons. It was, however, no new thing for king and nobles to be at variance. Since the days of the conquest the king always relied upon his people as a whole to support him against aristocratic revolt. But times had changed since the reign of Henry II. Cut off from Normandy, the barons now thought mainly of England, and were rapidly forgetting the feudal tradition which had made it the ambition of each one of them to be a little king over his own

The breach between John and his barons.

estate. The baronial leaders were still turbulent and selfish in their policy, but their object was henceforward not to upset the central government so much as to take a prominent share in its administration. Their aims were henceforward so far national that there was no reason why Englishmen should not support them. Moreover, John had ruled so badly that the people might well support any party which aimed at reducing his authority.

12. John's excessive demands for foreign service first fired the indignation of his barons. In 1213 many refused to follow him to Poitou, and in 1214 the same magnates declined to pay a scutage which he demanded. While the king was abroad the barons met in council, and Langton laid before them Henry I.'s charter of liberties, and advised them to obtain a similar document from John. Up to 1213 the prudent rule of the justiciar, Fitz Peter, had partly checked John's tyranny; but the justiciar now died, and John, with characteristic ingratitude, rejoiced at the removal of the restraint which Geoffrey had imposed upon him. During John's long absence abroad the barons organized resistance. When he returned in 1214, he came back disgraced and vanquished. Finding that there was no chance of exacting concessions by peaceful means, the barons took arms and went to war against their sovereign. Every one now deserted John, save a few faithful nobles like William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, who believed that they were bound to support the king, even when he was a bad one. John's main reliance was upon his foreign favourites and mercenary soldiers imported from abroad to overawe his kingdom. With such backing it was impossible for John to hold out long against his subjects, and he soon yielded as abjectly to his barons as he had formerly surrendered to the pope. On June 15, 1215, he met the baronial leaders at a meadow on the banks of the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, called Runnymede. There he sealed the articles of submission which the barons had drawn up for his acceptance.

Progress of the quarrel, 1213-1215.

13. This document is famous as *Magna Carta*, or the Great Charter, and is justly regarded as marking the beginnings of English liberty. From the conquest to this date the Norman kings had reigned as despots. The union of all classes against John now forced the king to agree that his authority should be limited. The clauses of the charter were to some extent modelled on that of Henry I., but there was a great difference between a charter granted with the king's goodwill and a charter imposed on a reluctant king at the point of the sword.

The Great Charter, 1215.

Moreover, the charter of 1215 was a much fuller document than that of 1100. It contained few novelties, but clearly stated the customs of the realm in the days of Henry II. It promised freedom to the English Church, and especially freedom to chapters to elect their bishops. A large number of clauses carefully limited the rights of the crown to exact feudal dues from the barons, and the barons were similarly required to treat their own tenants leniently. London and the towns were to have their liberties preserved; merchants had freedom to trade in times of peace. No new aids or taxes were to be levied by the king without the consent of the great council of barons. Justice was to be denied to no man, and no freeman was to be imprisoned or outlawed, save according to the judgment of his peers and the law of the land.

14. John accepted the barons' demands without the least intention of keeping his word. His object was to gain time, and, as soon as he could, he repudiated his promise. He persuaded Innocent III. that the charter was against the interests of the Roman Church because it reduced the power of the pope's vassal. In consequence of this Innocent issued a bull declaring the document invalid. John then raised an army of foreign mercenaries, and went to war against the barons. For once he showed energy and activity. Before long he pressed the nobles so hard that they were forced to call in foreign aid. They requested Louis of France, who had defeated John at La Roche au Moine, to come over and help them and be their king. Louis at once accepted their offer, and landed in England. Even with his aid the barons had still a hard task before them. The pope excommunicated Louis, and few of the clergy dared to support him, while many of the officials of the school of Henry II. faithfully rallied round the king. However, on October 19, 1216, John died suddenly in the midst of the struggle. He was the worst of English monarchs, and his persistent ill fortune was entirely his own fault. It was no wonder that men called him, in shame, John Lackland. With him the Norman despotism came to an end. It had done its work in making England peaceable and united, and was no longer needed.

Renewal of the war of king and barons.

Death of John, 1216.

CHAPTER VIII

FEUDAL BRITAIN

1. The chief results of the Norman conquest were to stimulate the energy of England, to promote its unity, and to break down the wall of separation that had hitherto divided it from the rest of the world. In a lesser degree the Normans exercised a similar influence over the non-English parts of the British Islands. They made English-speaking Scotland a feudal land as much as England. Though their influence was more superficial in Celtic districts, they made their power felt in Celtic Scotland, in Wales, and in Ireland. Reduced to a common subjection under their restless and masterful Norman lords, the Irish and the Welsh, like the English, lost something of their ancient freedom, and were for the first time brought into more than nominal dependence upon an English king. Thus the Norman conquest, which finally brought about the union of England, did much to prepare the way for the later union of the British Isles. While, however, Norman and Englishman were amalgamated by the twelfth century into a single people, Celtic tribalism and Norman feudalism lay too far asunder to be capable of fusion. It resulted from this that Norman influence over Celtic lands ever remained what it originally was in England—that is, the rule of the alien based simply upon military force. For that reason it was more superficial than was the case in England. Nevertheless, the history of the British Islands would have been very different had there not been Norman conquests of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, as well as of England. To all these countries alike the conquest marks the chief turning-point of their history.

The importance of the Norman conquest for all Britain.

2. We have seen how the Norman kings completed the establishment of the feudal system of land tenure in England. In so doing, they brought our country into line with the general civilization of that mediæval Europe of which England soon became one of the important powers. Henceforward the isolation of Anglo-Saxon England was replaced by openness to new ideas, and

constant participation in all the great movements of the time. While Anglo-Saxon England lived its life apart in sluggish indifference to the world beyond, Norman and Angevin England stood in the forefront of every great European movement. Its kings were as powerful across the sea as in Britain. Its feudal institutions were those of the western world. Its knights lived the same life and fought after the same fashion as the warriors of the continent. Englishmen took their full share in the crusades and the other international movements of the time. This communion of sympathy was even greater in the domain of ideas than in the world of action. We shall see this in detail when we study the new position of the English Church.

Increased dealings between Britain and the continent.

3. The vital fact of the Norman and Angevin periods was the permanent establishment of the centralized despotism of the king. The only real checks to the caprice of the monarch were the nobles and great ecclesiastics, and even these had little power to control the king, save by directly waging war against him. The place of the *Witenagemot* as the council of the nation was now taken by the *Great Council*, which did not differ very greatly from it in constitution or powers. It was composed, during the twelfth century, of all the tenants in chief of the crown, but in practice only the more important tenants were in the habit of attending it. It agreed to new laws and to extraordinary taxes; but, like the Witenagemot, it seems seldom or never to have ventured to resist the wishes of a strong king. Even more under the monarch's control were the courts composed of officials appointed by him, such as the *Curia Regis* and the *Exchequer*, of which we have spoken elsewhere. In both of them the chief ministers of the crown had seats. Besides the *Justiciar*, the regent in the king's absence, and the prime minister when he was in England, the king's chief ministers were the *Chancellor*, who was a sort of secretary, issuing all writs and documents, and the *Treasurer*, who controlled the finances. It was generally thought best to give these offices to ecclesiastics, who were better educated than laymen, and were not able to hand on their powers to their families. The offices of state, held by lay lords, such as the military dignities of *Marshal* and *Constable*, became hereditary.

The king and the Great Council.

4. The local courts of the *Shire* and *Hundred* were still continued. Though the feudal courts of the great landlords often usurped the jurisdiction of the hundred, the shire moot remained a strong body, though it also became in practice a court of the

landlords. The circuit and jury system of Henry II. brought it into close relations with the central government, and the kings found it very useful as a means of raising money and of ascertaining public opinion. The immense revenue of the crown was mainly derived by taxes on land. It was collected by the *Sheriffs* of the shires, who went twice a year to the Exchequer at Westminster to present their accounts and pay over the money they had raised. They were the chief agents of the king in dealing with the local government, and had much more power and importance than before the conquest.

Local government.

5. Great as were the changes brought about by Norman influence, the vast majority of Englishmen still lived a life not very different from that of their ancestors before the conquest. Land remained the chief source of wealth, and nearly everybody depended on agriculture for his livelihood. Like the Anglo-Saxon thegns, the Norman nobles owed their importance to their being possessors of large landed estates. Though the kings looked with suspicion upon the political ambitions of the barons, they put no obstacles in the way of the accumulation of great estates under a single hand. War, however, and the unhealthy conditions of life made the duration of a baronial house extremely short. By the beginning of the thirteenth century there were few Norman houses left which could boast an uninterrupted descent from those who came over with the Conqueror. This was particularly the case with the *earldoms*, whose possessors still formed a small and powerful class at the head of the aristocracy. Next to them came the *greater barons*, who included all tenants in chief important enough to be summoned to the king's council by a special writ. By the thirteenth century, these were not more than a hundred in number. The *lesser barons* were the tenants in chief, who were called to the king's councils by general writs addressed to the sheriff of each county. They ultimately became combined with the mesne tenants, to form the lesser nobility, or knighthood, which plays in mediæval history the same part as that taken by the country gentry of more modern times. Properly, a *knight* was a fully armed and mounted soldier who had been solemnly admitted to the use of arms by his older and tried comrades. The greatest kings and soldiers were proud to be dubbed knight by some famous warrior; but every landowner of a fair-sized estate was, by the thirteenth century, compelled by the king to become a knight, so that a knight often meant simply a smaller landlord.

Earls, barons, and knights.

6. The estates of the nobles and gentry were divided into

manors, which were all much of the same type. Each manor had its *lord*, who controlled all the land and exercised jurisdiction in his *manorial court* over his tenants. Sometimes the lord had special rights of jurisdiction, as, for example, the trial of criminals. In this case, he also held a *court-leet*, in which these powers were exercised. If the lord were a great man, he held many manors scattered all over England, and was in consequence seldom in residence. His *steward*, or representative, then acted on his behalf, while in any case his *bailiff* looked after the details of cultivation and the management of the estate. There was probably a hall where the lord could reside with his family and servants. The land was divided into two parts. First, there was the *demesne*, or home farm of the lord, which was cultivated by his bailiff for him, by the help of the villagers, who were compelled to work on their lord's estate for a certain number of days in the year. The rest of the manor was divided among the villagers, most of whom belonged to the *villein* class. The villeins were serfs, bound to the soil, who could not move from the estate of their lord. In some ways they were not badly off. Each had his cottage and little patch of ground, from which he could not be turned off so long as he performed the services of his lord. Though they had no luxuries, the villeins seem to have had in ordinary times plenty of meat, bread, and ale, and enough warm woollen clothing to keep out the cold. They were, however, exposed to the caprice of their lords, and, though not called upon to perform military service, were the first to suffer whenever war broke out. Though the Norman conquest increased the number of villeins, there was this compensation—that the absolute slavery which was common in early England died out during the Norman period.

The manorial system

The villeins.

7. There was little variety in the cultivation of the soil. The ploughs were heavy, and were drawn by several yoke of oxen. The old succession of corn-crops and fallow still went on. The lands tilled by the tenants were not grouped together in compact holdings, but were scattered in long narrow strips all over the manor. This was also the case with the lord's demesne. In most other ways the Anglo-Saxon system was continued. There was still a large extent of common land, and after harvest any tenant could still pasture his cattle on the arable fields. The farmer's object was still to raise enough corn and meat to keep himself and his family through the winter. Though trade and markets were becoming more important, there

Manorial husbandry.

was little intercourse between various districts. The establishment of the strong Norman despotism greatly added to the happiness of the ordinary man, who could till his fields and go about his business in comparative safety.

Towns and trade.

8. Towns and trade received an immense impetus as a result of the Norman conquest. Towns not only became bigger and richer; they ceased to be mainly the homes of husbandmen or refugees in time of war, and henceforth were centres of trade and industry. The merchants of the chief towns formed societies called *Merchant-guilds*, and in many places the merchant-guild secured a monopoly of trade for its members, as well as virtual control of the government of the borough. The Norman trader was as restless and energetic as the Norman soldier, and since Edward the Confessor's days many Normans had settled down in English towns, and actively busied themselves in commerce. The father of St. Thomas of Canterbury was, for example, a Norman who had established himself in London and won a high position for himself in the city. After the conquest *Jews* began to take up their abode in the greater English towns, and made much profit for themselves as money-lenders. In this business the Jews had a practical monopoly, since the law of the Church forbade all Christians to lend money on usury. They were unpopular, and were often cruelly persecuted. They were forced to wear a distinctive dress, and live in a special part of the town, called a *Jewry*. But they generally enjoyed the king's protection, because they could afford to pay heavily for it. Gradually they obtained special laws, courts, and recognized customs of their own. They were much richer than the Christians, and were among the first private people who built stone houses to live in.

The Jews.

London and other chief towns.

9. Even before the conquest London was the most important town in England. From Edward the Confessor's time onward, the court made Westminster its chief centre, and it followed from this that London gradually became a recognized capital. It received many liberties by royal charters, of which the most important was one issued by Henry I. Its citizens took an active part in politics, and their zeal in supporting Stephen and in opposing John were especially noteworthy. Under Richard I. London obtained the right of choosing its own mayor, and was henceforth self-governing in every respect. The country towns were contented to obtain from the king charters which extended to them privileges which were already possessed by the Londoners. Conspicuous among them were York, the capital of the north;

Exeter, the chief town of the west; Bristol, the most important port after London; and Norwich, the leading manufacturing city. Among the ports, those of the south-east coast were particularly conspicuous. They were called the *Cinque Ports*, because they were originally five in number. They formed a confederation among themselves, and showed great activity. When war arose, the ships of the Cinque Ports formed a large part of the royal navy. The most famous of them was Dover, the chief port of passage between England and the continent. As the Norman power was extended over Wales and Ireland, towns grew up for the first time in those countries under the protection of the Norman lords. Despite the great development of town life, the English were still not very energetic in commerce. What foreign trade there was remained in the hands of foreigners. It was for that reason that the Great Charter laid special stress upon protecting foreign merchants, and giving them free access to England in peace time.

10. Life was still simple, primitive, and hard. Even the king and the great nobles had no high standard of comfort. There was little money in the country, and a great man could only support his numerous train of followers by wandering ceaselessly from one of his estates to another. When the produce of one estate was eaten up, the magnate went on to the next, for it was easier for men to move about than it was for produce to be carried for long distances. Kings and nobles were thus forced to change their abode so often that it was never worth while to collect much furniture or make their dwellings comfortable. Houses were still mainly built of wood, and the castles, erected for military purposes, were cramped and dark places to live in. There was much dirt and overcrowding among most orders of society, and only the great had any chance of privacy. Men huddled together to sleep in the same room in which they lived or ate. There were few amusements, and scanty means of keeping out the cold of winter.

Fashions of living.

11. Despite these disadvantages, the Normans brought in a more refined way of living than that which had prevailed before the conquest. They cooked their food more delicately, and despised the gross feeding and heavy drinking of the English. They also brought in new methods of dress, which were especially exemplified by the profligate dandies of William Rufus's court, whose rich mantles, embroidered tunics, and long shoes, curling up to a point, were bitterly denounced by Anselm and the zealous ecclesiastics. Normans cut their hair short.

Food and dress.

and shaved their faces, so that to the English they all looked like priests. Married women wore a wimple and veil, and dressed very much as nuns still do. Unmarried women and men went bare-headed, though in stormy weather travellers would protect themselves by low round hats. Foreign luxuries were more common than formerly, and furs were used by the wealthy of both sexes. The weapons and armour of warriors long remained similar to those used by the Normans in the battle of Hastings. By the twelfth century horses as well as men-at-arms were protected by armour. The knight's *hauberk* of chain-mail was supplemented by other trappings to protect him better from attack. The helmet, hitherto open, save for a *nasal*, protecting the nose, became an elaborate structure, closed by a grating, or *visor*, with holes for the eyes and mouth. Under the helmet was worn a skull-cap of steel, covered by a hood of mail, protecting the head and neck.

12. The towns and villages were still rude collections of wooden and mud huts, but great care was taken in the erection of castles, churches, and monasteries. The first Norman *castles* were hastily built structures of wood, raised upon a lofty artificial mound of earth, which was surrounded by a deep ditch and defended by a thick palisade. Soon stone castles began to be erected. These were of two types. In both, the defences centred round a great tower, called the *keep*. Sometimes the keep was a *high square tower* built of solid stone with walls of enormous thickness, and roofed either with wood or by vaults of stone, so that the whole area within its walls served for habitation or storage. Sometimes the keep was more lightly erected on the top of an artificial mound of earth, which was not strong enough to bear the ponderous weight of the former variety. This latter species was called the *shell-keep*, and was often hexagonal or polygonal in shape. In this the exterior wall of the tower served only as a curtain, and the buildings were roughly erected in wood or stone within its area. The *White Tower* of the Tower of London, and Rochester Castle, are famous instances of the square keep, while the keeps of Lincoln and Carisbrooke exemplify the shell-keep. In each type of castle there were exterior defences, enclosing a wide area by stone walls, high earthworks, and deep ditches filled with water. Later on, the Norman builders sometimes erected round, instead of square keeps, as, for example, at Pembroke, or at Conisborough, near Doncaster, in Yorkshire, where the huge round tower is further strengthened by buttresses, and its interior is richly fitted up and adorned. Wherever the Normans went they

Norman castles.

built their fortresses, so that the march of Wales, even more than England, became pre-eminently a land of castles. The famous Château Gaillard, built by Richard I. in Normandy, was the most elaborate castle of its day (see ground plan on page 135), and prepares the way for the magnificent and complicated fortresses of the thirteenth century.

13. The *Norman style of architecture*, roughly illustrated by their military buildings, attained its richer and more artistic development in the solemn and mighty churches which the piety of the new-comers erected in every part of the land. Edward the Confessor's abbey of Westminster shows that this fashion had begun before the conquest. The removal of the cathedrals from the country to the great towns, and the wonderful development of monastic life which followed the conquest, gave many opportunities for erecting Norman churches in every part of England. The nave of Durham Cathedral, completed by Ranulf Flambard, and the cathedral of Norwich, erected by bishop Herbert of Losinga, represent the earlier Norman type; while the naves of the cathedrals of Peterborough and Ely illustrate the richer Norman of the twelfth century. Both are characterized by the prevalence of the round arch and by massive solemnity of proportion, while in the later examples there is much barbaric richness of decoration. They belong to the *Romanesque* type of architecture which the Romans bequeathed to all Europe.

Norman churches.

14. The Romanesque builders were unable to erect vaults of stone over large or high buildings. About the middle of the twelfth century successful experiments in the art of vaulting large spaces resulted in the *Gothic* style of architecture, which began to replace the Romanesque. The earliest Gothic buildings were erected in France. There was no sudden change from the old to the newer style. Gothic grew gradually out of the older Romanesque, and we can trace, especially in the buildings of Henry II.'s time, how the one style fades into the other. Examples of the transition are to be seen in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, built by a French architect soon after the murder of St. Thomas, and in the great abbeys erected to accommodate the Cistercian and other new orders, conspicuous instances of which are the picturesque ruins of Fountains or Kirkstall in Yorkshire. In these round arches, after the Norman fashion, are found side by side with the pointed arch of the later style. The Gothic vault is largely employed, and the general structure is lighter and more masterly than that of the

The beginnings of Gothic architecture.

Norman builders. When the Gothic style had attained its full proportions, the pointed arch replaced the round Norman arch. The first truly Gothic building erected in England was the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, built by its bishop. St. Hugh, at the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

15. We have already seen that a remarkable development of monastic life followed the Norman conquest. In the abbey of Battle, erected on the site of his victory over Harold, the Conqueror set a model which his followers faithfully adopted. New monasteries rose up all over the land, and many French houses of religion received great estates in England. At first the new abbeys all followed the rule of St. Benedict. Early in the twelfth century fresh monastic types were brought from the continent into England. Conspicuous among these were the *Cistercians*, or *White Monks*, who sought to save themselves from the temptations of the Benedictine houses by extreme asceticism of life, by withdrawing from the haunts of man and setting up their abbeys in the wilderness, and by eschewing all pomp and ornament even in the conduct of Divine worship and the building of their habitations and churches. For this reason the Cistercian monks chose for their abodes remote districts, such as the hills of Yorkshire and the mountains of Wales. About the same time there came to England the *Canons Regular*, who, while living the life of monks, strove to do also the work of clerks, and busied themselves with teaching and preaching as well as with meditation and prayer. Another new monastic type was that of the *Military Orders*, which were set up as the result of the Crusades. The chief of these were the knights of the Temple and the knights of St. John. These orders lived, when at peace, the life of the canons regular, but their special mission was to fight the heathen and the infidel, and in particular to defend the sepulchre of Christ from the assaults of the Mohammedans. In them the two great types of the Middle Ages, the warrior and the monk, were curiously combined. All these new orders took deep root in England, notably during the anarchy of Stephen's days, when men, despairing of this world, were fain to turn to the cloister for refuge. As a result of the monastic movement, a great religious revival arose. Even more conspicuously important than those in England were the monastic and religious movements which followed in the train of Norman influence in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In these

New monastic movements.

Cistercians.

Canons Regular.

And Military Orders.

lands the Norman priests and monks eradicated the last traces of the ancient independence of the Celtic churches, and brought in the Roman types of ecclesiastical life, organization, and art, for which they had already secured a paramount position in England.

16. The twelfth century saw the best results of the improvements in government and civilization and the revival of religion which followed upon the Norman conquest. The life of learning and study again became possible. At first the chief teachers and students came, like Lanfranc and Anselm, from the monasteries. Before long, however, the love of knowledge spread to secular clerks, and even to laymen. Masters or teachers collected round them bands of eager students of philosophy, philology, and literature. So numerous did these groups of teachers and students become that permanent schools grew up at various centres. Before long the teachers in each place became an organized society or corporation, with special privileges and strong position. These organized schools were called *Universities*, a word which means simply a corporation. The most famous university in the west was that of Paris, to which students flocked from every part of Europe. In the course of the reign of Henry II. an English university arose at Oxford, one of the most important towns of the south midlands. It was not, however, until the thirteenth century that the universities became fully organized and played a great part in the history of thought and learning. As time went on, even the households of kings and great nobles became centres of study and intellectual interest. Robert of Gloucester, as we have seen, did much for historical learning in his day. The court of Henry II. was a famous home of intellectual activity and literary composition.

The Twelfth Century Renaissance and the beginnings of Universities.

17. Latin was still the universal language of scholars, the clergy, and statesmen. In it all serious books were written, and all legal documents, state papers, and diplomatic correspondence drawn up. It was the everyday speech of clergy and scholars, and all lectures at the universities were given in it. Most of the best writing set forth by Englishmen was in this tongue, notably the chronicles and histories, which during the twelfth century attained a high level of thought and style, as is shown by William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh, Roger of Hoveden, and many others. Men read the Latin classics eagerly, and based their style upon them, as was notably the case with William of Malmesbury. Even a great romancer like

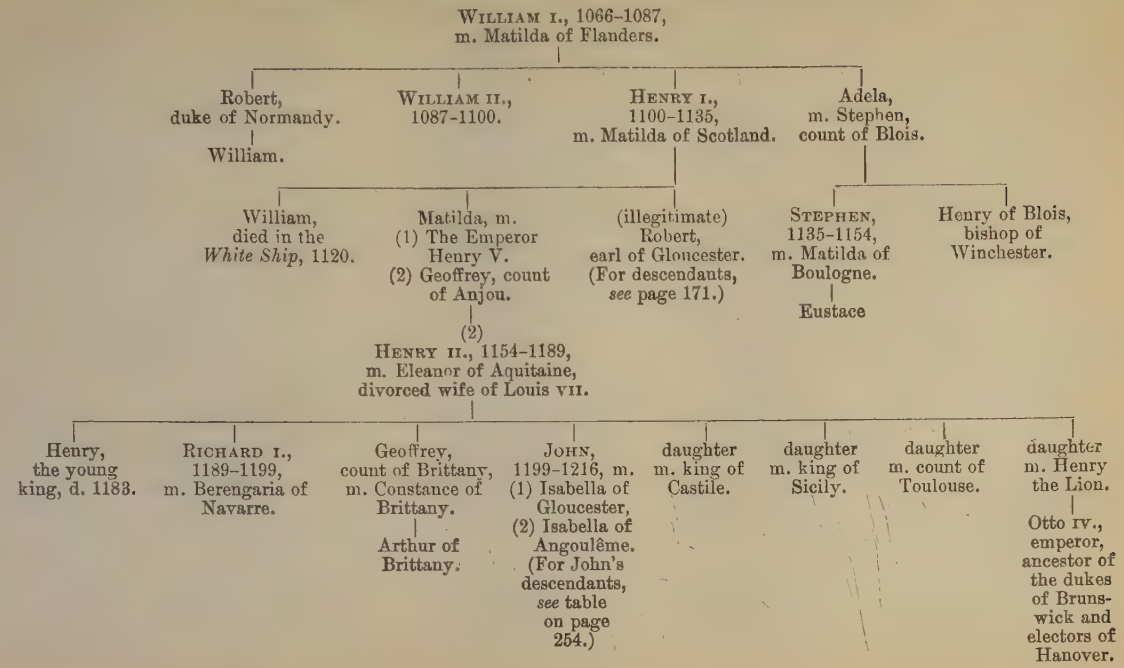
Latin literature.

Geoffrey of Monmouth composed his book in Latin, and gave it out to be a serious history.

18. The English tongue was not much affected in form or vocabulary by the Norman conquest. The effect of the coming of the Norman was, however, that fewer books were written in it. For example, the *English Chronicle*, which had been kept up since Alfred's days in some of the great monasteries, was after the conquest continued at Peterborough only, and ceased even there by the end of the reign of Stephen. Latin was now used where English had often been employed earlier. English lost even more ground, however, as a spoken tongue than as a written language. The Normans brought French with them, and down to the thirteenth century French continued to be the ordinary vernacular speech of the court, the nobles, and the mass of the landed classes. The lighter popular literature, which was written to amuse lords and ladies, was henceforth largely composed in French also. The result was that English became the spoken language of peasants and the poor. There was no longer a literary standard, such as that which has been set at the West Saxon court, and everybody spoke and wrote in the dialect of his native district. There were *three chief dialects*, corresponding roughly to the three Anglo-Saxon great kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Of these, the *southern dialect* was the most like the old English of the West Saxon court. The *northern dialect* was marked by a certain number of Danish and Norwegian words. It was the beginning of the Lowland Scots of a later age, as well as of the popular dialects of the north of England. The *midland dialect* is more important to us, because it is the source of the standard English which all write and speak nowadays. In all these varieties there was a movement towards the cutting down of cases and inflexions, and the simplification of grammatical forms, so that the language—now called *Middle English*—forms a sort of bridge between the old English of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman days and the modern English which we now use.

English and French literature.

GENEALOGY OF THE NORMAN AND EARLY ANGEVIN KINGS


William I., 1066–1087, m. Matilda of Flanders.
Robert, duke of Normandy.
William.
William II., 1087–1100.
Henry I., 1100–1135, m. Matilda of Scotland.
Adela, m. Stephen, count of Blois.
William, died in the White Ship, 1120.
Matilda, m. (1) The Emperor Henry V. (2) Geoffrey, count of Anjou.
(illegitimate) Robert, earl of Gloucester. (For descendants, see page 171.)
Stephen, 1135–1154, m. Matilda of Boulogne.
Eustace
Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester.
(2) Henry II., 1154–1189, m. Eleanor of Aquitaine, divorced wife of Louis VII.
Henry, the young king, d. 1183.
Richard I., 1189–1199, m. Berengaria of Navarre.
Geoffrey, count of Brittany, m. Constance of Brittany.
Arthur of Brittany.
John, 1199–1216, m. (1) Isabella of Gloucester, (2) Isabella of Angoulême. (For John's descendants, see table on page 254.)
daughter m. king of Castile.
daughter m. king of Sicily.
daughter m. count of Toulouse.
daughter m. Henry the Lion.
Otto IV., emperor, ancestor of the dukes of Brunswick and electors of Hanover.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF BOOK II., 1066-1216.

Good detailed accounts of the history of the whole period can be found in H. W. C. Davis' *England under the Normans and Angevins*, and in G. B. Adams' *History of England*, 1066-1215 (Longmans' "Political History of England," vol. iii.). Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. chaps. ix. to xiii., contains the most authoritative account of the constitutional development of the period. Some important criticisms and amendments of Stubbs are given in C. Petit-Dutaillis *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs*, i. v.-xii. Useful biographies of important characters are Freeman's *William the Conqueror* and Mrs. J. R. Green's *Henry II.*, both in Macmillan's "Twelve English Statesmen series." R. W. Church's *Life of St. Anselm* gives a picturesque delineation of the life and times of the greatest English churchman of the period, and the story of Becket can be read in J. Morris' *Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket*. For general Church history, W. R. W. Stephens' *History of the English Church*, 1066-1272, is useful, and Miss Kate Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings* and *John Lackland* are valuable from the accession of Henry II. onwards, and Stubbs' *Early Plantagenets* (Longmans' "Epochs of Modern History") gives a masterly account of the Angevin period on a small scale. T. A. Archer's *Crusade of Richard I.* sets forth from translated extracts of contemporary writers a good account of the Third Crusade. Miss Mary Bateson's *Mediæval England*, 1066-1350, parts i. and ii., give an admirable picture of the social life of the period. Barnard's *Companion to English History* (Middle Ages) contains a series of useful articles on trade, social life, architecture, warfare, art, learning, etc. Map xvii. (England and Wales in 1086) in *Oxford Historical Atlas* is of importance for the study of British historical geography. For Irish history, G. H. Orpen's *Ireland under the Normans*, or more briefly, A. G. Richey's *Short History of the Irish People*; for Welsh history, J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, vol. ii.; and for Scottish history, P. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, i. 1-130, or Skene's *Celtic Scotland*.

BOOK III

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ENGLISH NATION (1216–1399)

CHAPTER I

HENRY III. (1216–1272)

Chief dates:

1216. Accession of Henry III.
1217. Battle of Lincoln.
1219. Death of William Marshall.
1232. Fall of Hubert de Burgh.
1242. Battle of Taillebourg.
1248. Simon of Montfort, governor of Gascony.
1258. Provisions of Oxford.
1259. Treaty of Paris.
1264. Battle of Lewes.
1265. Montfort's Parliament and the Battle of Evesham.
1267. Treaty of Shrewsbury.
1272. Death of Henry III.

1. John's eldest son was only nine years old at his father's death, but the dead king's friends at once proclaimed him as Henry III. Gualo, the pope's legate, procured for him the support of the Church, and showed that John's surrender to the pope was a reality by taking on himself the supreme direction of the kingdom. Gualo worked in close harmony with the leader of Henry's English partisans, William Marshall, an aged baron of unblemished honour, who had married Strongbow's daughter, and thus become earl of Pembroke and lord of Strongbow's great possessions in Wales and Ireland. Pembroke was appointed *Ruler of the King and Kingdom*, a title which was practically equivalent to that of regent. The prudent measures taken by Gualo and Pembroke soon began to increase the party of the

The conflict between William Marshall and Louis of France, 1216, 1217.

little king. The rebellious barons had taken up arms to secure the privileges contained in the Great Charter. Reversing the policy of Innocent III., Gualo now allowed Pembroke to issue a confirmation of the charter in Henry's name. This wise step cut the ground from under the feet of the partisans of Louis. Those who had hated John the most had no ill will to the monarchy, and the innocent boy on the throne was in nowise responsible for the crimes of his father. Gradually the friends of Louis fell away from him and declared for Henry. The feeling grew that it was a dangerous thing for England to be ruled by a prince who would one day be king of France; but the chief thing that weighed with the deserters was their knowledge that the pope and the Church had declared against Louis. Even Philip II. of France dared not give any help to his son, because he was afraid of provoking a quarrel with the pope. In these circumstances Louis steadily lost ground. In 1217 Marshall defeated him in a pitched battle in the streets of Lincoln. Later on in the year a fleet sailed from France, bringing him reinforcements; but Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, met the French fleet off Sandwich, and utterly destroyed it. It was useless for Louis to persevere any longer. In September, 1217, he made the treaty of Lambeth with William Marshall, by which he agreed to leave England. No sooner had he gone than Magna Carta was once more reissued, in what was substantially its permanent form. Besides this, a *Forest Charter* was also published by the king, which mitigated the severity of Henry II.'s Assize of Woodstock, and laid down the great principle that no man was to lose life or limb for breach of the forest laws.

The Battle of Lincoln, and the Treaty of Lambeth, 1217.

2. William Marshall continued to rule England till his death in 1219. He had put an end to the civil war and restored the monarchy, but he did not venture to interfere with the supremacy of the pope, and was much hampered by the fact that he was obliged to trust the greedy foreigners who had been the chief supporters of John. On his death no new regent was appointed. At first the pope's legate practically acted as regent. The legate was now that Pandulf who had received John's submission in 1213. His constant interference in the details of government provoked much resentment in England, and at last Archbishop Langton went to Rome and persuaded the pope to recall him. From that time there was no regular papal legate in England, save

The rule of William Marshall, 1216-1219, and Hubert de Burgh, 1219-1232.

the archbishop of Canterbury himself. Langton henceforward did his best to restore peace and prosperity to England, and worked well with Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, who, after Pandulf's recall, was the chief ruler of England. Hubert was a capable and vigorous man; he made it his chief object to restore the system of strong rule which had prevailed under Henry II. Many difficulties stood in his way. During the long civil war the feudal party had revived, and Hubert, like Henry II., at his accession was obliged to put down adulterine castles and compel the nobles to obey the law. An even graver trouble arose from John's foreign friends. The chief of these were Peter des Roches, a native of Poitou, who was bishop of Winchester, and a mercenary soldier, Falkes of Bréauté, who had fought John's battles so well that the late king had given him enormous territories. In 1224 Falkes rose in revolt, but Hubert captured and destroyed his chief castle at Bedford and drove him into exile. With the fall of Falkes the reign of the foreigners was over, and the government of England again fell into English hands. Disgusted with his rival's success, Peter des Roches left England to go on crusade.

3. In 1227 the pope declared that Henry was old enough to govern his kingdom; and Langton died in 1228. Hubert continued to act as justiciar till 1232; but his severity raised up a host of enemies against him, and he gradually lost the support of the young king. At last Peter des Roches returned to England, and cleverly brought about his fall. Henry dismissed the faithful Hubert, and persecuted him with much ingratitude. Peter des Roches succeeded Hubert as justiciar, but held power for only two years. He gave the chief offices of the state to his friends and kinsfolk from Poitou, and soon excited the bitterest indignation among the English barons. Richard Marshall, earl of Pembroke, the son of the late regent, made himself the spokesman of the barons' discontent, and finally headed a revolt against the justiciar. Peter maliciously revenged himself by stirring up a rebellion against Richard in his Irish estates. Richard was forced to go to Ireland, where he was treacherously slain; but Henry was horrified when he heard of the justiciar's deceit, and was easily persuaded by Edmund Rich, a saintly scholar who had just become archbishop of Canterbury, to drive Peter and his Poitevins from office.

The fall of Hubert, 1232, and the rule of Peter des Roches, 1232-1234.

4. With the fall of the bishop of Winchester, the first period of Henry III.'s reign comes to an end. During all these years Henry had been either a minor or under the control of one powerful

mind which he could not easily resist. For eighteen years, then, the personal authority of the king was small. This circumstance helped to spread the notion of a limited monarchy, with which was combined the view that the natural helpers and advisers of the crown were the great barons who sat in the royal council. We already seem far away from the Angevin despotism. Though the charters were often broken in their details, the spirit of them had begun to enter into English political life.

Growth of limited monarchy.

5. With the fall of Peter des Roches, Henry III. personally undertook the government of the country. The king was resolved that henceforth he would submit to no master. He would be his own prime minister, holding in his own hands all the strings of policy, and acting through subordinates, whose duty was to carry out their master's orders. Under such a system the justiciarship practically ceased to exist, for Des Roches's successor, Stephen Segrave, was a mere lawyer who never aspired to be chief minister. Before long the justiciar had become a simple president of the law courts. Unluckily, Henry III. was not hard-working or possessed of sufficient strength of will to rule England effectively. He possessed, indeed, some noble and many attractive qualities; his private life was pure; his piety was sincere; he was well educated and loved fair churches, beautiful sculpture, and richly illuminated books. Born and brought up in England, he was proud of his English ancestors, was devoted to English saints, and gave his children English names like Edward and Edmund. Nevertheless, Henry showed less sympathy with English ways than many of his foreign predecessors. Too feeble to act for himself, too suspicious to trust his barons, he leant upon the support of foreign favourites and kinsmen. From 1234 to 1258 he sought to rule England through foreign dependants. The work of Hubert seemed altogether undone when swarm after swarm of aliens came from abroad, and obtained place and power beyond their deserts through the weak complacency of the king.

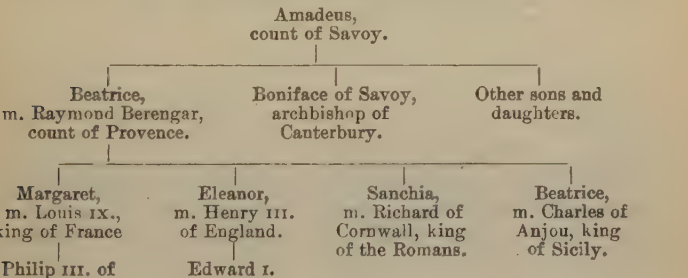
The personal rule of Henry III. 1234-1258.

6. The new alien invasion began soon after Henry's marriage in 1236 with Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence and sister to Margaret, wife of Louis IX., who in 1226 succeeded his father, Louis VIII., the sometime invader of England, to the French throne. Eleanor's mother was a daughter of the count of Savoy, and her numerous Savoyard uncles, having but a slender endowment in their own

The alien invasion. The Provençals and Savoyards.

mountain land, made their way to England to share King Henry's bounty. It soon became known that Henry was willing to welcome any attractive foreign adventurer of high birth, and many such flocked to the land of promise. Among them was Simon of Montfort, son of a famous Simon of Montfort who had been a chief instrument in extending North French and orthodox influence over the heretical *Albigenses* of southern France, and who had won for himself by his sword the county of Toulouse, and quickly lost it again. From his mother the elder Simon inherited a claim of the earldom of Leicester. The younger Simon persuaded his brothers to make over their pretensions to him, and went to England to demand the Leicester titles and estates. Henry recognized Simon as earl of Leicester, married him to his sister, and lavished on him many marks of favour.

THE PROVENÇALS AND SAVOYARDS


Amadeus, count of Savoy.
Beatrice, m. Raymond Berengar, count of Provence.
Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury.
Other sons and daughters.
Margaret, m. Louis IX., king of France
Philip III. of France.
Eleanor, m. Henry III. of England.
Edward I.
Sanchia, m. Richard of Cornwall, king of the Romans.
Beatrice, m. Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily.

7. Another foreign element that weighed with increasing force on England was the power of the pope. The successors of Innocent III. pressed still further the exalted claims of their predecessor. They declared that it was their right to appoint their nominees to any bishopric or benefice. At their caprice they issued what were called *papal provisions*, by which the rights of electors, or patrons, were put aside in favour of the pope's nominee. The result of this was that a swarm of Italian and French priests were established by the pope in English benefices, and grew rich on the spoils of the English Church without attempting to do the work of their offices. Besides this, the pope claimed the right of taxing the Church at his will. About this time papal taxation became more severe on account of a quarrel which broke out between Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor

The Romans.

Frederick II. Frederick II., the son of Henry VI., had been made emperor by Innocent III., after the fall of Otto IV. He was now waging deadly war against the papacy, and Gregory looked upon the English Church as a sure source of supplies to equip armies to fight the emperor. Though Henry had married his sister to Frederick II., and was on friendly terms with him, he dared not resist the pope's demands. Things became worse in 1237, when the pope sent to England the first legate despatched from Rome since the days of Pandulf. This legate, a cardinal named Otto, made himself unpopular both by his strictness in reforming abuses and by the zeal with which he furthered his master's interests. In 1238 he visited Oxford, where a great school or university had recently sprung up. An affray broke out between the legate and the scholars, and the latter forced the pope's representative to take refuge in a church steeple until the king could send soldiers to effect his release. At last Otto went back to Rome, leaving very bitter memories behind him.

8. The gentle Archbishop Edmund did all that he could to save the clergy from the exactions of pope and king. Though high-minded and well-meaning, he was not strong enough to grapple with the difficult task before him. In 1240 he left England in disgust, and soon afterwards died abroad. His reputation for holiness was such that he was soon canonized as St. Edmund. His successor at Canterbury was a man of very different stamp. The new archbishop was Boniface of Savoy, one of the queen's uncles. He owed his office entirely to the favour of the king and pope, and made no effort to protect the clergy from them. In these circumstances the leadership of the clergy passed to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, a famous writer, a saintly man, and the most practical reformer of Church abuses of his day. Innocent IV., Gregory IX.'s successor, made even severer demands on England than his predecessor. In 1245 he deposed Frederick from the empire, and persecuted him relentlessly till his death in 1250. Frederick was the last of the great emperors of the Middle Ages, and his fall marked the end of the long struggle between papacy and empire, which began with the investiture contest between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. Grosseteste continued his protest, and even ventured to withstand Innocent IV. face to face. Nothing, however, came from his complaints. However much the clergy grumbled, Henry gave them no help, and they were forced to pay whatever the pope exacted.

Edmund Rich and Robert Grosseteste.

9. As Henry III. grew older he felt the disgrace of his father's failure to retain the Angevin Empire abroad. In 1230 he led an expedition to recover Poitou, but obtained nothing by his attempt. In 1242 he again went in person to prosecute his rights to the Angevin inheritance which was fast slipping away owing to the growing power of Louis IX. The French monarch was a high-minded and conscientious king, as wise as he was good, and so universally admired and beloved that after his death he was canonized as St. Louis. But he was anxious to extend his authority and complete the work of his grandfather, Philip II. With this object Louis made one of his brothers count of Poitou and of Toulouse, and thus threatened the last hopes of Henry in Poitou. But the barons of Poitou were even more afraid of the growth of the French power than was the English king, and now turned to Henry and besought him to save them from French domination. At their head was Hugh of Lusignan, count of La Marche, the mighty Poitevin baron, whose rage at John's abduction of Isabella of Angoulême had given the signal for the conquests of Philip II. Hugh of La Marche was now Henry III.'s step-father, for on John's death Isabella had gone back to France and married her old lover. She added her appeals to those of her second husband, and Henry, always dutiful to his family, willingly listened to his mother's entreaties. But when Henry got to Poitou, he found that Hugh and Isabella had no real care for his interests, and simply used him as a tool to prosecute their grievances against the French king. He learnt how impossible it was to build upon Poitevin promises. The army of Louis IX. defeated his troops at *Taillebourg*, near Saintes, and drove him in panic flight to Bordeaux. The expedition was an utter failure, and henceforth Louis's brother ruled Poitou as he would. On his death Poitou became part of the direct domains of the French king.

Henry's foreign failures.

10. The chief result of the expedition was the ruin of the house of Lusignan. The numerous children of Hugh and Isabella, finding that they had no prospects in France, crossed over the Channel and threw themselves on the bounty of their half-brother. Henry welcomed them warmly, and loaded them with grants and presents. He married one of them. William of Valence, to the heiress of the Marshalls, earls of Pembroke, whose house had recently died out in the male line. Another brother, Aymer, a violent and incompetent man, became bishop of Winchester. Henry's half-sisters found husbands among the richest of the earls. Henceforth the Poitevin half-brothers of the king

The Poitevins in England.

rivalled the Savoyard uncles of the queen in wealth, pride, and unpopularity.

11. The government of England by Henry and his foreign friends was not only expensive and unpopular, but weak and ineffective. Though the people paid heavy taxes, good order was not maintained. Under a feeble king like Henry, the princes of North Wales became very powerful, and extended their power to the south at the expense of the lords marcher. Since the days of Griffith ap Llewelyn no Welsh prince had been as mighty as Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. He joined with the barons in wresting Magna Carta from John, and took advantage of the troubles of Henry's minority to push his dominions from the Dovey to Carmarthen Bay. Though married to Henry's sister, he was constantly at war with his brother-in-law. Under his grandson, Llewelyn ap Griffith, who became prince in 1246, the Welsh principality became even stronger.

Rise of the Principality of North Wales.

12. Henry's remaining dominions in France were, like Wales, slipping away from his control. All that now remained of the inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine was Gascony, but even in Gascony Henry's power was very small. The nobles behaved like independent princes, and great towns like Bordeaux were becoming little republics which cared nothing for the commands of their duke. Things got to such a pass that even Henry saw that something had to be done. In 1248 he made his brother-in-law, Simon of Montfort, governor, or seneschal, of Gascony, and gave him full power to reduce the unruly Gascons to obedience. Simon threw himself into the rude task with wonderful ability and energy. He restored order, but showed little regard for impartiality or justice. The Gascons sent piteous complaints against him to England. Henry listened to their murmurs, and gradually withdrew his confidence from Simon. Profoundly irritated at this shabby treatment, Simon resigned his office in disgust in 1252. Henceforward he became Henry's bitter enemy. Returning to England, he put himself at the head of the opposition which the king's fatuous government had created.

Simon of Montfort in Gascony, 1248-1252.

13. For many years many protests had been raised against Henry's misrule, but, for want of competent leaders, nothing had come out of these efforts. For a time Henry's younger brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, had led the baronial opposition; but Richard now married Sanchia of Provence, the queen's younger sister, and reconciled himself with the court. The failure of all

attempts to check him encouraged Henry to adopt a more adventurous policy. His children were growing up, and he wished to establish them in life. To his elder son, Edward, he made over the earldom of Chester which had recently lapsed to the king's hands, all his lands in Wales, and the duchy of Gascony. Edmund, his second son, was still unprovided for, and Henry eagerly grasped at a chance of establishing him in a foreign kingdom which the pope now offered. After the death of Frederick II., the popes continued to wage unrelenting war against his children. They were particularly anxious to prevent the kingdom of Sicily, which Frederick had ruled, remaining united with Germany and the empire. Accordingly the pope offered to make Edmund king of Sicily, and Henry greedily swallowed the tempting bait. Edmund, who was a mere boy, remained in England, but Henry allowed the pope to wage war in Sicily in Edmund's name, and promised to defray the expenses. This was not the only foreign kingdom which Henry's kinsfolk obtained. In 1257 Richard of Cornwall was elected emperor after the death of Frederick II.'s son. His title was disputed, and as he was never crowned by the pope, he was called king of the Romans.

Edmund, king of Sicily; and Richard, king of the Romans.

14. Each new adventure of Henry and the pope imposed a fresh burden upon Englishmen. The taxes became heavier, and the king's misgovernment steadily became worse. Henry's misrule was the more grievous, since England in other ways was full of life and progress. It was the time of the great religious revival which saw the establishment of the *Mendicant Friars*, whose two chief orders, the *Dominicans* and the *Franciscans*, came to England in 1221 and 1224. It was a time of remarkable intellectual progress, of the growth of the *universities*, where flourished many famous scholars, philosophers, and theologians. It was the time when mediæval art attained its highest development in the growth of Gothic architecture. The country was becoming increasingly wealthy through the spread of manufactures and *commerce*, and towns and town life became more important than they had ever been before. It was now also that English *national sentiment* was becoming conscious of itself. In every direction there was rapid progress, but political progress was stayed by the incompetence of the king and his advisers. But the day of reckoning was now at hand. Led by Earl Simon, the barons at last knew what they wanted. In 1258 the storm of indignation

Political retrogression and national progress.

burst, and drove Henry and his favourites from the position which they had so long misused.

15. The crisis was hastened by the enormous demands of the pope for the prosecution of the war waged for Sicily in Edmund's name. Henry could only satisfy the pope by raising fresh taxes, and to do this he had to obtain the consent of the barons. In a council, or as it was now called, a *parliament*, at Westminster, the barons utterly refused to give the king any money, and forced him to consent to a drastic reform of the government. In June a second parliament met at Oxford. Taking advantage of a summons for an expedition against the Welsh, the barons came arrayed for war and attended by their armed followers. The king's friends called this assembly the *Mad Parliament*, but the barons knew very well what they were doing. A committee of twenty-four, chosen in equal proportions by king and barons, laid before the Oxford parliament an elaborate scheme for the future government of the realm. The new constitution was called the *Provisions of Oxford*, and readily adopted by the barons. By it a standing *council of fifteen* was established, by whose advice and consent Henry was henceforth to exercise all his authority. All aliens were to be expelled from office and new ministers were appointed under stringent conditions. To save the barons the expense of attending frequent parliaments, a body of twelve was appointed to represent the whole nobility. This was to meet three times a year and to discuss public affairs with the committee of fifteen.

The Mad Parliament, 1258.

16. The Provisions of Oxford carried to a still further point the idea of limited and constitutional monarchy first expressed in the Great Charter. Every royal power was to remain unimpaired, but henceforth it was to be exercised not by the king in person, but by a committee of the barons. The feudal tradition, when each baron's dearest wish was to break down the monarchy and reign like a king over his own lands, was thus quite forgotten. The scheme was quite effective to check the autocracy of the crown. The danger was lest it should set up in the place of the Angevin despotism a narrow baronial oligarchy, as careless as the king had been of the welfare of the country as a whole. There was no time, however, to think of future dangers at the moment. Headed by William of Valence, the king's half-brother, the foreigners steadily resisted the new scheme. They were soon overpowered and driven into exile. Henry and his eldest son were forced to take oaths to observe the

The Provisions of Oxford.

Provisions. Next year, when King Richard came back to England, he was not allowed to land until he took the same oath. Thus the fifteen triumphed over all opposition. Henceforth they, and not Henry, were the real rulers of England.

17. One result of the baronial victory was the abandonment of Henry's ambitious schemes of foreign domination. His son Edmund renounced his phantom kingdom of Sicily, and the pope found a more competent instrument for his purpose in Charles of Anjou, a younger brother of Louis IX. Charles, who had married the youngest sister of Queen Eleanor, had already won for himself her father's county of Provence. In 1265 he established himself in Naples and Sicily, and was the ancestor of a long line of kings ruling over southern Italy under the pope's supremacy. In 1259 Henry went to Paris, where he concluded a permanent peace with the king of France. By this *treaty of Paris* he renounced all his claims over Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, retaining only the Channel Islands, a fragment of the Norman duchy, over which the English kings still ruled because they were stronger by sea than the French. Besides this, Henry agreed to perform homage to Louis for the duchy of Gascony, which remained under its English dukes. Louis was so anxious to make peace that he voluntarily handed over to Henry some parts of Gascony which were actually in his possession and also paid him a considerable sum of money, nominally to equip knights to fight on a crusade. This treaty was the first peace made between England and France since Philip II.'s conquest of Normandy. It failed, however, to establish permanent friendship between the two countries. So long as Gascony remained ruled by dukes who were also English kings, real cordiality between them was impossible.

The Treaty of Paris, 1259.

18. In England the fifteen ruled for some years in Henry's name, but they governed in such a selfish and narrow way that murmurs, almost as loud as the old outcry against Henry, arose against them. Earl Simon of Leicester took broader views than most of the barons, but he found it very difficult to make the other nobles accept his policy. After all he was a newcomer and a foreigner, and with all his greatness he was so masterful and overbearing that he was not easy to work with. The majority of the barons deserted his leadership for that of Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester, the most powerful of the earls of English birth. Gloucester was a much less able man than Simon, and looked with suspicion upon his rival. From their disputes arose a division

The break-up of parties and the beginning of the Barons' War, 1259-1263.

in the baronial ranks, which gave Henry III. a good chance to win back power. Henry himself was not clear-sighted enough to make the most of his opportunities; but Edward, his eldest son, now a grown man, did much to compensate for his father's weakness. The king's son put himself at the head of a popular royalist party, and showed himself more disposed to trust the people than Gloucester. It was plain that he had no sympathy with Henry's past misdeeds, and that under him there would be no danger of the domination of foreign favourites. In fact, Edward stood to the royalist party as his uncle Leicester stood to the baronial oligarchy. For a time Edward and Simon worked well together, but they were too much like each other to agree long. Ultimately Edward proved himself Simon's most deadly enemy. He persuaded many of the barons to desert to the royalist side, and in particular won over from the opposition the fierce and warlike lords of the Welsh March, of whom, as earl of Chester, he was the natural leader. By 1263 the royalist party had become so strong that Henry repudiated the Provisions, and shook himself free of the control of the fifteen. He persuaded the pope to annul the Provisions, and absolve him from the oath which he had taken to observe them. This growth of the royalist power forced the barons to unite again, and their reunion was easier since Earl Richard of Gloucester died, and his young son, Earl Gilbert of Gloucester, was a devoted follower of Montfort. Open hostilities broke out between the king and the barons, which were called the *Barons' War*. In this struggle both parties were so evenly matched that neither could obtain a victory over the other. The best way out of an impossible situation seemed to be to appeal to the arbitration of some impartial outsider. Accordingly, in December, 1263, the two parties arranged to submit all disputes between them to the judgment of Louis IX.

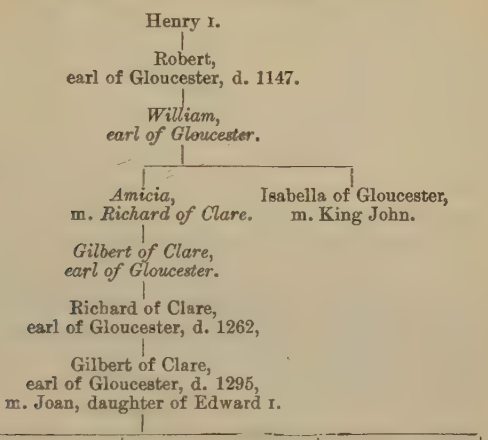
THE HOUSE OF LUSIGNAN

Isabella of Angoulême.
m. (1) John, King of England.
(2) Hugh of Lusignan, count of La Marche.

(1) Henry III., king of England.	(1) Richard, king of the Romans.	(2) William of Valence, m. heiress of the Marshalls, earls of Pembroke.	(2) Aymer of Valence, bishop of Winchester.	(2) Other sons and daughters settled or married in England.

Aymer of Valence, earl of Pembroke.

THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER


Henry I.
Robert, earl of Gloucester, d. 1147.
William, earl of Gloucester.
Amicia, m. Richard of Clare.
Isabella of Gloucester, m. King John.
Gilbert of Clare, earl of Gloucester.
Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester, d. 1262,
Gilbert of Clare, earl of Gloucester, d. 1295, m. Joan, daughter of Edward I.
Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, d. 1314.
Eleanor, m. Hugh le Despenser the younger.
Margaret, m. Peter of Gaveston.
another daughter.

The names in *italics* are not referred to in the text.

19. The king of France was the justest of kings; but, after all, he was a king, and naturally prejudiced in favour of a sovereign waging war against his subjects. In January, 1264, he issued his decision in a document called the *Mise of Amiens*, which pronounced the Provisions invalid, mainly because the pope had already condemned them. This judgment was too one-sided to be accepted, and the barons, headed by Leicester, resolved to continue the war. In taking this step Simon deliberately broke his pledged word, but he was not more forsworn than the king, who had so solemnly promised to abide by the Provisions. Though deserted by many of his followers, Simon did not lose heart. The defection of his allies gave him almost uncontrolled power over the baronial party, and he now showed himself as good a general as he had been a statesman. War was renewed, and at first the royalists gained some successes. At the head of their victorious troops, Henry and Edward marched triumphantly through Kent and Sussex, and at last took up their quarters at *Lewes*, where, on May 14, the decisive battle of the campaign was fought.

The failure of the Mise of Amiens, 1264.

20. The royalist army was holding the town of Lewes, which is situated on a sort of peninsula on the right bank of the river Ouse.

The Battle of Lewes, 1264.

Early in the morning, Montfort's army advanced from the north and made their way over the open chalk-downs which encompassed Lewes on three sides. Simon's hope was to surprise the royalists in their camp, but they obtained information of his approach, and swarmed out of the town to meet him. The baronial troops moved in two great divisions along two spurs of the downs, separated by a valley. Their best soldiers were on the right wing, and their left wing largely consisted of the Londoners, who were ardent partisans of Earl Simon. Edward, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, attacked the Londoners with such fury that he drove

them in confusion many miles from the field. During his absence, however, Montfort with his right wing had captured Lewes town, utterly defeated the king's troops, and taken prisoners Henry and his brother, the king of the Romans. When Edward returned from the pursuit it was too late to renew the conflict. Next day the king's son surrendered, so that the barons won a complete triumph.

21. The victors drew up a new plan for the government of the country, called the *Mise of Lewes*. By it the king's power was handed over to a committee of nine, and Henry and Edward were forced to swear to observe its provisions. In reality, however, Montfort now governed England. His position was much stronger than it had been in the early years of the struggle, and for the first time he was able

The rule of Earl Simon, 1264-1265.

to enforce his policy upon all his party. His position, however, was still very difficult. The lords of the Welsh March were still in arms for the king, and the pope was Henry's warm partisan. Queen Eleanor and her kinsfolk assembled an army on the French coast, and waited for an opportunity of invading England.

22. Montfort saw that the best way of resisting the formidable forces opposed to him was to call upon the people as a whole to rally round him. With this object he summoned, in January, 1265, a parliament which, unlike the Parliament of 1258, was not a mere council of barons. He called upon every shire, city, and borough in England to elect two representatives who were to join with the barons and bishops in their deliberations. This action of Montfort's has made the *Parliament of* 1265 very famous in our history. It has been called the *first House of Commons*, and Montfort has been named the *creator of the House of Commons*. Neither of these claims can be justified. It was no new thing to call upon the shires to send their representatives to treat with the king or his ministers. The policy of electing representatives of the shires began when Henry II. instituted the system of grand juries, and sent his justices to transact business with them. It was only a small step forward when, instead of the king's representative dealing with each shire in turn, representatives of all the shires were joined together in a single assembly, and brought face to face with the king in person. This was first done, so far as we know, under John in 1213. Under Henry III. it became a common custom for the king to call together such representatives, or, as they were called, *knights of the shire*, and to take their advice or listen to their complaints. Moreover, when the king wanted to get money from the merchants, or advice on matters of trade, he had already more than once summoned representatives of the cities and boroughs. Nevertheless, Montfort's Parliament does mark a real advance. It was a new thing to join both the shire and borough representatives in a single gathering. Moreover, Montfort did not summon this parliament merely to raise taxes, and to discuss matters of little importance. His object was to take the people into partnership with him, and find out their real views as to the government of the country. Thus, while the barons of 1258 acted as if none but the magnates had any voice in matters of politics, Montfort allowed commons as well as lords a voice in high matters of state. Since Magna Carta the king's power had been limited. It was the glory of Montfort that he was the first man to see that the power of the crown should

The Parliament of 1265.

be controlled, not only by the barons and bishops, but also by the lesser land-owners, the men of business, and the smaller people as well. Nevertheless, Montfort's Parliament was but the expedient of the moment. We must wait for the next reign before the rival and disciple of Montfort, Edward, the king's son, established the popular element on a firm basis.

The revolt of the Marchers, 1265.

23. Earl Simon's rule lasted only a few months. His fierce and overbearing temper, and the deep differences of policy between him and such of the magnates as still adhered to him, made permanent co-operation between him and the barons impossible. Gilbert of Clare was now old enough to shake off the fascination which had bound him to Simon in earlier years. He quarrelled first with Simon's sons, who had all the defects and little of the greatness of their father. Then he broke violently with Simon himself, and raised the standard of revolt in his lordship of Glamorgan. The marchers, whom Simon had never been able to subdue, rallied round him, and Simon was forced to proceed to the west to wage war against Gloucester and his friends. He took with him Henry and Edward, both of whom were still practically prisoners. One day, however, Edward, who was allowed the diversion of hunting, escaped from his guards and joined Gloucester. By this time a strong band of exiles, headed by William of Valence, had landed in South Wales and added their forces to those of Edward and Gloucester. Simon strove to create a diversion by making a close alliance with Llewelyn of Wales, but the Welsh prince gave him little real help. Llewelyn had already profited by the civil war to conquer many of the lordships marcher, and he would not stop adding to his territories to fight Montfort's battles. Before long Montfort was forced to recross the Severn, closely followed by Edward and the marchers. On August 4, 1265, a decisive battle was fought at *Evesham* in Worcestershire.

The Battle of Evesham, 1265.

24. Evesham, like Lewes, stands on a peninsula, and is almost encircled by a wide curve of the Avon. Simon and his war-worn host were resting in the town when Edward occupied the narrow neck of land which lies a little to the north between the two reaches of the stream. This cut off all prospect of escape by land, especially as Gloucester with a strong force occupied the village of Bengeworth on the left bank, which was connected with Evesham by the only bridge on that part of the river. Simon saw that Edward had outgeneralled him, yet could not but admire his adversary's skill in warfare. "By the arm of St. James," he declared, "they come on cunningly; yet it

is from me that they have learnt their order of battle. God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are the lord Edward's." The battle then began, and Montfort's troops, though fighting bravely, were overpowered. Montfort himself perished in the fight, but his memory lived long in the hearts of Englishmen, who worshipped him as a saint and martyr, and believed that he had laid down his

BATTLE OF EVESHAM.

life for the cause of justice and religion. The best of Simon's work survived the battle of Evesham. His victorious nephew learnt well the lesson of his career, and the true successor of the martyred earl was the future Edward I.

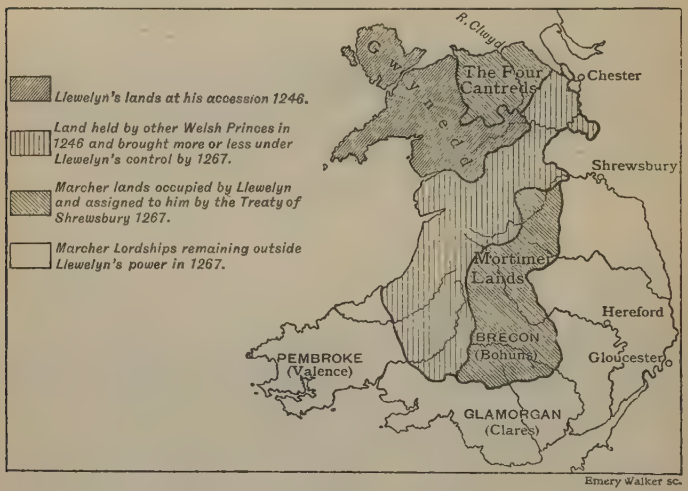
25. Edward now restored his father to liberty and the throne. There was a greedy scramble for the spoils of victory, and the greatest of these, the forfeited earldom of Leicester, went to Edmund, the king's younger son, who soon also became earl of Lancaster and Derby. But the victors' resolve to deprive their beaten foes of their estates drove the vanquished into fresh revolts, and for two years there was still much fighting in England. At last the chief rebels were forced to defend themselves behind the strong walls of Kenilworth Castle. There were two parties among the royalists; one, led by the cruel marchers, thought of nothing but spoils and vengeance, while the

The Royalist Restoration, 1265-1267.

other, headed by Gloucester, recommended moderation in victory. At first Edward favoured the former, but he now adopted Gloucester's milder policy, and drew up the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, which allowed rebels to redeem their estates by paying a fine assessed at five years' value of their lands. In 1266 the defenders of Kenilworth were admitted to these terms, and in 1267 a few desperate partisans, who still held their own amidst the fens of the Isle of Ely, were also forced into submission.

26. England was thus restored to peace, but Llewelyn ap Griffith still remained under arms. Even Edward was now tired of fighting, and in September, 1267, gave Llewelyn liberal terms of peace in the *treaty of Shrewsbury*. By it Llewelyn was recognized as prince of Wales, and as overlord of all the Welsh magnates. Many of his conquests were definitely

The Treaty of Shrewsbury, 1267.


Llewelyn's lands at his accession 1246.
Land held by other Welsh Princes in 1246 and brought more or less under Llewelyn's control by 1267.
Marcher lands occupied by Llewelyn and assigned to him by the Treaty of Shrewsbury 1267.
Marcher Lordships remaining outside Llewelyn's power in 1267.
R. Clwyd
Gwynedd
The Four Cantreds
Chester
Shrewsbury
Mortimer Lands
Hereford
BRECON (Bohuns)
Gloucester
PEMBROKE (Valence)
GLAMORGAN (Clares)
Emery Walker sc.

WALES AND THE MARCH, SHEWING THE GROWTH OF THE POWER OF LLEWELYN (1246–1267).

ceded to him, including the four cantreds of the vale of Clwyd, over which Edward himself had claims. Alone of Montfort's friends, Llewelyn came out of an unsuccessful struggle upon terms which are seldom obtained even by a victor in the field.

27. The rest of Henry III.'s reign was as peaceful as the middle part had been stormy. The old king was practically replaced by

his wise son, and Edward was shrewd enough to rule the land after a fashion more in accordance with the ideas of Earl Simon than with those of his father. Before long things became so quiet that Edward was able to leave England and go on a crusade. Ever since the Third Crusade the Christian kingdom in Palestine had been steadily decaying, and it was clear that unless a new holy war were preached, it would soon be completely overwhelmed. Louis IX. undertook to lead a crusade in person, but instead of going to the Holy Land, he turned his arms against Tunis, where he died in 1270. Soon afterwards Edward arrived off Tunis, only to find that Louis was dead, and his son, Philip III., had concluded a truce with the Mohammedans. Disgusted by what he regarded as treason to Christendom, he made his way to Palestine, where he remained till 1272. He was the last of the great crusaders, and even his fire and courage could do little to uphold the crusading kingdom, which a few years later was altogether destroyed. Edward was still away in the East when Henry III. died, in November, 1272. The old king was buried in Westminster Abbey, which he had rebuilt in honour of St. Edward, his favourite saint. During his lifetime the old Norman despotism had faded slowly into the national and constitutional monarchy which Simon had begun, and which Simon's conqueror was soon to complete.

The end of the reign, 1267-1272.

CHAPTER II

EDWARD I. (1272–1307)

Chief Dates:

1272.	Accession of Edward I.
1274.	Edward's coronation.
1277.	The first Welsh War.
1279.	Statute of Mortmain.
1282-1283.	Conquest of North Wales.
1285.	Statutes *De Donis* and of Winchester.
1290.	Statute *Quia Emptores*.
1292.	John Balliol, king of Scots.
1295.	The Model Parliament.
1296.	First conquest of Scotland.
1297.	*Confirmatio Cartarum*.
1298.	Battle of Falkirk.
1303-1304.	Completion of second conquest of Scotland.
1306.	Revolt of Robert Bruce.
1307.	Death of Edward I.

Character and policy of Edward I.

1. Edward I. was thirty-three years old when he became king, and the broad lines of his policy had already been formed in the rude school of the Barons' War. He was wise enough to profit by his experience, and his love of strong rule and efficiency, his courage, energy, and honesty stand in strong contrast to the weakness and incompetence of his father. Edward loved power too much to part with it willingly, but he saw that if he wished to be a successful ruler, he must make his policy popular. For this reason he strove to carry out the great idea of Earl Simon of taking the people into a sort of partnership with him. The result was that his people trusted and followed him. Edward found that he could thus get more of his own way than by constantly wrangling with his subjects. His remarkable personal gifts made it easy for him to win respect and love. He was of elegant build and lofty stature, an eloquent speaker, a consummate swordsman, and a mighty hunter. He was hot-tempered and passionate, and when moved to wrath was sometimes hard and almost cruel. He committed many deeds of violence in his youth,

but he learned to curb his impetuous temper, was proud of his straightforwardness, and boasted that he always kept his word. Yet Edward had a curious narrowness of temper, which made him sometimes look at the letter rather than the spirit of his promises. An enemy said of him that he called prudence the treachery whereby he advanced, and believed that whatever he liked was lawful. He was hard-working, clear-headed, and practical. His family life was unstained. He was a loyal friend, and was sincerely religious. With all his faults he was the greatest of all his house.

2. Edward was proclaimed king during his absence. A regency was appointed whose chief members were Walter Grey, archbishop of York, and Robert Burnell, a Shropshire clerk, who was already the new king's most intimate confidant, and did so well that he remained for the rest of his life Edward's chief minister. It kept England in such unbroken peace that there was no need for Edward to hasten his return. He tarried for more than a year in France, and paid a prolonged visit to Gascony. At last, in August, 1274, he crossed over to England, and was crowned king.

The Government during Edward's absence, 1272-1274.

3. Edward's first trouble came from Wales, where the treaty of Shrewsbury had not brought enduring peace. The brilliant success of the Welsh arms and diplomacy seems somewhat to have turned Llewelyn's brain. Visions of a wider authority constantly floated before the Welsh prince, and he dreamed of driving the Saxons out of Wales and making himself an independent ruler. Accordingly, when the regents of the new king required him to take an oath of fealty to Edward, he answered them with all sorts of pretexts and delays. There were many other subjects of contention, and both English and Welsh complained that the treaty of Shrewsbury had not been properly executed. Even after Edward's return Llewelyn continued to evade the performance of his feudal duty. At last he declared that he dared not leave Wales to perform homage unless Edward sent his brother, Earl Edmund of Lancaster, to Wales as a hostage for his safety. Llewelyn also strove to stir up dissension in Edward's realm by posing as the disciple of Simon of Montfort, and in 1275 sought for Montfort's daughter Eleanor as his wife. However, on her way to Wales Eleanor was captured by Edward's sailors, and kept in restraint at court. Edward at last lost all patience, and in 1277 led an army to North Wales, blockaded Llewelyn in Snowdon, and forced him to make his submission by the *treaty of Conway*. This treaty deprived Llewelyn of all that

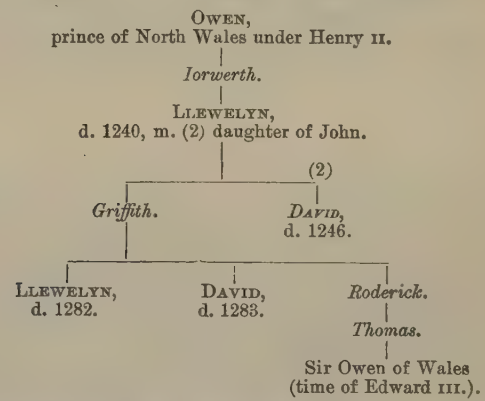
The first Welsh war, 1277.

he had won at Shrewsbury, and reduced him to the position of a petty North Welsh chieftain, strictly dependent on his English overlord. Next year he was allowed to marry Eleanor of Montfort; Edward was not inclined to treat him severely if he accepted his position of dependence.

4. For the next few years Edward strove with all his might to establish English law in the districts ceded to him by Llewelyn. His own attitude was unsympathetic to the Welsh, and his agents were often brutally harsh. A loud outcry against the king's rule arose from his new subjects, and especially from those of the four cantreds of the vale of Clwyd. They called upon Llewelyn to help them, and Llewelyn's brother David, who in 1277 had been on Edward's side, reconciled himself with his brother. A revolt of the four cantreds broke out suddenly in the spring of 1282. Llewelyn and David gave active assistance to the rebels, and almost simultaneously another rising took place in South Wales.

Renewed Welsh troubles, 1277-1282.

GENEALOGY OF THE LAST WELSH PRINCES



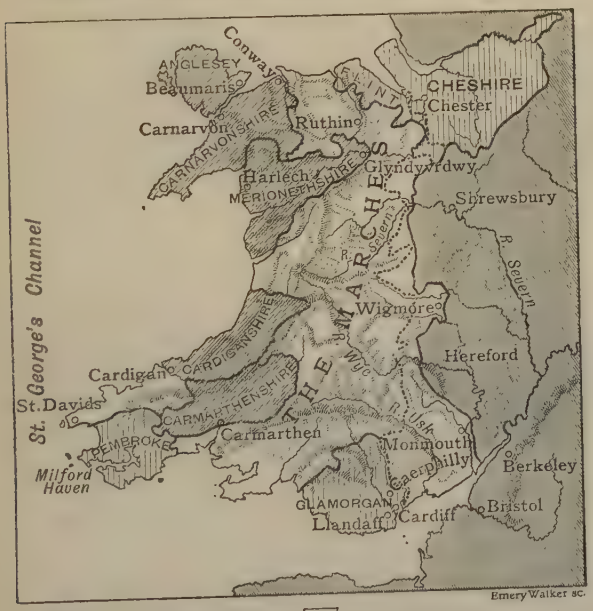
(The names in *italics* are not referred to in text; Welsh princes in small capitals.)

5. Edward led a second expedition against Llewelyn in the summer of 1282. Again the rebel prince was shut up in Snowdon, but he managed to break his way through the English troops and excite a fresh revolt on the upper Wye, where he was slain on December 11, at the *battle of Orewyn Bridge*. David, now prince of Wales, held his own in the mountains for another year; but at

last he was tracked and captured. In October, 1283, he was executed as a traitor at Shrewsbury. This was the end of the native principality of Wales. It is often called the conquest of Wales, but it was in reality only the conquest of Llewelyn's principality. The marches of Wales remained under their feudal lords until the sixteenth century.

The Conquest of the Principality, 1282–1283.

6. In 1284 Edward drew up the *Statute of Wales*. He declared



WALES AND THE MARCH BETWEEN THE CONQUEST UNDER EDWARD I. AND THE UNION UNDER HENRY VIII.

that the principality of Wales, hitherto feudally subject to him, was henceforward to be directly ruled by him, and drew up a scheme for its future government. He divided it into five counties —Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, and Carmarthen

—and added a new county, Flintshire, to the earldom of Chester, which was now permanently in the king's hands. In each of the new shires the English system of local government was set up, though such Welsh laws as Edward thought reasonable were allowed to continue. In all the details of the settlement Edward strove to deal fairly with the Welsh, though he never understood them well enough to respect their feelings. To secure his conquest Edward surrounded Snowdon with a ring of fortresses, which still, in their ruin, bear witness to the solidity of their work. Round each castle, such as Carnarvon and Conway, grew up a little English town whose inhabitants might help the soldiers of the castle to keep the Welsh in check. In one of Edward's new strongholds, that of Carnarvon, his son, the future Edward II., was born. In 1301 this Edward was made prince of Wales by his father. After this it gradually became the fashion to create the king's eldest son prince of Wales. That custom has lasted down to our own day.

The Settlement of the Principality, 1284.

Edward of Carnarvon, prince of Wales, 1301.

7. Though Edward was an able soldier, his greatest strength was as a lawgiver and administrator. Intent as he was on his conquest of the Principality, he was even more busily engaged, during the first half of his reign, in drawing up a remarkable series of new laws and in striving with all his might to see them carried out in practice. With all their importance Edward's laws do not contain very much that is novel or original. They owe their fame to the care with which he discerned the practical needs of his people and the skill with which he engrafted into our permanent constitution the best results of the age of unrest and revolution in which he had grown up. His reign has been called a *period of definition*, by which it is meant that he made clear points that were formerly doubtful, and selected from the rich store of precedents, furnished by the age of the Barons' War, the institutions which his keen eye saw were of most value to himself and his subjects, and the most likely to bring about the permanent welfare of England. Between 1275 and 1290 a series of great laws passed in review every branch of both the local and central administration, and made their permanent mark in English history. In the later years of his reign we shall see the same statesmanlike policy of definition applied to the constitution, which under his guidance took the form which it has retained ever since.

Edward's legislation, 1274-1290.

8. On reaching England Edward made Robert Burnell his

chancellor, and retained him in that office until his death in 1292. The credit for the legislation of the period is to be divided between the chancellor and Edward, who rewarded Burnell with the bishopric of Bath and Wells. In 1275 the first of the great laws of the reign was passed in the *statute of Westminster the First*. It was mainly aimed at strengthening the king's government and ensuring peace; but it re-enacted many of the best provisions of the Great Charter and provided for the freedom of elections to parliament. Part of the statute included a permanent grant to Edward and his successors of a duty on every sack of wool and every bundle of sheepskins and leather sent out of the country. This was called the *Old and Great Custom*. It was henceforth an important source of revenue, and it was a proof of the growing wealth and prosperity of the country that the kings were able in the future to derive a large portion of their income from a tax on trade.

Statute of Westminster I., 1275.

The Great Custom.

9. In 1278 Edward passed the *statute of Gloucester*, which ordered an inquiry into all law courts and jurisdictions held by the feudal barons, and sought to limit their number. Commissioners went through the country to every franchise, and demanded by what warranty the holder of it exercised his right. For this reason the letters issued by Edward's commission were called writs of *quo warranto*. Edward's object was to break down the power of the nobles, and make every court depend on the crown. But his barons bitterly resented his action as an attack upon their privileges. It was said that when the commissioners asked Earl Warenne by what right he held his courts, the earl bared his sword and haughtily declared that this weapon was his authority. "My ancestors came over with the Conqueror," said Warenne, "and won their lands with their sword, and with the same sword will I defend them against all who wish to take them from me." These fierce words voiced the opinion of the barons, and Edward was wise enough not to force them to extremities. He suffered many franchises to remain that he would gladly have abolished; but he took care to create no fresh ones, and saw that all the lords were thoroughly obedient to him.

The Statute of Gloucester, 1278.

10. In 1279 Edward passed the *statute of Mortmain*. Lands which went to the Church were said to have fallen into the dead hand, or in Latin, *in mortua manu*, and the statute forbade any further grants of lands to the Church without the king's leave. Edward's motive

The Statute of Mortmain, 1279.

was partly to prevent an increase of the wealth and power of the Church, and partly to prevent more lands falling to clerical owners, who were not so well able to fight his battles as the lay barons. His action was resented by the stricter churchmen, and in particular by the archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop at the time was John Peckham, a Franciscan friar, and a very busy, well-meaning, and active man, who was so eager for the rights of the Church that he was constantly causing great irritation to Edward by his claims. More than once there seemed to be a good chance of a conflict between Edward and Peckham breaking out, such as had raged between Henry II. and Archbishop Thomas. But Edward's prudence and Peckham's fear of his sovereign continued to keep matters at peace. On the whole, however, the advantage was with the king, who would not give up the statute of Mortmain, and who in 1285 passed a law called *Circumspecte Agatis* (act cautiously), by which he forced the Church courts to confine themselves to business that was strictly ecclesiastical, and not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the law courts of the crown. Yet, powerful as he was, Edward could not prevent the popes nominating whom they would to great places in the English Church. Peckham himself had been appointed by papal provision, and Edward could never persuade the pope to allow the Chancellor Burnell a richer bishopric than his see of Bath and Wells. Edward was, however, strong enough to put a practical end to the pope's exercising any rights as overlord of England by virtue of King John's submission in 1213. He refused to pay the tribute John had promised, and the popes were wise enough not to press for it.

Circumspecte Agatis, 1285.

11. In 1285 Edward passed two famous laws, called the *statute of Westminster the Second* and the *statute of Winchester*. The former made important changes in the land laws. One of its clauses was called *De Donis Conditionalibus*—that is, "concerning gifts on condition." Its effect was to make it easier for a landholder to *entail*, or settle, his land upon a particular line of his descendants for ever. In practice, however, this custom of tying up lands from generation to generation was found to work badly, and the judges interpreted Edward's law in such a fashion that it lost its worst sting. It had, however, some effect towards creating the English custom of settling lands strictly on the eldest son, which has proved more profitable to a few great houses than to the king or country. The statute of Winchester aimed at putting down riots

Statutes of Westminster II. and Winchester, 1285.

and violence by making each Hundred responsible for all breaches of the peace within its limits, and by providing for the proper arming and calling out of the fyrd, or, as it soon became called, the militia. It was in a sense a new version of Henry II.'s Assize of Arms brought up to date.

12. The last great law of the reign was the *statute of Westminster the Third*, passed in 1290, and often called from its opening words, *Quia Emptores*. It allowed any landholder to sell his land if he wished it, but enacted that the buyer should not be the vassal of the man of whom he had acquired the land, but stand in the same relation to the lord of the seller as the seller had stood himself. The effect of this was, in the long run, to bring most landholders under the direct lordship of the crown, and so still further to weaken the position of the barons.

Statute of Westminster III., 1290.

13. Despite Edward's new laws, the government was only properly carried on when the king was himself in England. Between 1286 and 1289 foreign troubles carried both Edward and Burnell to Gascony. During their absence the judges sold verdicts for money, and the ministers were so corrupt and oppressive that Edward, on his return, appointed a special commission to hear the numerous complaints brought against them by his subjects. All the judges but four were heavily fined and dismissed from office. Soon after this stern act, Edward issued orders that all Jews should be expelled from England. The Jews had come to England about the time of the Norman conquest, and had shown such skill in business as to make much money for themselves. They were unpopular as foreigners and as unbelievers, and also because they were in the habit of lending money at high rates of interest. They were, however, favoured by the kings, and were glad to pay highly for the royal protection. Gradually, however, the feeling against them became very bitter. Edward was brought over by it to withdraw his support from them. In 1290 he drove them from the land altogether.

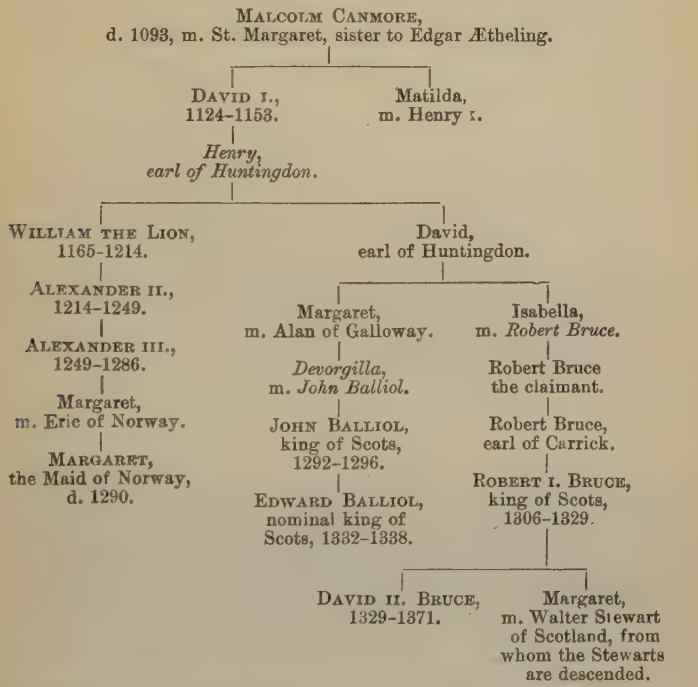
Trials of the judges, 1289, and expulsion of the Jews, 1290.

14. In 1286 Alexander III. king of Scots died, the last male representative of the old line of Scottish monarchs. With him ended a long and prosperous period for Scotland, during which the various nations which were ruled by the Scots king were gradually becoming blended together into a single people. The elements which made up the Scottish kingdom were even more various than those

Scotland under Alexander III.

which were brought together in Edward's realm. The original Scots were the Celtic-speaking Highlanders, who dwelt amongst the mountains of the north and west. Their territory did not, however, extend further south than the Clyde and the Forth, which were the original southern limits of the Scottish kingdom. But we have seen how by the conquest of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, a Welsh population in the south-west of the modern realm was brought under the rule of the Scottish king, so that his rule extended over the Clyde to the Solway and the Esk. We have also seen how from the cession of the English district of Lothian, originally the northern part of Northumbria, the dominions of the Scottish king had been extended towards the south-east from the Forth to the Tweed. To these new districts and new peoples brought under his sway must be added the Danes and Norsemen, who had largely displaced the Celtic inhabitants in the western and northern islands and in the extreme north, and the Norman nobles who had become the chief landed proprietors since the twelfth century. By this time the Welsh, the Normans, the English, and the Danes were sufficiently united with the Celts for all to call themselves Scots. The most important and populous part of the country was in the south or Lowlands, which spoke a form of the old speech of Northumbria, which was soon to be called the Scots tongue. The original Scots were henceforth called Highlanders, and their language more often called Gaelic than Scots. The Highlanders were very like their near kinsmen the Irish, and were still for many centuries to be governed after the old Celtic fashion, by which each tribe was practically ruled by its clan chieftain. On the other hand, English and Norman influence had made most of the Lowlanders almost Englishmen. The Welsh of the south-west were rapidly losing their old nationality and becoming English in speech and institutions. The Danes of the north, cut off from their kinsfolk in Scandinavia, since the Norse invasions had come to an end, were also becoming Anglicized. Up the east coast English influence gradually penetrated over the Forth and Tay, or to the low and fertile region between the mountains and the sea, far beyond Aberdeen, and almost up to Inverness. The result was that English-speaking Scotland was become very extensive. But all the various races dwelling in Scotland were ruled by one king, and were becoming equally proud of the name of Scot. For a century their rulers had lived on good terms with the English monarchs, but this happy period now ended.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY SCOTTISH KINGS, SHOWING THE CHIEF CLAIMANTS IN 1290


MALCOLM CANMORE, d. 1093, m. St. Margaret, sister to Edgar Ætheling.
DAVID I., 1124–1153.
Matilda, m. Henry I.
Henry, earl of Huntingdon.
WILLIAM THE LION, 1165–1214.
ALEXANDER II., 1214–1249.
ALEXANDER III., 1249–1286.
Margaret, m. Eric of Norway.
MARGARET, the Maid of Norway, d. 1290.
David, earl of Huntingdon.
Margaret, m. Alan of Galloway.
Devorgilla, m. John Balliol.
JOHN BALLIOL, king of Scots, 1292–1296.
EDWARD BALLIOL, nominal king of Scots, 1332–1338.
Isabella, m. Robert Bruce.
Robert Bruce the claimant.
Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick.
ROBERT I. BRUCE, king of Scots, 1306–1329.
DAVID II. BRUCE, 1329–1371.
Margaret, m. Walter Stewart of Scotland, from whom the Stewarts are descended.

(Scottish kings in small capitals; names in italics not mentioned in text.)

15. Alexander III.'s nearest heir was Margaret, his daughter's daughter, a young girl, called the *Maid of Norway*, because her father was Eric, king of that country. Proclaimed queen of Scots on Alexander's death, she remained in Norway under her father's care, while her realm was ruled by a regency, which found it hard to keep the country in good order. Edward, who watched Scottish affairs carefully, saw in a female reign the best prospects of extending his power over the north. He proposed that his eldest surviving son, Edward of Carnarvon, should marry the little queen, and thus bring about the union of the two lands. On his pledging himself

The Maid of Norway, 1286-1290.

that the two kingdoms should each retain their own laws and customs even if the marriage resulted in their being joined under a common sovereign, the Scots cheerfully accepted his plan. In 1290 the *treaty of Brigham* was signed embodying these conditions. It was the wisest scheme that could be devised for bringing about the peaceful unity of Britain. Unluckily, the Maid of Norway died in the course of the same year on her journey from Norway to Scotland.

16. A swarm of claimants now arose to the Scottish throne. As none had a clear title, and several had eager supporters, it looked as if the sword alone would settle the question of the succession. The Scots were alarmed at the prospect of a long and bloody civil war, and resolved to get out of the difficulty by calling on Edward to decide which of the candidates had the best right. Edward willingly agreed to undertake this course. He required, however, that all the Scottish barons and all the claimants should take an oath of fealty to him as overlord of Scotland before he began to examine the question. He gladly welcomed so good an opportunity of settling the relations of the two kingdoms which had remained somewhat doubtful since Richard I. remitted to William the Lion the hard conditions of the treaty of Falaise. Though every subsequent Scottish king had done homage to the English king, yet each of them possessed large estates in England, and it was not always clear whether their submission was for their English estates or for the Scottish throne. As Scotland grew stronger her kings became more unwilling to acknowledge their subjection to a foreign king, and the good understanding that had prevailed for so long between them and their southern neighbours had made the English kings see no reason in pressing their claim. However, circumstances had now changed. If Edward did not arbitrate, there was the certainty of Scotland falling into terrible confusion. The claimants, in their anxiety to curry favour with Edward, were the first to submit. The chief nobles followed, and Edward thereupon undertook to try the great suit for the succession.

The claimants to the Scottish Succession, 1290-1292.

17. The pleas were examined by 104 judges, of whom 24 were chosen by Edward and 40 by each of the two claimants whose rights seemed the nearest. These were John Balliol, lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale. Both of these were descended on the female side from David, earl of Huntingdon, Balliol being the grandson of his eldest daughter, Margaret, and Bruce the son of

Accession of John Balliol, 1292.

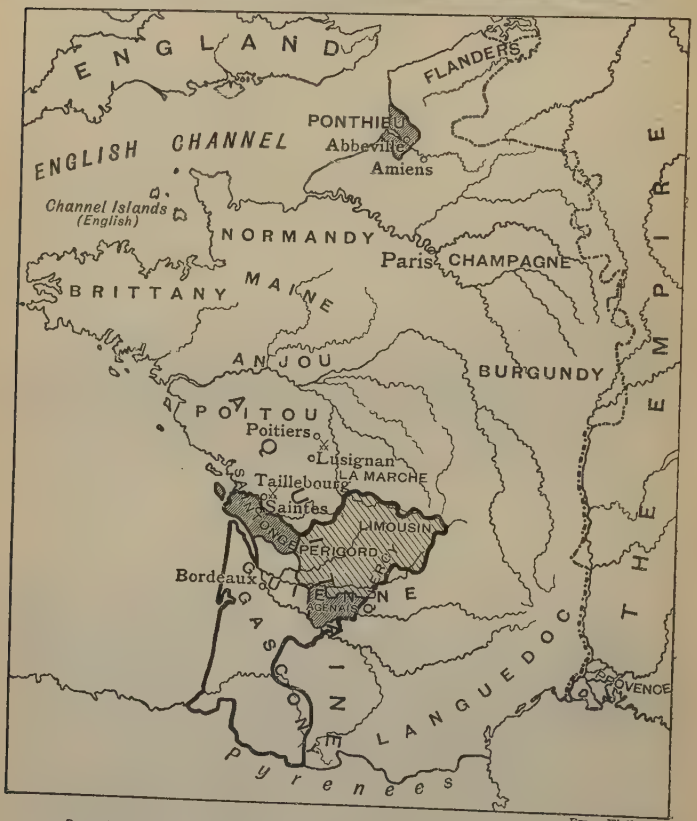
his second daughter, Isabella. Balliol's claim was based upon his representing the elder branch, while Bruce's title rested on the fact that he was a generation nearer Earl David. The judges went into the case with great care and impartiality, and finally adjudged the crown to Balliol. The decision was announced on November 30, 1292, at Berwick-on-Tweed, then a Scottish town. Balliol at once did homage to Edward, and was crowned king of Scots. The question seemed peaceably settled, and Edward won great reputation for justice in his conduct of the case.

18. Fresh trouble at once fell upon Edward; this time from France. All through his reign there had been constant bickering between Edward and the French kings. There were great difficulties in carrying out the treaty of 1259, and the irritation caused to the French by Edward's position in Gascony was increased when his queen, Eleanor of Castile, inherited through her mother the county of *Ponthieu* on the lower Somme, so that Edward's position in France was thereby strengthened. All through the reign of Philip III., who succeeded his father St. Louis in 1270, the relations of the two countries were strained; but in 1279 both kings agreed to make the *treaty of Amiens*, by which Edward's position in Gascony was improved and his wife put in possession of Ponthieu. Philip IV., who became king of France in 1285, was a stronger king than his father, and was eager to undermine Edward's hold over the French fiefs, by pushing his power as suzerain to the uttermost. Matters were made worse by quarrels between English and French seamen, which grew so bitter that the French hanged some English mariners to the yard-arms of their ships, with dogs hung up beside them, "as if they made no difference," said an indignant chronicler, "between a dog and an Englishman." This so enraged the English shipmen that in 1293 they challenged the French to fight a pitched battle, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter. The beaten sailors besieged Philip IV. with their complaints, and Philip summoned Edward to his court at Paris to answer for the behaviour of his subjects. Edward sent his brother Edmund, earl of Lancaster, as his agent, but Edmund was too simple to be a good negotiator. Philip persuaded him to give up Gascony to him just as a form, and on condition of its being soon restored. But when the time of restitution came, Philip's agents kept a tight hold over the whole of the duchy. Edward, seeing that his brother had been tricked, angrily broke off negotiations, and went to war with the French.

England and France, 1259–1293.

19. Philip IV. prepared to invade England, and sought to stir

up Edward's enemies to make common cause against him. At French instigation the Welsh rose in revolt, and forced Edward to divert to their subjection an army collected to recover Gascony. It



ENGLISH KING'S DOMINIONS IN FRANCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

was only after hard fighting, in the course of which Edward himself ran great personal risk, that the Welsh rebellion was put down. Then Philip stirred up an even more effective enemy to

Edward in Scotland, where things had been going badly since John Balliol's succession. Now that Edward's authority over Scotland had been recognized, Scotsmen, beaten in the local law courts, appealed to Edward's courts and asked him to do them justice. It was a regular thing for a suzerain to receive appeals from his vassal's courts, and Edward had suffered much from the way in which Philip IV. of France had encouraged his vassals in Gascony to take their appeals to Paris. He saw no harm, therefore, in allowing the Scots to come to his court, and was probably surprised when the Scots nobles grew indignant at the practice. But there had been no precedents for such appeals from Scotland to England in the past, and the Scots declared that they would allow Edward no such power. As John Balliol seemed weak and hesitating, the nobles deprived him of nearly all his authority, and entrusted it to a committee of twelve, like the council of fifteen of the Provisions of Oxford. The new government broke off all relations with Edward, and concluded a close alliance with the French.

The French and Scottish wars, 1293-1295.

20. Edward met this combination of enemies by forming an alliance with the emperor, the count of Flanders, and other friends of England abroad. But he chiefly relied upon the good will of his own subjects, and the step he now took to win his people to his side was ever memorable in the history of the growth of our constitution. Already on many occasions he had summoned representative parliaments like Montfort's famous assembly of 1265. Thus in 1275 a parliament met which formed an almost exact precedent for the full parliament which Edward gathered together in 1295. To this he did not merely convoke the earls and barons, the bishops and abbots. Beside them came two knights from every shire, and two citizens and burgesses from every city and borough. A new element was also introduced in the appearance of representatives of the lower clergy, in the persons of deans and archdeacons, one proctor, or representative, of every cathedral chapter, and two proctors for the parish clergy of every bishopric. Thus each of the three *estates*, or class divisions, into which society was then divided—the barons, the clergy, and the commons—had every chance of making their wishes felt. Later times have called the 1295 parliament the *Model Parliament*, because it, even more than those of 1265 and 1275, became the type upon which all later parliaments were based. Its assembly is the more important since Edward deliberately called it as a means of taking his people into partnership in a great crisis.

The Model Parliament of 1295.

"What touches all," said he, in his letters, or writs, of summons, "should be approved of all. It is also very clear that common dangers should be met by measures agreed upon in common." It is from this moment that the parliamentary constitution of England was completed. What with Simon of Montfort was the expedient of a moment, became henceforth with Edward I. a permanent principle of policy.

21. Edward's parliament voted large sums of money which enabled him to crush the Welsh revolt, ward off any prospect of invasion, and send an army to win back Gascony. But it was evident that Philip would not be beaten until the Scots had been taught to respect the power of Edward. Accordingly, in 1296 Edward led an army into Scotland, and resolved to punish John Balliol as he had formerly punished Llewelyn of Wales. Balliol made a poor resistance, and after a very little fighting, surrendered his crown to Edward. The subjection of Scotland was thus apparently effected with infinitely greater ease than the conquest of the Principality. Edward treated Scotland as he had treated Wales. He declared Scotland annexed directly to his crown, and appointed English nobles to rule the realm in his name. He wandered through the land and received the homage of thousands of Scottish landholders. He transferred the sacred stone, seated on which the Scottish kings had been wont to be crowned at Scone, to Westminster Abbey, where it ultimately became the base of the coronation chair of the English kings. After this easy conquest of a kingdom he hoped to devote all his resources to the recovery of Gascony.

The conquest of Scotland, 1296.

22. New troubles arose in his own realm, which once more forced Edward to postpone his purpose. This time his own clergy and barons played the game of the enemy. The trouble with the clergy began when Robert Winchelsea, who had succeeded Peckham as archbishop of Canterbury, refused to allow Edward to raise any more taxes from ecclesiastics, on the ground that the pope, Boniface VIII., had issued a bull, called *Clericis laicos*, which forbade the clergy to pay any taxes to secular princes. In great disgust Edward declared that, if the clergy would not help to support the state, the state should not protect them. He declared all the clergy outlaws, and announced that he would punish no man who did injury to a priest.

The clerical opposition under Winchelsea.

23. It was now the turn of the barons to resist. Edward wished to send many of his chief lords to Gascony, while he himself went

to fight against Philip IV., in Flanders, whose count was his ally. Headed by Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, constable of England, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England, a large section of the barons declined to go to Gascony unless the king accompanied them. In 1297 there was a hot dispute between Edward and the earls at the parliament at Salisbury. "You shall go to Gascony," said Edward to Norfolk, the marshal, "whether I go or not." On the marshal persisting in his refusal, the king burst into a passion. "By God, Sir Earl," he cried, "you shall either go or hang." "By the same oath," answered Norfolk, "I will neither go nor hang." The two earls gathered an army round them, and made common cause with Winchelsea. In great disgust Edward went to Flanders to fight against Philip, leaving his chief nobles behind him. He could send no real help to Gascony. He only raised money to pay his troops by imposing taxes of his own arbitrary will. He seized all the merchants' wool and forced them to pay a heavy duty, called the *Maletote*, or evil toll, before he would surrender it. As soon as he was beyond sea, the two earls marched to London and easily forced the weak regency, of which the boy, Edward of Carnarvon, was the nominal head, to submit to their will. It was now agreed that a fresh confirmation of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest should be issued in Edward's name, to which new articles were to be appended by which the king promised to renounce the Maletote, and never in the future to raise similar aids or taxes save with the consent of parliament. This *Confirmatio Cartarum* was sent over to Edward in Flanders, and very unwillingly he gave his consent to it. It was an important epoch in the growth of our constitution. Though the earls were greedy and pedantic, and Winchelsea thought more of the privileges of the Church than the liberties of the realm, Edward in his need had acted as a mere tyrant, and it was necessary that his power should be checked.

The baronial opposition under Norfolk and Hereford, 1297.

Confirmatio Cartarum, 1297.

24. Terrible news from Scotland showed that the king had yielded none too soon. With all his ambition and violence, Edward still wished to rule Scotland well, but many of those who governed that kingdom in his name were cruel and greedy men, and the Scots hated English domination even when it was fair and just. Their subjection had been due to the folly of their king and the half-heartedness of the chief Scottish nobles, most of whom submitted

The Scottish rising under Wallace, 1297.

because they possessed estates in England which they did not wish to lose by offending Edward. It was otherwise with the mass of the Scots people, who were indignant because their national independence was destroyed and their country trampled upon by the foreigner. Within a few months there were popular risings all over the country, and soon an able leader to the insurgents was found in Sir William Wallace of Elderslie, not far from Glasgow. In 1297 Wallace gathered a gallant army round him, and offered battle to Earl Warenne, Edward's aged and easy-going governor of Scotland. At *Stirling Bridge*, near the abbey of Cambuskenneth, Warenne was out-generalled by Wallace and utterly defeated. Before the end of the year all Scotland threw off the English yoke, and Wallace spread desolation over the English border.

25. Edward hurried back from Flanders, where he had done very little against Philip. In 1298 he once more led an army into Scotland, and engaged Wallace in battle at *Falkirk* on July 22. The English army fought on horseback, after the fashion that had prevailed ever since the battle of Hastings, though Edward had learnt from his Welsh war the wisdom of combining archers with the cavalry, so as to wear down the foe from a distance. Most of the barons and knights of Scotland were holding aloof from Wallace, or were actually on Edward's side, so that the Scottish hero had to trust to those Scots who were not rich enough to fight on horseback. But Wallace had the eye of a good general, and saw that his only chance of victory was to keep his troops closely together. He planted his infantry, whose chief arm was the pike, in dense squares or circles. For a long time the stubborn pikemen resisted the repeated rushes of Edward's knights, but the king cleverly broke through their ranks by constant flights of arrows; and then the cavalry rode through the gaps and dispersed the Scottish squares with great slaughter. Wallace fled to France, and once more it seemed as if Scotland were at Edward's feet.

Battle of Falkirk, 1298.

26. A renewal of Edward's domestic troubles, and the continued struggle with Philip IV., destroyed the king's hopes of completing the conquest of the north. He soon saw that he could not fight both France and Scotland at the same time, and in 1299 made peace with Philip, and, being now a widower, married the French king's sister Margaret as a pledge of better relations for the future. Even then Philip retained for several years the greater part of Gascony, but luckily for Edward, the French king quarrelled with the

Edward's reconciliation with France and the Church.

imperious Pope Boniface VIII., and soon found it necessary to buy Edward's friendship by surrendering him Gascony. By 1303 Philip had ruined Boniface and broken down the overwhelming power of the papacy. In 1305 a Gascon subject of Edward's was chosen pope by Philip IV.'s good will, and took the name of Clement V. This unworthy pontiff deserted Italy and tarried in France, finally taking up his abode at Avignon, on the Rhone, and doing complacently the will of the mighty French king. He was only less subservient to Edward, and abandoned Archbishop Winchelsea to the king's anger. Winchelsea was driven into exile, and with his fall Edward became once more master over the English Church. Long before that the bull *Clericis laicos* had been given up, and Edward's persecution of Winchelsea had a sinister appearance of mere revenge.

27. France was thus conciliated and the clerical opposition crushed. While these processes were going on, Edward was also breaking down the baronial opposition which had triumphed over him in 1297. Despite his agreement to confirm the charters, his troubles with the barons went on for several years, and effectively prevented the united effort of all England, which alone could complete the work began at Falkirk. Edward was very sore at being forced to give up so much power, and behaved almost as badly as his father had done in regarding the letter rather than the spirit of his concessions. Disgusted at his narrow spirit, the barons refused to follow him to Scotland until he had really carried out his promises. In 1300 he was forced to accept another series of additions to the charters, contained in a document called *Articuli super Cartas*, which ordered a survey of the forests to be made, in order to check the king's encroachments on freemen's rights by extending the boundaries of the forests, within which he had more power than over the rest of his realm. Edward resented the attempt to limit his authority over the forests with extreme bitterness, and struggled as long as he could. In 1301 he made a further submission, but even after that he induced Clement v. to free him from his oath, though, to his credit be it said, he made no use of the papal dispensation. The long struggle taught him that it was only by yielding to his barons that he could subdue Scotland.

The baronial opposition conciliated.

28. It was not until 1303 that Edward was able to throw all his efforts into conquering Scotland. In 1304 he captured Stirling, and at last saw Scotland at his feet. Wallace now came back to the scene of his former triumphs, but was not able to effect much against

Edward. He was taken prisoner, and in 1305 beheaded as a traitor at London. Fierce and cruel though he had been, his courage and daring had made him the idol of his countrymen. When the nobles despaired of freedom, Wallace organized revolt and kept alive the spirit of liberty. The work that he did survived his apparent failure.

The second conquest of Scotland, 1303-1305.

29. Edward had drawn up a plan for the government of Scotland, under which the land was to be divided into four parts, each of which was to be under two justices, one a Scot and the other an Englishman; while the king's nephew, John of Brittany, was to be warden of all Scotland. But the new system had hardly begun when a fresh revolt compelled Edward to begin the work of conquest all over again. Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, grandson of the unsuccessful claimant, had generally been a supporter of Edward, and had taken a prominent part in establishing the new constitution. He had a great foe in John Comyn of Badenoch, the hereditary rival of his house. In 1306 the two enemies agreed to make peace and meet at Dumfries to discuss their future action. There Bruce suddenly fell upon Comyn and treacherously murdered him. Despairing of Edward's pardon, he fled to the hills, and finding the people rallying round him, he dexterously posed as the champion of Scottish independence, and renewed his house's claim to the throne. The Scots were glad to follow any leader against the hated English, and Bruce, though treacherous and self-seeking, soon showed that he had the ability and courage necessary to rule a people struggling for freedom. In a few months he was crowned king at Scone, and for the third time Edward had to face the prospect of conquering afresh the stubborn nation that had so long defied his efforts.

The rising of Robert Bruce, 1306.

30. Edward was now nearly seventy years of age, and his health had latterly been broken; but his courage was as high as ever, and he resolved to conquer Scotland for the third time. In 1307 the old king was once more on the border, but his infirmities made it impossible for him to move quickly. The effort proved too much for his declining strength, and on July 7 he died at Burgh-on-Sands, almost the last village on the English border. With him perished the last hope of conquering Scotland, but though the chief ambition of his life was thus a failure, he had done a great work for England. The conqueror of Wales, the framer of a whole series of great laws, the maker of our mediæval constitution, he had turned the French

Death of Edward I., 1307.

king from his dearest purpose, curbed the fierce baronage, and even set some limits to the claims of the Church. He was the first real Englishman to reign after the Norman conquest, and the creator of the modern English nation as well as of the modern English state, though he could not effect his purpose of bringing all our island under his own domination. That his own realm should henceforth be ruled after a constitutional fashion, and not by despotic caprice, seemed assured when even the stubborn will of Edward was forced to give way to his subjects. The best guarantee for the permanence of the charters and of the popular parliament lay in the fact that they were wrested not only from a capricious despot like John, or a weakling like Henry III., but also from a strong and powerful king like Edward I.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD II. OF CARNARVON (1307–1327)

Chief Dates:

1307. Accession of Edward II.
1311. The Ordinances drawn up.
1312. Death of Gaveston.
1314. Battle of Bannockburn.
1322. Battle of Boroughbridge.
1326. Landing of Isabella.
1327. Deposition of Edward II.

1. Edward of Carnarvon was twenty-three years old when he became king. Tall, graceful, and handsome, he looked almost as fine a man as his father, but an utter lack of serious purpose blasted his whole career. It was to no purpose that Edward I. had carefully trained his son both in military science and in business; the youth showed no taste for anything but his own amusements. The old king was bitterly disgusted, and attributing his son's levity to the influence of a Gascon knight, Peter of Gaveston, with whom he had been educated, he banished the foreign favourite early in 1307. But as soon as his father was dead, Edward recalled Gaveston, and, despite his having solemnly promised his dying father to persevere in it, abandoned the campaign against the Scots. In every way he reversed the policy of Edward I., and at once embarked upon a course of action that ultimately involved himself in ruin and wrought terrible havoc to his kingdom. Though there have been worse kings than Edward II., there have been none so negligent and light-minded.

Edward II. and Gaveston, 1307.

2. Under Edward I. the barons had been discontented with the growing power of the crown, but had been restrained in their opposition by the strong will and wise policy of the king. With the accession of Edward II. the baronial opposition at once revived, and soon proved as formidable to the monarchy as in the days of Henry III. The barons' disgust of Edward's affection for Gaveston gave them

Gaveston's exile and recall, 1308-1309.

their first pretext for revolt, and they had the people with them in their aversion to the favourite. Gaveston was quick-witted and a good soldier, but his head was turned by his sudden elevation, and he had an unhappy knack of sharp and bitter speech that mortally offended the barons. Before long Edward made him earl of Cornwall and married him to his niece, the sister of the young Earl Gilbert of Gloucester. In 1308 a parliament of barons met and forced the king to drive him into exile. Edward strove to lighten his misfortunes by appointing him governor of Ireland, and set to work at once to intrigue for his return. In 1309 the king shrewdly adopted a long series of reforms, which a parliament of the three states urged upon him. In return for these concessions, the parliament allowed Edward to bring his friend back to England. But the leading barons refused to be bound by the acts of this parliament.

3. In 1310 another baronial assembly resolved to punish the king for restoring his favourite by compelling him to appoint a committee of barons to draft ordinances for the future government of his realm. In a vain hope of saving Gaveston, Edward agreed to this proposal. Accordingly, a body of twenty-one *Lords Ordainers* was appointed from the earls, barons, and bishops. In 1311 they drew up the *Ordinances*. By them Gaveston was to be banished for life, the great offices of state were to be filled up with the advice of the barons, and the king was not to go to war, raise an army, or leave the kingdom without their permission. It was a complete programme of limited monarchy, but no word was said as to the commons and clergy. To the ordainers parliament still meant a parliament of barons.

The Ordinances and the Lords Ordainers, 1310-1311.

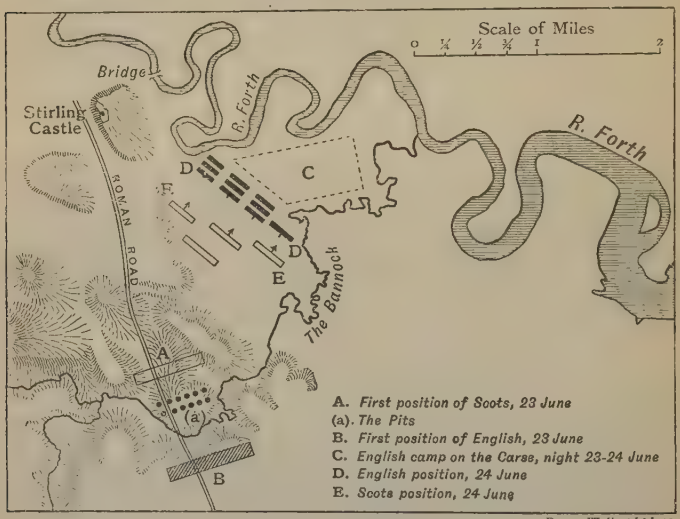
4. Gaveston went into exile for the second time, but early in 1312 Edward recalled him. Thereupon the ordainers raised an army and besieged Gaveston in Scarborough Castle. After a short siege Gaveston surrendered, and the barons agreed to spare his life. Not long after he was brutally put to death by the earl of Warwick, the most rancorous of his enemies, who thought himself free to slay the favourite because he had not been a party to the promise to spare his life. The king was bitterly incensed at the treachery which had lured his favourite to death, and feebly strove to revenge him. Ultimately he was forced to give way, and leave power in the hands of the ordainers.

The murder of Gaveston, 1312.

5. It was high time that the king and barons made peace, for

during their dissensions Robert Bruce had been establishing his power over the whole of Scotland. When Edward I. died, Bruce's position was still doubtful; but when the new king gave up fighting the war in person the chances of the Scots grew brighter. Between 1307 and 1314, Bruce conquered nearly all Scotland. He won over most of the Scottish barons to his side, and gradually captured the strong castles which Edward I. had established to keep the Scots in subjection. The chief of the few castles

Robert Bruce becomes master of Scotland, 1307-1314.



BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

that still remained in English hands was Stirling, a place of great military importance, because it commanded the lowest bridge over the Forth, by which the easiest road between the Lowlands and the Highlands passed. At last Bruce besieged Stirling, and pressed the garrison so hard that they agreed to surrender if they were not relieved by St. John the Baptist's Day, June 24, 1314.

6. If Stirling fell, the last vestige of English rule in Scotland was destroyed, and even Edward felt that he must make an effort to avoid such a calamity. King and barons accordingly joined to raise a great army, and set off to relieve Stirling before the appointed day. The mighty host

Battle of Bannockburn, 1314.

was more formidable in appearance than in reality. The presence of the king prevented any real general from being appointed, and the barons, still sulky and discontented, fought with undisguised reluctance. The English army moved so slowly that it only reached the neighbourhood of Stirling on June 23. Bruce resolved to fight a battle to prevent the raising of the siege, and took up a strong defensive position on the north bank of the Bannockburn, a few miles to the south of Stirling. The English avoided his formidable lines and crossed the Bannock lower down. But sections of their army were badly beaten in two preliminary skirmishes, and the main body, though getting into communication with the garrison of Stirling, was forced to pass the night in great dread of attack in the swampy plain of the carse, whence the Forth and Bannock prevented an easy retreat. Next day, June 24, Bruce saw that the enemy had delivered himself into his hands. Though his trust was in infantry, armed with spears and marshalled in dense squadrons, he did not hesitate to leave his position on the hills and march down over against the English camp, as if challenging an attack. Against the best advice Edward accepted battle, but he neglected all the precautions by which his father had won his victories. No effort was made to combine the archers with the men-at-arms, and the English relied entirely on the shock of a cavalry charge. But the English horsemen failed to penetrate the Scottish squares. Soon the whole English army was in a state of wild confusion. The few who fought bravely, conspicuous among whom was the young earl of Gloucester, perished on the field. The majority fled disgracefully, and Edward II. set the example of cowardice to his army. Bruce won a complete victory. Stirling Castle opened its gates to him, and Scottish independence was fully vindicated.

7. The disaster of Bannockburn made Edward more dependent upon his barons than ever. For the next few years power remained with the ordainers, but the ordainers proved as incompetent as Edward to govern England. Their wisest councillor, Archbishop Winchelsea, was now dead, and their leader was Edward's cousin, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the son of Earl Edmund, brother of Edward I. Earl Thomas was by far the most powerful and wealthy of the English earls. By inheritance and marriage he united under his control the resources of five earldoms. He had been a capable leader of opposition, but his ability was small; he was greedy, selfish, and domineering, and knew better how to humiliate the king than to

Thomas of Lancaster.

rule the country. He made few attempts to save the northern counties from the frequent forays with which the Scots now insulted the weakness of England. The country was full of tumult and private war, and as Lancaster's weakness became known, even Edward plucked up courage to assert himself. It looked as if England was threatened with a new war between the king and his cousin.

8. The wiser barons now took matters into their own hands. Headed by Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, they made terms with the better men of the court. The coalition thus formed sought to impose terms on both Edward and Thomas. In 1318 this *middle party* got power into its own hands by the *Treaty of Leake*, which was confirmed in the parliament of York. By it a standing council, like the Fifteen of 1258, was appointed to act in the king's name. Edward was allowed little power, but was treated respectfully, while Lancaster was muzzled and held aloof in sulky isolation. From 1318 to 1321 things went much better, but the quarrels of the barons at last broke down the unity of the coalition. Edward, eager to win back authority, now made a close friendship with the two Hugh Despensers, father and son, who had hitherto worked with Pembroke, but were soon denounced as favourites. They were at least English noblemen, and not foreign upstarts like Gaveston; but the barons soon showed that they could hate a renegade as bitterly as they had ever hated an alien adventurer. They strongly resented the titles, estates, and favours which Edward conferred on his new friends. In particular they took alarm when the younger Despenser, who, like Gaveston, had married a sister of the earl of Gloucester slain at Bannockburn, strove to obtain for himself the position of earl of Gloucester, vacant since his brother-in-law's death without male heirs. By 1321 the Despensers were strong enough to make the barons very anxious to mete out to them the fate of Gaveston. Headed by Lancaster, parliament sentenced them to banishment. The loss of his favourites inspired Edward with an energy rarely to be found in him. In 1322 he took up arms on their behalf, and recalled them from beyond the sea. The barons made a poor fight, and before long Lancaster was defeated and taken prisoner at the *battle of Boroughbridge*, in Yorkshire, a fight memorable by the adoption by the royalist army of the new fashion of fighting on foot, which had won Bannockburn for the Scots. A few days later Thomas was tried and executed at his own castle of Pontefract.

The fall of Lancaster, 1322.

9. From the fall of Lancaster to 1326 the Despensers ruled

England. They were shrewd enough to profit by the errors of the ordainers: they sought to improve the government by great schemes of administrative reform, and professed to be the friends of the Commons. Immediately after Lancaster's death a parliament was held at York, which revoked the ordinances as infringing the rights of the crown, and because they were drawn up by a council of barons only. This parliament laid down the important principle, that matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and for the estate of the realm, shall be treated in parliament by a council of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm. This is the most important constitutional advance made under Edward II. Henceforth no law could be regarded as valid unless it had received the consent of the Commons.

The Parliament of York, 1322.

10. Despite this wise beginning, the rule of the Despensers broke down as signally as that of Lancaster. They were utterly unable to guard the north of England from the devastating inroads of Robert Bruce, and in 1322 made a truce with him which practically recognized him as king of Scots. The favourites thought more of winning territory and wealth for themselves than of the good government of the kingdom. The elder Hugh became earl of Winchester, and his son acquired the power and many of the estates, though not the title, of the earl of Gloucester. Their covetousness and pride made them generally hated, and their folly prevented them from taking proper measures to protect themselves. They soon excited the enmity of all classes against them.

The rule of the Despensers, 1322-1326.

11. Among the many persons whom the Despensers offended was the queen, Isabella of France, a daughter of Philip the Fair. Seeing that she was not strong enough to induce her husband to dismiss his favourites, she cleverly dissembled her wrath, and, in 1325, persuaded her husband to allow her to visit France, then ruled by her brother, King Charles IV. With her went her eldest son, Edward of Windsor, who was appointed by his father duke of Aquitaine, and commissioned to do homage for that duchy on behalf of the king of England. At Paris Isabella made friends with some of the exiled members of Lancaster's party at whose head was Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, the most powerful of the barons from the March of Wales, who was eager to be avenged on the Despensers and obtain restoration to his estates. At Mortimer's advice, Isabella refused to return to England as long as the Despensers remained in power.

Isabella and Mortimer.

Soon the scandal caused by the queen's open affection for Mortimer induced King Charles to send her out of France. Therefore she went to Hainault, where she betrothed her son to Philippa, daughter of the count of Hainault, and obtained from him enough soldiers and money to make it possible for her to invade England and drive her husband from the throne.

12. In September, 1326, Isabella, Mortimer, and the young Edward landed at Orwell, in Essex, declaring that they had come to avenge the murder of Lancaster and to drive the Despensers from power. England was so tired of Edward and the Despensers, that men of all ranks flocked eagerly to the camp of the queen. The chief barons, including Henry of Lancaster, the brother and heir of Earl Thomas, declared in her favour. The Londoners murdered Edward's ministers, and opened their gates to his enemies. Against these powerful forces Edward II. could do nothing. He fled to the west, accompanied by the Despensers, and rapidly followed by Isabella and Mortimer. The elder Despenser was taken and slain at Bristol, and his son was hanged at Hereford. The king strove to take refuge in the younger Hugh's Glamorganshire estates, but he was soon tracked out and brought prisoner to London. Early in 1327 parliament met at Westminster. It recognized Edward of Aquitaine as Edward III., and forced the old king to resign the crown to his son. Next year the deposed monarch was cruelly murdered at Berkeley Castle, in Gloucestershire. He was the most worthless of our kings, and richly deserved deposition, yet few beneficial changes have been brought about with more manifest self-seeking than that which hurled him from power. The angry spite of the adulterous queen, the fierce rancour and greediness of Roger Mortimer, and the cowardice of the lesser agents of the revolution can inspire nothing but disgust. Among Edward's foes, Henry of Lancaster alone behaved as an honourable gentleman. But though his wrongs were ostentatiously put forward, he was, like the young duke of Aquitaine, a mere tool in the hands of Isabella and her paramour. Yet the ostentatious care shown to make parliament responsible for the change of ruler showed that even the weak reign of Edward II. had done something to strengthen the fabric of the English constitution.

The fall of Edward II., 1326-1327.

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD III. (1327–1377)

Chief dates:

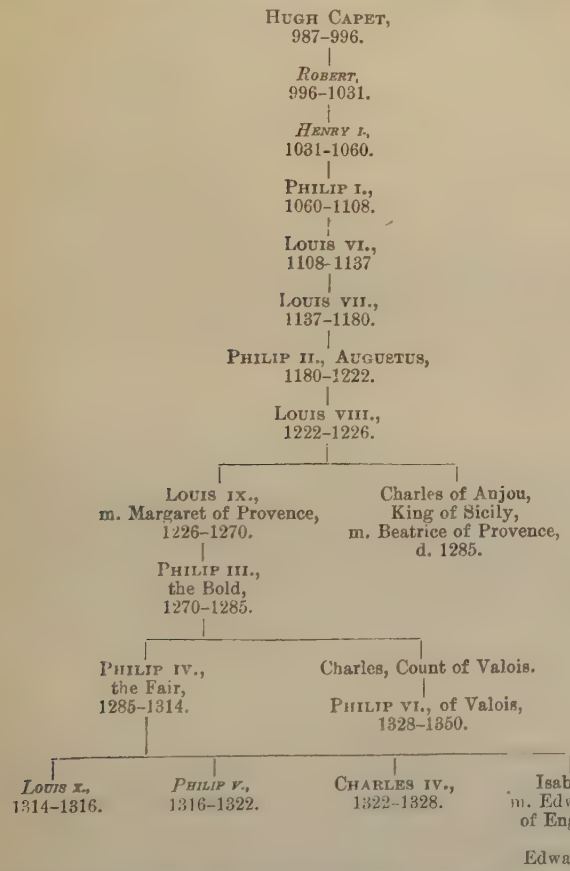
1327. Accession of Edward III.
1328. Peace of Northampton.
1330. Fall of Mortimer.
1333. Battle of Halidon Hill.
1337. Beginning of Hundred Years' War.
1340. Battle of Sluys.
1346. Battles of Crécy and Neville's Cross.
1348. Outbreak of the Black Death.
1351. Statute of Provisors.
1353. Statute of Præmunire.
1356. Battle of Poitiers.
1360. Treaties of Brétigni and Calais.
1367. Battle of Nájera.
1369. Renewal of the Hundred Years' War.
1371. Clerical ministers removed from office.
1376. The Good Parliament.
1377. Death of Edward III.

1. EDWARD III. was only fourteen years old when he became king, and for three years Isabella and Mortimer ruled in his name. Nominally power went to the council, of which Henry of Lancaster, now restored to his brother's title and estates, was chairman. Troubles at once arose, both with Scotland and France. Robert Bruce's fighting days were over, but he took advantage of the revolution in England to send an army across the border. Though a great force was gathered together to repel the Scots, the English dared not risk a battle, and soon began to negotiate for peace. In 1328 this resulted in the *treaty of Northampton*, by which England withdrew all claim to feudal superiority over Scotland, recognized Robert Bruce as king of Scots, and agreed to the marriage of his son David to Joan, Edward's infant sister. The treaty excited great indignation, and men called it a shameful peace, but it is difficult to see on what other terms an agreement could have been made.

The rule of Isabella and Mortimer, 1327-1330.

There was not the least chance of driving Robert Bruce from the throne which he had so laboriously won for himself. To continue the war was useless, and its only result would have been to expose the northern counties of England to constant Scottish invasions. Yet the formal surrender of Edward I.'s claims over Scotland cost much to a proud and high-spirited nation. The humiliation was the worse since it was only by concessions almost as hard that Isabella and Mortimer managed to secure peace with France. During the troubles that preceded the fall of Edward of Carnarvon, Charles IV. had taken possession of Gascony, on account of which nominal war had broken out between the two countries. The English were as little able to reconquer Gascony as to win back Scotland, and here again Isabella and Mortimer accepted inevitable facts, though they were more fortunate than in their dealings with the northern kingdom, since they obtained a partial restoration of Gascony before they would agree to conclude peace. This was done by the *treaty of Paris* of 1327. From this time the English duchy of Gascony was cut down to narrow limits, centring round the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne. Next year, 1328, Charles IV. died, having been the third son of Philip IV. to reign in succession over France and die without male heirs. Immediately the French barons recognized the nearest male heir, Philip, count of Valois, the son of Charles, count of Valois, a brother of Philip IV., as King Philip VI. It had already been laid down in France, when Philip the Fair's eldest son died, leaving a daughter, that women were excluded from the succession. Accordingly the accession of Philip VI. went almost as a matter of course. Isabella, however, who was Charles's sister, protested against the Valois succession. She recognized that France must have a king, and did not claim the throne for herself. However, she maintained that a woman, though incapable of reigning, might form the "bridge and plank" through which her son, Edward III., might succeed. The French barons rightly regarded this as a dangerous claim. Its effect would have been, whenever a king died without a son, to transfer the throne to some foreign prince, whose descent could be traced to a lady of the royal house. The French were not willing to hand over their throne to a foreign sovereign, and Isabella's claim on her son's behalf was quietly pushed aside. She was quite unable to do more than protest, and in 1329 her son virtually recognized the lawfulness of Philip's position by performing homage to him for Aquitaine.

GENEALOGY OF THE FRENCH KINGS OF THE DIRECT CAPETIAN LINE, SHOWING EDWARD III.'s CLAIMS


HUGH CAPET, 987–996.
ROBERT, 996–1031.
HENRY I., 1031–1060.
PHILIP I., 1060–1108.
LOUIS VI., 1108–1137
LOUIS VII., 1137–1180.
PHILIP II., AUGUSTUS, 1180–1222.
LOUIS VIII., 1222–1226.
LOUIS IX., m. Margaret of Provence, 1226–1270.
Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, m. Beatrice of Provence, d. 1285.
PHILIP III., the Bold, 1270–1285.
PHILIP IV., the Fair, 1285–1314.
Charles, Count of Valois.
PHILIP VI., of Valois, 1328–1350.
LOUIS X., 1314–1316.
PHILIP V., 1316–1322.
CHARLES IV., 1322–1328.
Isabella, m. Edward II. of England.
Edward III.

French kings mentioned in the text in small capitals; all names not mentioned in the text in *italics*.

2. The home government of Isabella and Mortimer was as unsuccessful as their foreign policy. Mortimer thought of nothing save of acquiring a great position for himself. His ambition was

to unite the whole of the Welsh March under his sway, and he received the title of earl of the March of Wales, or, more shortly, earl of March. For a time he vigorously stamped out all attempts to oppose him. His last triumph was in 1330, when he put to death Edmund, earl of Kent, Edward I.'s son by his second wife, who had convinced himself that his brother, Edward II., was still alive, and strove to bring about his restoration to the throne. Edward III. was now becoming a man, and was keenly alive to the humiliation involved in his dependence on his mother and her paramour. Henry of Lancaster was equally indignant at his exclusion from all real share of power. Accordingly, in 1330, a conspiracy was arranged to drive Mortimer from the position which he had usurped. A band of soldiers was introduced through a secret passage into Nottingham Castle, where Mortimer and the queen were staying. The favourite was arrested and soon afterwards hanged. Isabella was henceforward excluded from any share in public affairs. With their fall the real reign of Edward III. begins.

The fall of Mortimer, 1330.

3. Edward III. was not a great man like Edward I., but he won a conspicuous place in history by the extraordinary activity of his temperament, and the vigour and energy with which he threw himself into whatever work he set himself to do. He delighted in hunting and tournaments, was liberal, easy of access, good tempered, and kindly. He was not only a consummate knight, but a capable soldier, with the general's eye that takes in the points of a situation at a glance. His weak points were his extravagance, his love of frivolous amusement, his self-indulgence, and his disregard for his plighted word. His main ambition in life was to win fame and glory abroad, but he ruled England creditably, and made many concessions to his subjects' wishes in order to obtain supplies for carrying on his foreign wars. Like Edward I., he attempted far more than he was able to carry through; but it was only at the very end of his reign that his subjects realized that the popular and glorious king had failed in his chief ambitions.

Character and policy of Edward III.

4. In the early years of his personal rule, Edward's chief object was to win back for England something of the greatness it had acquired under Edward I. He was bitterly irritated at the establishment of Scottish independence, and before long fortune gave him a chance of upsetting in an indirect way the treaty of Northampton. Robert Bruce died in 1329, and was succeeded by his son David, Edward III.'s

David Bruce and Edward Balliol, 1329-1333.

brother-in-law, who was a mere boy. Under his weak government troubles soon broke out in Scotland. A large number of Scottish barons who had opposed Robert Bruce had been driven into exile when Robert became king. They were called the *Disinherited*, and they saw in the minority of King David a chance of winning back their estates by force. At their head was the son of the deposed King John, Edward Balliol, who had not forgotten his father's claim on the Scottish throne. Edward III. gave them no direct help, as he feared to break wantonly the treaty of Northampton. However, he made no effort to prevent the Disinherited from collecting a little army, with which they invaded Scotland in 1332, under the command of Edward Balliol. The invaders won a decisive victory over the army of King David at *Dupplin Moor* near Perth. A few weeks later Balliol was crowned king of Scots at Scone. He gained recognition by Edward as king of Scots through promising to hold Scotland of him, and to cede him Berwick. The party of David, however, was not entirely crushed, and before the end of the year they surprised Balliol at Annan, and drove him back into England. His reign only lasted four months.

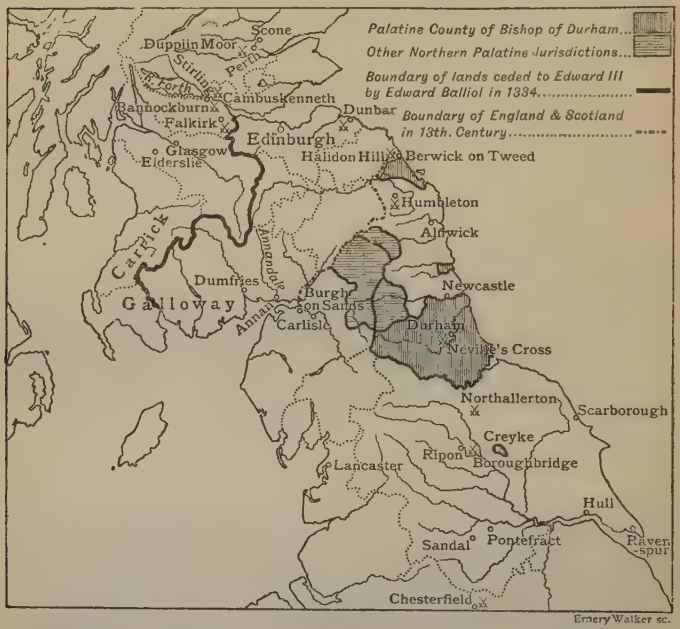
5. Edward III. now openly took up Balliol's cause, and in 1333 invaded Scotland to restore his vassal to his throne. His first step was to besiege Berwick, and the Scots forced Edward to fight a battle before he could secure the town. This fight was fought at *Halidon Hill*, a short distance west of Berwick. The English men-at-arms dismounted and fought on foot after the Scottish fashion. Their tactics proved signally successful. The Scots were beaten, and next day Berwick opened its gates, to be for the rest of its history an English frontier town. Edward's action now showed that Balliol was but a tool in his hands. In 1334 he restored his namesake to his throne, but only on his agreeing to cede to England the whole of Lothian and the eastern part of Galloway. Any faint chance that Balliol had of success was completely destroyed by Edward's greediness. The Scots hated him as the betrayer of his country, and the English treated him as the puppet of their king. For many years he strove to make himself real master of that part of Scotland which Edward permitted him to claim. David was sent to France for safety, but most Scots still upheld him against the two Edwards. At no time did either Edward Balliol or the King of England effectively possess the Scottish lands they claimed as theirs. But their efforts to establish themselves involved the north in many years of bloodshed

Halidon Hill, 1333.

David finally established in Scotland.

and misery. At last, after Edward III.'s breach with France, David returned to Scotland and made himself king over the whole country. Thus Edward III. failed as signally as his grandfather in his efforts to conquer Scotland.

6. During the years of Edward's attempt on Scotland the



NORTHERN ENGLAND AND SOUTHERN SCOTLAND IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

relations of England and France became increasingly unfriendly.

Causes of the Hundred Years' War.

Edward complained that Philip VI. kept David at his court, and openly took the side of the Scots against the English. There were other difficulties about Gascony, where Philip VI., like Philip IV., was doing what he could to lessen the power of Edward as duke. It was, in fact, the impossible position of Edward in Gascony which caused the fundamental difference between the two nations. Edward could not abandon his ancient patrimony, and Philip could not give up the policy of every king since St. Louis of gradually absorbing

the great fiefs in the royal domain. Besides this, there were many secondary causes of the war. One of these was Philip's support of the Scots. Another cause of dispute arose from the rival interests of England and France in Flanders. This county, though nominally a fief of France, was largely hostile to the French king. Flanders in those days was the chief manufacturing district in northern Europe, and its chief towns, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, were the best customers that England had. England in the fourteenth century was a purely agricultural and pastoral land. Its chief product was wool, which was exported to Flanders to be woven into cloth in its populous clothing towns. The great Flemish towns had liberties so extensive that they were virtually independent, both of their immediate master the count of Flanders, and of his overlord, the king of France. The count of Flanders called in the help of Philip VI. to subdue his unruly townsmen, and these in their turn appealed to Edward for help. The leader of the Flemish citizens was James van Artevelde of Ghent. He saw that the best hopes of Flemish municipal independence lay in a close alliance with England, and was eager to win over Edward to his side. Under his guidance the towns of Flanders drove away their count, and made a treaty with England. Philip deeply resented Edward's interference with his Flemish vassals. He was still more angry when Edward added to the Flemish alliance a close friendship with the Emperor Louis of Bavaria and the chief imperial vassals of the Netherlands. Louis of Bavaria, who had married Queen Philippa's sister, was now engaged in a fierce struggle with the Avignon popes, who had excommunicated and deposed him. Yet, in 1338, Edward visited Louis at Coblenz, on the Rhine, where he made a close alliance with him, and was appointed the emperor's vicar in the Netherlands. Thereupon the count of Hainault and Holland, brother-in-law of king and emperor alike, the duke of Brabant, and other Netherlandish vassals of Philip, took Edward's pay and agreed to help him against France. This alliance intensely annoyed the pope, who had long been making strenuous efforts to bring about peace. But the popes were now Frenchmen, and thought by England to be prejudiced in favour of France, so that the chief result of their interference was to make the papacy disliked in England. Besides all these troubles, there were many commercial disputes, and French and English sailors were already contending with each other at sea, as they had done in 1293.

7. Under these circumstances both countries slowly drifted into

war, and the first open hostilities took place in 1337. When war had already become inevitable, Edward III. immensely complicated the situation by reviving the claims on the French crown which Isabella had advanced on his behalf at the time of the accession of Philip of Valois. At first these claims were not very seriously meant, and it is a mistake to suppose that they were the chief cause of the war. It was not until 1340 that Edward assumed the title of King of France, and then he did so simply to please the Flemings, who had scruples in fighting their feudal overlord, which disappeared when they persuaded themselves that Edward, and not Philip, was the real king of France. From that moment, however, Edward's pretensions became more important. The persistence of Edward and his successors in maintaining the claim made real peace impossible for many generations. The result was that the war which now began is known in history as the *Hundred Years' War*. Though fighting did not go on all that time without a break, England and France were for more than a hundred years generally unfriendly, and nearly always actually at war with each other. Even when peace was made, the claim was not dropped, and every English king down to George III. called himself king of France, and quartered on his shield the lilies of France with the lions of England. Edward's claim did not seem so unreasonable then as it seems to modern eyes, but the French rightly resisted it, as his success would have meant the subjection of their land to the rule of a foreigner.

The chief features of the struggle.

8. War on a great scale began in 1339, when Edward led an English army to the Netherlands, and strove, with the help of his Flemish and imperial allies, to invade the northern frontiers of France. Neither Edward nor Philip ventured to fight a pitched battle, and Edward's German confederates were more anxious to take his pay than to do him real service. The only result of Edward's Netherlandish campaigns was to exhaust his resources and diminish his reputation.

The Netherlandish Campaigns, 1339-1340.

9. The most decisive fighting during these wars was at sea. The French had planned a great invasion of England, and though this came to nothing, they collected a powerful fleet, which, in 1340, strove to prevent Edward's returning to the Netherlands to renew the campaign. The result of this was a great sea fight off the Flemish port of *Sluys*, in which the French navy was absolutely destroyed. This battle put

The Battle of Sluys, 1340.

an end to all schemes of invasion, and gave the English for many years the command of the Channel. Henceforward Edward boasted that the king of England was lord of the sea. Yet even the glory of Sluys did not help Edward in his land campaign. Before the end of 1340 he made a truce with the French and returned to England. Though his people had granted him large supplies, he was almost bankrupt. He unfairly laid the blame of this on his ministers, the chief of whom was John Stratford, Archbishop of

THE CRÉCY CAMPAIGN, 1346.

Canterbury. On his return to England he drove Stratford from power, and appointed an entirely new body of ministers.

10. Before the truce expired a fresh cause of difference arose between Edward and Philip. There was a disputed succession to the Duchy of Brittany, between John of Montfort and Charles of Blois. As Philip supported the claims of Charles of Blois, Edward upheld those of Montfort. Both kings went to Brittany to uphold their respective champions, and there fought campaigns that were almost as futile and expensive as the campaigns in the Netherlands. In 1345 direct war was renewed, and at first the chief fighting was in Gascony. Both countries frittered away their strength in desultory warfare, and very little came of it.

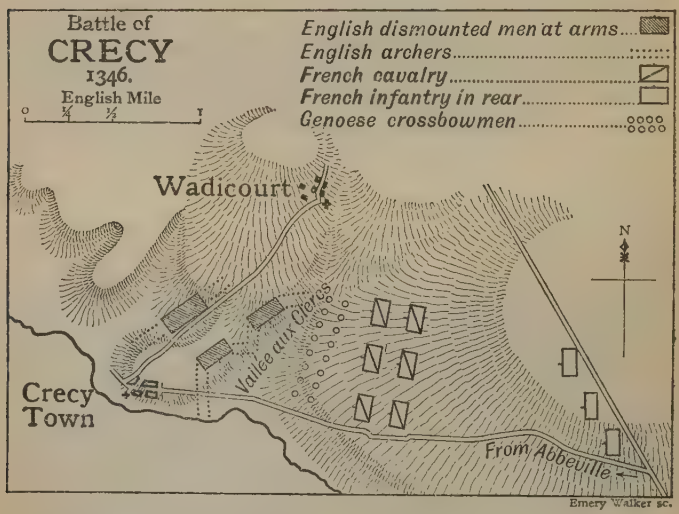
War of the Breton succession.

11. More serious results followed in 1346. In that year Edward led a great English army into Normandy, and took with him

his eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, a youth of sixteen, afterwards famous as the Black Prince. In July the English landed at La Hougue in the Cotentin, and marched through Normandy, plundering and devastating, and only meeting with serious resistance at Caen, which they captured. Thence they struck the left bank of the Seine, and advanced up the river almost to the gates of Paris. Philip gathered together a numerous force for the defence of his capital, and Edward was forced to retreat northwards, closely followed by the French king. At last he reached the river Somme, but he found the bridges guarded by the French, and was unable to get over the stream. There was grave danger of his being driven into a corner between the Somme and the sea, when he luckily discovered a ford, called Blanchetaque, by which the Somme was crossed.

The Invasion of Normandy, 1346.

12. The French were so close on Edward's heels that he was



obliged to turn and fight a battle in his own inheritance of Ponthieu. He took up a strong position on a low hill, with his right resting on the little town of *Crécy*, and his left on the village of Wadicourt. After the fashion learnt in the Scottish wars, the English knights and men-at-arms sent their horses to the rear and fought on foot, standing in close array,

The Battle of Crécy, 1346.

and divided into three great divisions. Two of these were stationed on the crest of the hill, while the third was posted in the rear in reserve, under the king in person. The archers, who since Halidon Hill had been regarded as a very important element in the English army, were posted on the wings of each of the three divisions. The French took up their position on an opposite hill, separated from the English by a shallow waterless depression called the Vallée aux Clercs. Their numbers were much greater than those of the English, but they were much worse commanded and worse disciplined. They still fought in the old feudal fashion, set little store on their infantry, which they placed in the rear, and threw their main effort in a cavalry charge. The battle began in the afternoon of August 26. The French, who had marched all the way from Abbeville, were already weary, but their leaders were so confident of victory that they insisted upon attacking the English at once. The first hostilities proceeded from the advance of a force of Genoese crossbowmen, who were ordered to shoot their bolts against the English lines to prepare their way for the cavalry charge. But the crossbows had an inferior range to the English long bows, and, to make matters worse, the evening sun was shining behind the English lines right in the faces of the Genoese, many of whose weapons had, moreover, been made useless by a recent shower, which had wetted their strings. The result was that few bolts from the crossbowmen reached the English ranks, whilst the arrows of our archers soon threw the Genoese back in confusion. By this time the French cavalry had grown impatient of waiting. At last they rushed fiercely through the ranks of the unlucky crossbowmen and made their way through the valley towards the English lines. Again the archers threw the enemy into confusion, and though they made repeated charges, few of the French succeeded in crossing lances with the enemy. At one point only did they get near their goal, and that was on the English right, where the Prince of Wales was in command. A timely reinforcement saved the position, and the French retreated, protected, as the English boasted, by the rampart of the dead they left behind them. It was the greatest victory of the age, and won for the English a great reputation as warriors. Moreover, it proved conclusively that disciplined infantry could withstand a cavalry charge, and so taught all Europe the superiority of the tactics which the English had adopted.

13. So war-worn were the victors that all the immediate profit they could win was the power to continue undisturbed their march

to the sea coast. Instead, however, of returning to England, Edward laid siege to *Calais*, the most northerly town of the French king's dominions. He persevered in this siege for more than a year, and in 1347 the famine-stricken burgesses of Calais were compelled to open their gates to him. For more than two hundred years Calais remained an English town, and was of great importance, both as a fortress through which an English army might at any time be poured into France, and as a warehouse through which the weavers of Flanders were to draw their supplies of raw wool. Crécy and Calais were not the only triumphs of this glorious time. Edward's cousin, Henry, earl of Lancaster, son of the Earl Henry we have already mentioned, won decisive victories in Gascony at *Auberoche* and *Aiguillon*. David, king of Scots, who invaded England when Edward was fighting the Crécy campaign, was defeated and taken prisoner at the *battle of Neville's Cross*, near Durham. In 1347 Charles of Blois was beaten and captured in the *battle of La Roche Derien*, which secured for a time the establishment of Montfort's cause in Brittany. Yet in the midst of his career of conquest Edward concluded a new truce in 1347. His want of money and the need of repose account for this halt in the midst of victory. Yet the necessity of the truce showed that Edward had embarked upon a course far beyond his capacity. However many battles he might win, it was clear that he could never conquer all France.

Calais, Auberoche, Neville's Cross, and La Roche Derien. 1346-1347.

14. Up to this point Edward's reign had been a time of great prosperity. Edward had, it is true, dissipated his resources in fighting the French and the Scots, but the country was sufficiently wealthy to bear its burdens without much real suffering. A war waged exclusively abroad did little direct harm to England, and offered a lucrative, if demoralizing, career to the soldiers, who received high wages and good hopes of plunder in the king's foreign service. The war was popular, and the English supremacy at sea did much to promote our foreign trade. But in 1348 a pestilence, known as the *Black Death*, which had already devastated eastern and southern Europe, crossed over the Channel and raged with great virulence in England until 1349. It is sometimes thought that a third of the population died of the Black Death, and the results of the visitation changed the whole character of English history.

The Black Death, 1348-1349.

15. The horrors of the plague could not destroy Edward's satisfaction in his victories. In the midst of the visitation, he

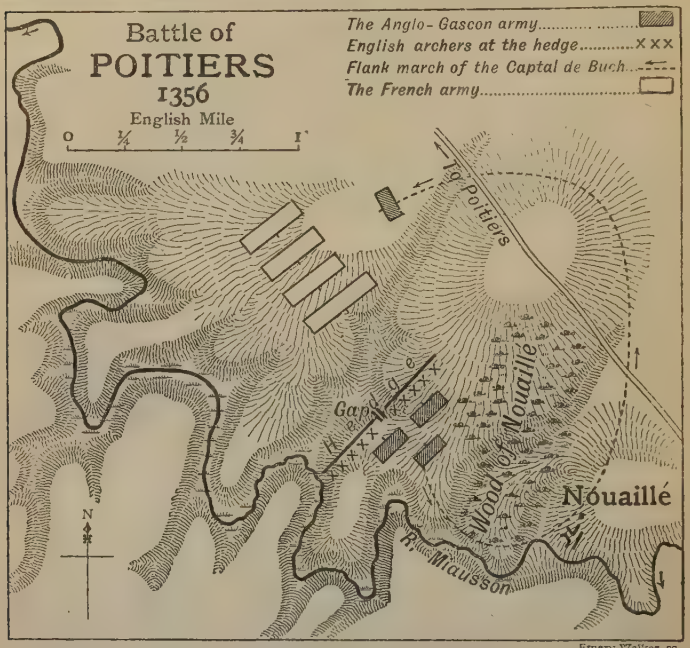
celebrated by magnificent feasts and entertainments the establishment of the *Order of the Garter*, the first and most famous of those orders of knighthood which delighted the chivalry of the fourteenth century. Neither the plague nor the truce entirely stopped the war, and there was much fighting, though most of it was indecisive and on a small scale. Gradually the main scene of operations shifted to the south, and in 1355 Edward sent the Black Prince to Gascony, which then became the chief theatre of events. In 1355 the Black Prince led a successful raid up the Garonne valley and penetrated as far as the shores of the Mediterranean. He returned loaded with plunder and glory, and, in 1356, started from Bordeaux in a similar marauding expedition over central France. Accompanied by the best knights of England and Gascony, he marched as far as the Loire, and then began to make his way back with his booty. Philip VI. had died in 1350, and his son, John, now ruled over France. The French king was as gallant a knight as the Black Prince, and pursued his foe with a great army in the hope of intercepting his retreat. Just as at Crécy, ten years before, the prince found himself forced to fight a battle with weary troops against enormous odds.

The Black Prince in Aquitaine, 1355-1356.

16. The scene of the action was a few miles south of Poitiers, on the banks of the little river Miausson. As at Crécy, Edward resolved to fight on the defensive; he stationed his army on the side of a hill which sloped down on the left towards the marshes of the Miausson. Some distance in front of the English position, a long hedge and ditch afforded an additional means of protection. It was broken by a gap, through which a farmer's track connected the fields on either side of it. The French had now learnt the English fashion of fighting on foot, but they did not fully understand English tactics, and took no pains to combine archers and crossbowmen with their men-at-arms. They mustered in four lines on the northern side of the hedge, and each line in succession strove to make its way through to attack the English on the further side. But the hedge was lined in force by the English archers, who shot down the enemy as they made their way in close order to the gap in it. However, the French fought desperately, and for long the fight was doubtful. A dexterous manœuvre on the part of Edward at last secured him the victory. He ordered the Captal de Buch, the best of his Gascon leaders, to march, under cover of a hill, round the French position, and attack the enemy in the rear. This settled

Battle of Poitiers, 1356.

the hard-fought day. Surrounded on every side, the French perished in the ranks or surrendered in despair. Among the prisoners was king John himself. Soon afterwards he was led



in triumph through the streets of London, and joined the king of Scots in the Tower.

17. The captivity of the king threw France into a desperate plight. Charles, duke of Normandy, son of King John, acted as regent, but the nobles and commons did exactly what they liked, and soon reduced France to a terrible condition of anarchy. In 1359 John made the treaty of London with Edward III., by which he surrendered to Edward in full sovereignty nearly all the lands which Henry II. had ruled in France. But the French would not accept so humiliating a treaty, and Edward led a new invasion out of Calais to compel them to agree to his terms. During the winter and spring of 1360 Edward marched at his will all over northern France, and attempted

The treaties of Brétigni and Calais. 1360.

the siege of Paris. His success in maintaining himself in their country showed the French that it was no use resisting any longer, and his failure to effect permanent conquest taught Edward the necessity of abating some of his demands. Accordingly negotiations were renewed, and in May, 1360, preliminaries of peace were arranged at Brétigni, near Chartres, which took their final form in the *treaty of Calais* of October. By this John was released in return for an enormous ransom. Edward abandoned his claim to the French crown on condition of receiving Calais and Ponthieu and the whole of Aquitaine, including Poitou and the Limousin. The English rejoiced at the conclusion of so brilliant a peace, and the French were glad to be delivered from the long anarchy.

18. It was easier to make peace than to carry out the treaty. King John, who had been liberated, found it impossible to raise his ransom from his impoverished subjects, and was annoyed to find that one of his sons, left as hostage for his return, had broken his word and fled to France. Thereupon he honourably returned to his captivity, and died in England in 1364. Charles of Normandy now became Charles v. He was less chivalrous and heroic, but more prudent, than his father. Under his rule France recovered from the worst horrors of the evil days after Poitiers. His chief trouble was with the disbanded soldiers, who, losing their occupation with the peace, had organized themselves into formidable armies under generals of their own choice, and carried on war on their own account.

The execution of the treaty of Calais.

19. A civil war in Castile gave Charles the opportunity of persuading the *Free Companies*, as they were called, to abandon France for more distant lands. A revolt had broken out in that country against its king Peter, infamous in history as Peter the Cruel. The rebels had set up his half-brother, Henry of Trastamara, as their king, and Henry, despairing of his position, appealed to Charles v. for help. Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton nobleman who had won a great reputation during the succession war in his native duchy, welded the scattered companies into an army and led them over the Pyrenees. English as well as French mercenaries gladly joined under his banner, and, with his help, Henry drove his brother into exile and became, in 1366, Henry II. of Castile. The deposed tyrant went to Bordeaux, where, since 1363, the Black Prince had lived as prince of Aquitaine, for Edward III. had created his new possessions into a principality and conferred it on his son, in the hope of conciliating the Gascons by some pretence of restoring their independence. Peter easily

The civil war in Castile.

The English Dominions in
FRANCE
after the Treaties of Brétigni and Calais, 1360.
English Miles
0 50 100 200
English Territory
Boundary of French Kingdom
Battlefields
March of the Black Prince 1355
March of the Black Prince 1356
March of the Black Prince 1367
HOLLAND
ZEALAND
Sluys
Ghent
Bruges
Calais
Ypres
FLANDERS
BRABANT
Crecy
HAINAULT
Coblenz
Cherbourg
La Hougue
Rouen
R. Seine
Brest
La Roche Dérien
Chartres
Paris
BRITTANY
Brétigni
R. Loire
Blois
POITOU
Poitiers
Limoges
LIMOUSIN
Auberoche
GUIENNE
Bordeaux
R. Garonne
Aiguillon
GASCONY
Avignon
Bayonne
Toulouse
Pass of Roncesvalles
Narbonne
NAVARRE
Pyrenees
Burgos
Najera
ARAGON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THE EMPIRE
Emery Walker sc.

persuaded the prince to restore him to his throne by force, and, in the spring of 1367, Edward made his way with an army through the pass of Roncesvalles in the hope of reconquering Castile for his ally. Beyond the Ebro at the village of *Nájera*, on April 3, he met Henry of Trastamara and Du Guesclin in battle, and won a complete victory over them. After this he restored Peter to the Castilian throne and returned to Aquitaine. But during the campaign the prince contracted the beginnings of a mortal sickness and lost the greater part of his army from disease. Henceforth misfortune dogged his whole career. In 1368 Henry of Trastamara returned to Spain, defeated and killed Peter, and established himself permanently as king of Castile. Thus the whole work of the prince in Spain was undone.

The Battle of Nájera, 1367.

20. Up to the time of his Castilian expedition, the Black Prince's rule in Aquitaine had been fairly successful. It was popular with the towns, and especially with those like Bordeaux and Bayonne, which had been for a long time subject to the English dukes. His court at Bordeaux was one of the most brilliant and magnificent in Europe. Yet Edward could never win over the newly ceded districts, which had abandoned their French nationality with great reluctance, and were eagerly awaiting an opportunity for revolt. He looked with suspicion upon the great lords, and gave them much offence by limiting their privileges and excluding them from his confidence. Things became worse when the expenses of the Spanish campaign compelled Edward to impose fresh taxes on the Gascons. In 1368, he obtained from the estates of Aquitaine a new hearth-tax. The mass of the people paid this willingly, but the greater feudatories availed themselves of its imposition as a pretext for revolt. They appealed to Charles v. against the tax, and Charles accepted their appeal, declaring that his rights as overlord still remained, because all the formalities which should have followed the treaty of Calais had not been completed. Cited before the Parliament of Paris in 1369, the Black Prince replied that he would answer the summons with helmet on his head and sixty thousand men at his back. His father reassumed the title of king of France, and war broke out again.

The revolt of Aquitaine, 1369.

21. The new struggle was fought with very different results from those of the earlier campaigns. Under the guidance of Charles v. and Bertrand du Guesclin, the French were much more wisely directed than before. They had learned from their failures how to defeat the English tactics, and they had the great advantages of always taking the offensive and having the people of the country

actively on their side. Du Guesclin's policy was to avoid pitched battles and encourage the English to waste their resources in fruitless forays. The Black Prince's health was now so bad that he could not mount his charger, but directed his army from a horselitter. His last martial exploit was the recapture, in 1370, of Limoges, which had thrown off the English yoke. The whole population was put to the sword, and a few gentlemen alone were saved for the sake of their ransoms. Next year he went back to England for good. His successors were equally unfortunate. In 1373 his brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, marched with an army from Calais to Bordeaux, devastating France from end to end. John could not force the French to fight a battle, and before he reached his destination half his army had perished of hunger and cold, and in petty warfare. With the help of their Castilian allies the French defeated the English navy, and, by depriving their enemies of the command of the sea, made it very difficult for them to keep up communications between England and the armies in France. Among the most conspicuous of the French leaders was Sir Owen of Wales, a grand-nephew of Llewelyn ap Griffith, who posed as lawful prince of Wales, and sought to stir up revolt against Edward in his native land. After a few years of fighting, the English dominions in France were reduced to a few coast towns, and at last, despairing of success, Edward III. made a truce with the French, which lasted just long enough to allow him to end his days in peace. The only towns of importance still remaining in English hands were Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne, and Bordeaux. The wave of French national feeling which had swept the English out of the acquisitions made in 1360 had almost engulfed Edward's hereditary possessions in Gascony. Crécy and Poitiers were completely avenged.

The fall of the English power in France, 1369-1377.

22. At home, as abroad, there is the same contrast between the later and the earlier part of Edward III.'s reign. The days of prosperity ended, as we have seen, with the Black Death of 1348 and 1349; and, when the people had partially recovered from the first visitation of the plague, others befel them that were scarcely less severe. The years 1362 and 1369 almost rivalled the horrors of the earlier outbreak. Great changes resulted from these plagues. The population declined so greatly that there were not enough labourers left to till the fields, or enough priests remaining to administer spiritual consolations to the dying. The immediate result of this was that

The troubles in England.

every sort of wages rose. The increased sums paid to workers had the effect of raising the prices of most commodities. Yet the plague had so much diminished the prosperity of the country that men found themselves hardly able to pay the prices and wages which they were accustomed to. In those days, if anything went wrong it was thought the business of the state to set it right, and parliament, in 1351, passed a law called the *statute of Labourers*, which enacted that both prices and wages should remain as they had been before the pestilence. It was found impossible to carry out this law. Labourers would not work unless they were paid the wages they asked for, and employers preferred to break the statute rather than see their crops perish in their fields for lack of harvestmen. All that landholders could do was to grow those crops which needed little labour. Corn-growing was therefore abandoned for sheep-farming and cattle-raising, and thus the amount of employment in the country became permanently less. Besides this, much dissension arose between employers and their workmen. The labourers complained of the harshness and cruelty of their masters, and the masters of the idleness and greediness of the workmen. The struggle of classes which resulted from this culminated, as we shall see, in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

The Statute of Labourers, 1351.

23. The spirit of unrest was everywhere in the air, and the same generation that saw the social and economic changes which resulted from the Black Death, witnessed the beginning of religious discontent that soon threatened to break up the majestic unity of the Western Church. From 1305 to 1377 the popes lived at Avignon, and were generally Frenchmen under the control of the French king. The English hated the French so much that they looked with distrust upon French popes. Even under Henry III. there had been a great outcry against papal exactions, and this outcry became much stronger when there was a danger lest the money raised by the pope from English benefices found its way, indirectly, into the pockets of our French enemies. The system of papal provisions, by which the pope appointed his nominees to English benefices, had long excited deep discontent. In 1351 a law was passed called the *statute of Provisors*, which attempted to get rid of the abuse. It was followed in 1353 by another anti-papal measure, the *statute of Præmunire*, which was so called from the first word of the Latin writs issued to enforce the law. It forbade, under heavy penalties, Englishmen

The Avignon popes and the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire.

carrying lawsuits out of the country, and though the papal court was not specially mentioned, the measure was clearly aimed against it. If these laws had been strictly carried out, the papal authority in England would have been almost destroyed, but parliaments were content with making their protest, and Edward himself set the example of disregarding his own laws by asking the pope to make his friends bishops by the way of papal provision. There was no real desire to question the papal power as long as the popes did not go too far. Yet, however obedient most Englishmen still were to the pope's spiritual authority, they utterly repudiated the claims to feudal supremacy over England which the popes still made by virtue of John's submission. Edward III. absolutely refused to pay the tribute which John had offered to Innocent III., and in 1366 parliament declared that neither John nor any one else could put England into subjection without the consent of the people. The same rising national spirit which resented the interference of a foreign ecclesiastic with English affairs inspired the statute of 1362, which made English instead of French the language of the law courts. The tongue which, since the Conquest, had almost ceased to be the language of courts and nobles, was, as a result of the hatred of all things French, brought back into greater favour. The age of Edward III. was the age of Chaucer and Gower and Wycliffe.

Edward III. and his Parliaments.

24. The reign of Edward III. was not marked by any great changes in the constitution. Parliaments met very often, and the king's need for money to carry out his foreign wars made him willing to abandon many of his powers in return for handsome subsidies. Thus, in 1340, Edward accepted a statute which abolished the royal right of laying at his discretion taxes called *tallages* upon the royal domain. In 1341, as a result of his conflict with Archbishop Stratford, Edward was forced to recognize the claim of members of the House of Lords to be tried by their peers. In the same year he allowed parliament to nominate his ministers and examine the accounts of the national revenue. On this occasion, however, as soon as parliament was dissolved, Edward coolly revoked these laws as trenching upon his prerogative, and succeeded in persuading the next parliament, which met in 1343, to repeal them. The French war was so popular that at first parliament had willingly granted Edward supplies to carry it on, and Edward was shrewd enough to consult the estates about his foreign policy, because he saw that if they made themselves responsible for it they could hardly refuse to

pay its cost. In 1348, however, parliament answered his request for advice about the war by declaring they were too ignorant and simple to be able to counsel him in such high matters. After the troubles of the Black Death, the war became less popular, and parliament joyfully hailed every effort made to procure peace.

25. Edward and Philippa of Hainault were the parents of a large family, and the king's efforts to provide for his children without incurring too great expense for himself form an important element in his later policy. We have seen how the prince of Wales was amply endowed with the new principality of Aquitaine. Besides this, the Black Prince held Wales, Chester, and Cornwall, while his marriage to his cousin, Joan of Kent, the heiress of Earl Edmund of Kent, executed in 1330, provided him with an additional English earldom. Edward introduced a new grade into the English peerage to increase the dignity of his son, by making the Black Prince *duke* of Cornwall. It was by the creation of new duchies and by rich marriages that Edward III. provided for his younger children. His third son, Lionel of Antwerp, married the heiress of the great Irish family of Burgh, earls of Ulster and Connaught, and was made duke of Clarence. After his marriage Lionel was sent to Ireland to represent his father. He found the English power at a low ebb, since Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, king of Scots, had made a valiant attempt to set himself up as king of Ireland against Edward II. Bruce was soon slain in battle, but English influence never recovered the blow he had dealt to it. To revive it now Lionel passed the *statute of Kilkenny* in 1366, which strove to prevent the Norman settlers in Ireland from adopting Irish ways and making alliance with the native Irish chieftains. The law was a complete failure, and Lionel soon returned to England in disgust. He died soon after, leaving as his heiress a daughter, Phillipa, whose marriage with Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, great grandson of the traitor Roger, made the great west country house of the Mortimers the representatives of the second line of the descendants of Edward III. The king's third surviving son, John of Ghent, or Gaunt, was married to Blanche, heiress of her father, Earl Henry, the last of the old line of earls of Lancaster, and John was made duke of Lancaster. The eldest son of John and Blanche, Henry, earl of Derby, the future Henry IV., married one of the heiresses of the Bohuns of Hereford, and Henry's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, afterwards duke of Gloucester, married the other Bohun heiress. Edward's family settlement is of great

Edward's family settlement.

future importance, because it connected the royal family with many of the chief baronial houses, and apparently immensely increased its wealth and influence. Its ultimate result, however, was harmful to the power of the crown, as the descendants of Edward III. forgot their kinship with the king, and adopted the policy of opposition with which the houses into which they intermarried had long been associated.

26. Factions among his nobles and dissensions between his sons embittered the last years of Edward's reign. The Black Prince and John of Gaunt, who had disagreed with each other about the conduct of the war in France, transferred their rivalries to England, and became the heads of sharply marked parties in the council of the old king. The ill feeling which parliament had shown to the papacy in its legislation included within its scope the English church as well. The barons were jealous of the power of the higher clergy, and denounced their interference in politics. Up to this time some of the chief offices of state, such as that of chancellor, had almost invariably been held by a prominent bishop. However, in 1371, a group of courtiers procured the removal of the king's clerical ministers, and substituted laymen for them. The chief of the displaced ministers was William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester. It was natural that he and the other bishops should be henceforward in opposition to the government. Before long John of Gaunt became the leader of an anti-clerical court party, and for some years exercised a strong influence over his father, who was gradually falling into his dotage. John's chief helpers were Lord Latimer, a London merchant called Richard Lyons, and Alice Perrers, the greedy and unscrupulous mistress of the old king. Knowing that the higher ecclesiastics were bitterly opposed to him, John also struck up an alliance with a famous Oxford teacher named John Wycliffe, who had become conspicuous for his denunciation of the corruption of the clergy, and for teaching that priests should live lives of apostolic poverty and have nothing to do with politics.

The court and constitutional parties.

27. The rule of John of Gaunt and the courtiers was neither honest nor successful, and an active opposition was formed of which the Black Prince and the Earl of March were the leaders. Strong feeling arose in the country against the men who had lost all France and brought England to bankruptcy and shame. This indignation found its expression in a parliament which met in 1376, and became famous as the

The Good Parliament, 1376.

Good Parliament. Inspired by the Black Prince, the Earl Edmund of March, and the bishops, the House of Commons made a vigorous attack on the courtiers. It chose as its *speaker*, or spokesman before the king, Sir Peter de la Mare, steward of the Earl of March, a man who had boldness enough to say what was in his mind regardless of the good-will of the great. It accused Latimer and Lyons of taking bribes, and the House of Lords condemned them to imprisonment. These are the first examples of the process called *impeachment*, by which political offenders were accused by the Commons before the Lords. Parliament also removed Alice Perrers from court.

28. In the midst of these proceedings the Commons lost their strongest support by the death of the Black Prince. Lancaster now resumed his influence; the Good Parliament was dismissed, and, in 1377, a fresh parliament carefully packed with John's partisans reversed its acts. Parliament was thus silenced. The convocation of Canterbury remained bitterly hostile to John. Accordingly the duke met its opposition by calling John Wycliffe to his aid. Wycliffe's denunciations of the rich land-holding prelates were answered by an accusation for heresy being brought against him. Summoned before Bishop Courtenay of London to answer the charge, Wycliffe appeared in St. Paul's, supported by Lancaster and Henry Percy, one of Lancaster's chief friends. A violent scene took place in the cathedral between Lancaster and the bishop. The London mob took the part of Courtenay against the courtiers, and rose in a riot, pillaged John's palace, and forced him to flee from London. Soon after this stormy scene Edward III. died, on June 21, 1377. As he lay dying his courtiers deserted him, and Alice Perrers took to flight after robbing him of the rings on his fingers.

John of Gaunt and John Wycliffe, 1376–1377.

Death of Edward III., 1377.

CHAPTER V

RICHARD II. OF BORDEAUX (1377–1399)

Chief Dates:

1377. Accession of Richard II.
1378. The Papal schism.
1381. Peasants' Revolt.
1384. Death of Wycliffe.
1388. The Merciless Parliament.
1396. The Great Truce with France.
1397. Richard's triumph over the Lords Appellant.
1399. Deposition of Richard II.

1. As the Black Prince had died before his father, his only son, Richard of Bordeaux, a boy ten years of age, succeeded Edward III. as Richard II. No regent was appointed, but, as in the latter years of Henry III.'s minority, the council ruled in the king's name. This meant in practice that the preponderating influence was with John of Gaunt. The result was that the first few years of the new reign witnessed the continuance of the bad and unpopular government which had disgraced the close of the reign of Edward III. Heavy taxes were raised, but the people obtained little benefit from paying them. The nobles quarrelled fiercely with each other, and, on the expiration of the truce with France, the French plundered the English coasts and threatened the land with invasion. Luckily, however, for England, Charles V. died in 1380. His son and successor, Charles VI., was a boy like Richard, and the French soon had reason to say with the English, "Woe to the land when the king is a child." For some years the Hundred Years' War was suspended by reason of the weakness of both England and France.

The Rule of John of Gaunt.

2. It was a miserable time for Europe generally. In 1378 the papacy returned from Avignon to Rome, but the pope who had the courage to take this step died soon after he reached Italy. His successor, Urban VI., was an Italian, and likely to remain in Rome. Thereupon the French cardinals, who wished to keep the pope in their own country,

The Papal Schism and Wycliffe.

denied the validity of Urban's election, and chose another pope, named Clement VII. Europe divided itself between the two popes, and as the French and Scots favoured Clement, the English supported Urban. The result of this *Great Schism of the Papacy* was to discredit the popes, who had already lost much ground during the captivity at Avignon. The spirit of religious unrest that was already in the air spread widely, and led men to look closely into their beliefs. John Wycliffe had already made himself conspicuous as the ally of John of Gaunt against the over-wealthy prelates. Since the scene at St. Paul's in 1377, his views were becoming more and more antagonistic to those professed by the Church. In the year of the schism he began to raise doubts as to the truth of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, or the change of the bread and wine in the Holy Communion into the Body and Blood of Christ, which the whole Church had accepted for many centuries. This open avowal of heresy lost Wycliffe the support of Lancaster and most of his powerful friends. Henceforth he sought to appeal to the people as well as to scholars and men of rank. He sent throughout the country disciples who were called his *poor priests*, and by this means his teaching was spread all over the land. Up to now he had written in Latin for scholars, but he henceforth set forth his teaching in English. He denied the authority of the papacy and of the clergy, and taught that *dominion was founded on grace*, by which he meant that power and property could only be rightly held by good men. He also encouraged men to seek for their religion in the Bible only. To make the Bible accessible, he, with the help of his friends, translated it from Latin into English. His teaching excited bitter hostility among the clergy, and in 1382 his opinions were condemned by a council of English bishops. Wycliffe still had many friends, and was very dexterous in explaining away his opinions. He was therefore set free, and spent the rest of his life at his country living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he died in 1384. His influence continued after his death. His followers, called *Lollards*, or babblers, spread widely, and, for the first time since the establishment of Christianity in England, there were many men who disbelieved in the teaching of the Church.

3. Four years after Richard's accession discontent came to a head in the *Peasants' Revolt* of 1381. The causes of this rising were numerous. The deepest of them lay in the changes which had affected society since the time of the Black Death. The demand for labour was still great, and the free labourers, who could hire themselves

The causes of the Peasants' Revolt.

out where they would, were bitterly discontented with the laws which tried to keep down their wages. They had formed associations to defeat the statute of Labourers, and for a generation there had been much quarrelling between them and their masters. The grievances of the free labourers were, however, small as compared with the troubles of the serfs or *villeins*. In Norman times the mass of the people had, as we have seen, become villeins. During the fourteenth century the number of villeins was steadily decreasing, as many ran away from their lords, and many were set free, since lords had found that it paid them better to cultivate their lands with free labour, while the Church taught that it was a meritorious act to enfranchise a bondman. However, the strong demand for labour, which resulted from the decline of population after the pestilence, had retarded this movement towards freedom. When it became very difficult to obtain free labour, it was natural that the lords of serfs should exact to the uttermost the rights they still possessed of compelling their bondmen to work for them without pay. At the same time the villeins became more unwilling to give up so much of their time to their lords, when they saw that their free brethren could earn large wages without difficulty. The result was that the villeins were even more discontented than the free labourers, and both classes alike were ripe for revolt. Thus the unrest and discontent of Edward III.'s time still continued. It was increased by the struggles in the boroughs between the craftsmen of the guilds and the rich merchants, who kept the government of the towns in their own hands, and ruled harshly in the interests of their own class. Old soldiers who had come back from the French wars told the poor English how the men of Flanders had shaken off the yoke of their count, and had, by union and determination, won liberty for themselves. The friars still wandered through the land, teaching that Christ and His apostles had had no property, and denouncing the oppressions of the rich. Wycliffe's "poor priests" were now also traversing the country, maintaining their master's doctrine of dominion founded on grace and declaring that it was the duty of a Christian to deprive unworthy men of their offices and lands. John Ball, an Essex priest, made himself the mouthpiece of this widespread discontent. "We are all come," said he, "from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve. How can the gentry show that they are greater lords than we?" On every side the old social order was breaking up, and men were ripe for revolution.

4. Disgust at the bad government of John of Gaunt and the

council added political to social unrest. Heavy taxes were levied, though the people got nothing in return from them. Finally, in 1381, the imposition of a new *poll-tax*—that is, a tax levied on each individual in the community, brought the discontent to a head. The Kentish men were among the freest and most turbulent of Englishmen. There was no villeinage in Kent, but nowhere was the indignation at the badness of the government so deeply felt. Headed by Wat Tyler, the Kentish men refused to pay the poll-tax, rose in revolt, and marched in great numbers to London. At the same moment disturbances broke out all over England, as if in obedience to a common command. The most formidable were in the eastern counties, where the numerous serfs of great abbeys, like Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans, rose against their monastic landlords and demanded their enfranchisement. Like the Kentish freemen, the villeins of the eastern shires also made their way to London. The rebels soon took possession of the capital, and wrought many outrages. They murdered some of the king's ministers, including the chancellor, Simon of Sudbury, the archbishop of Canterbury. They burned John of Gaunt's house, the Savoy Palace in the Strand, and declared they would have no king named John.

The Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

5. Richard II. was only sixteen years old, but he showed a courage and resolution that put to shame the weakness of his ministers. One day he met the rebels from the eastern counties at Mile End, agreed to give them charters of freedom, and persuaded the majority to go home. The Kentish men, however, remained in arms, and constantly perpetrated fresh outrages. Next day Richard went with William Walworth, the mayor of London, to treat with them in Smithfield. Tyler, the rebel leader, behaved with great familiarity, but Richard promised to accept most of his demands. Unluckily, one of the king's followers declared that Tyler was the greatest thief in Kent, and Tyler sprang upon him with his dagger. The mayor strove to protect the courtier, and a scuffle ensued between the two, in which Tyler was slain. The rebels drew their bows at the king, but Richard, riding up among them, declared, "I will be your captain; come with me into the fields, and you shall have all you ask." His presence of mind saved the situation, and gave time for the soldiers to surround the rebels and force them to lay down their arms. The troubles in London were thus ended, and all over the country the gentry, plucking up courage, set to work to put down the revolt systematically. The cruelties

The suppression of the revolt.

worked by the peasants in their brief moment of triumph were now more than revenged on them by their victorious masters. Even the king took part in punishing the rebels. He put John Ball to death at St. Albans, and revoked the charters of freedom which he had issued on the grounds that they had been obtained by violence, and that he had no power to interfere with the lord's property over his serfs. When parliament met it approved the king's action, and declared that it would never agree to the liberation of the villeins. However, a little later, the marriage of the king to Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., was made an excuse for extending a general pardon to all the rebels. Despite the apparent failure of the peasants, the revolt was not entirely without fruit. It taught the government and the gentry that it was dangerous to press the tenants too much, and, though for a time it probably made the conditions of the villeins worse, it led in the long run to the restriction of villeinage. Many landlords found that it was easier for them to set free their peasants and to accept money payment in lieu of their accustomed services. Within a hundred years of the Peasants' Revolt, villeinage had almost disappeared from England. Besides this something was done to remedy the misrule against which the Kentish men had so loudly protested. John of Gaunt was so unpopular that power slipped away quietly from him, and before long he betook himself to Spain, where he strove, with little result, to make himself king of Castile by reason of his marriage with Constance, the daughter of Peter the Cruel. His failure taught the king's council some measure of wisdom and prudence, and the country became somewhat better governed in the years succeeding the Peasants' Revolt.

6. The good hopes excited by Richard's courage in 1381 were not borne out by the events of the next few years. With plenty of ability, a strong will, and a high courage, Richard showed a passionate and hasty temper, and a greediness for power, which soon brought him into collision with his nobles. He was self-willed, crafty, and revengeful, and his love of pomp led him to waste large sums in keeping up an extravagant court. Distrusting the nobles, he gave his chief confidence to courtiers and favourites, who carried on the evil traditions of the court party which had excited the wrath of the Good Parliament. Prominent among his favourites was Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whose ancestors had held that dignity since the days of Stephen, and whom Richard

The baronial opposition and Thomas of Gloucester.

made duke of Ireland. His chief minister was the Chancellor, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, whose grandfather had been a Hull merchant, and who had obtained his wealth by trade. Oxford and Suffolk soon became very unpopular, partly through their own fault, and partly because they were looked upon as the causes of the weak government and unconstitutional rule which still went on. The greater part of the nobles disliked them exceedingly, and joined together to put an end to their power. Thus the party of constitutional opposition was reformed to meet the encroachments of the court party. Its leader was Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the youngest and most capable of the king's uncles. For the rest of his life Gloucester withstood Richard II. as Thomas of Lancaster had withstood Edward II.

7. Trouble began in 1386, when parliament demanded the dismissal of the chancellor. Richard ordered parliament to mind its own business, and insolently said that he would not dismiss the meanest scullion from his kitchen to please it. Thereupon the angry Commons impeached Suffolk, and forced Richard to submit. A committee of eleven nobles was appointed for a year, with powers so extensive that they remind us of the lords ordainers of Edward II.'s time. Richard was compelled to take an oath to accept any ordinances that the eleven might devise. For the moment the triumph of the opposition seemed complete. Their administration threw new vigour into the government. They revived the French war, and, in 1387, one of their number, Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, won a victory over the French fleet, which saved England from a threatened French invasion.

The attack on the courtiers, 1386-1387.

8. Richard was no weakling like Edward II., and soon began to take steps to win back his power. He released Suffolk, and took counsel with his judges as to the lawfulness of the committee of eleven. The judges declared that the commission was illegal because it infringed the royal prerogative. By his orders the duke of Ireland raised an army, and civil war between the king and the opposition broke out. However, Richard had acted too hastily in assertion of his independence. In December, 1387, the barons scattered Vere's troops at *Radcot Bridge*, over the upper Thames in Oxfordshire. When parliament met in February, 1388, the king was once more helpless in the hands of the opposition.

The defeat of the courtiers, 1388.

9. The victors showed such ruthlessness that this parliament, which was altogether on their side, became known in history as the

Merciless Parliament. In it an accusation of treason was raised by five baronial leaders against Suffolk, Ireland, and other chief friends of the king. The charge was technically called an *appeal of treason*, and the five lords on that account were called the *Lords Appellant.* At their head were Gloucester and Arundel, the hero of the recent victory over the French. The other members were Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, and Henry, earl of Derby, eldest son of John of Gaunt, who availed himself of his father's absence in Spain to identify himself with the traditional policy of his mother's family, the old line of earls of Lancaster. Parliament gladly accepted the appeal, and the lords condemned the courtiers as traitors. Suffolk and Ireland escaped punishment by flight abroad, but many minor royalist partisans were put to death. Richard avoided deposition by bending before the storm. He was, however, strictly subjected to a council, and in this body the Lords Appellant ruled supreme.

The Merciless Parliament and the Lords Appellant, 1388.

10. Richard never forgot nor forgave the humiliations inflicted on him by the appellants. Experience had, however, shown him the uselessness of hasty action, and he quietly waited for his revenge. After more than a year he began to reassert himself. On May 3, 1389, he asked Gloucester in the council chamber how old he was, and was told that he was twenty-two. "Since I am of age," he replied, "I am old enough to rule my people. Hitherto I have lived under governance, now I will govern." He then dismissed the appellants from power, but he prudently called into office William of Wykeham, the old bishop of Winchester, and other magnates who sympathized with the constitutional party. With great wisdom he made no attempt to recall his exiled friends, and before long restored some of the appellants to their places on the council. John of Gaunt now came back from Spain. He had learnt discretion by experience, and gave his nephew good advice. So judicious was the policy of the crown that the appellants had no chance of withstanding Richard's action. For the next seven years quiet and good government was maintained at home. Old laws, such as the anti-papal statutes of Provisors and Præmunire were revived, and useful new laws were passed. A truce was made with the French and Scots, so that England enjoyed peace, abroad as well as at home.

Richard's prudence.

11. During this period Richard's first wife, Anne of Bohemia, died without children. So friendly now were Richard's relations with France that, in 1396, he married Isabella, daughter of

Charles VI., the French king, and made a truce for twenty-eight years. Though the new queen was only a child of seven, French influence henceforth became strong in Richard's councils. Always anxious to be a despot, Richard became eager to abandon constitutional courses and make himself as thoroughly master of his subjects as was his father-in-law, the French king.

The Great Truce and the French marriage, 1396.

12. The party of the Lords Appellant seemed hopelessly broken up. John of Gaunt's influence had brought Henry of Derby round to the court party, and Nottingham also had deserted his former friends. Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel still persevered in their ancient policy, and with them was associated Arundel's younger brother, Thomas Fitzalan, archbishop of Canterbury, commonly called Archbishop Arundel. After nine years, Richard's wrath against the appellants was still unsatisfied, and in 1397, he thought he was strong enough to wreak his long-deferred vengeance. Rumours that Gloucester was plotting against him gave Richard an excuse for action. He suddenly arrested Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel, and a group of royalist barons, one of whom was Nottingham, appealed the three prisoners of treason. Their trials took place in the parliament which met in September. This body was carefully packed by the king, and overawed by a body of two thousand archers from Cheshire, wearing the king's cognisance of the white hart. The three lords were condemned as traitors, and Arundel was beheaded. His brother the archbishop was banished. Warwick was pardoned in return for an abject submission, and Gloucester was privately murdered at Calais, where he had been confined under Nottingham's charge. The acts of the Merciless Parliament were repealed, and the estates of the traitors divided among the king's friends. The turncoats, Derby and Nottingham, were rewarded for their complaisance by being made dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. The royalist restoration was completed at a second session of the parliament, held at Shrewsbury, when the king was granted a revenue for life, and a committee of eighteen persons appointed to deal, after the dissolution, with petitions which had not been answered during the session. Richard's enemies saw in this latter step an effort of the king to carry on indefinitely the powers of this subservient parliament through the committee of eighteen, and believed that he was resolved to do without parliaments for the future.

The royalist reaction, 1397.

13. Richard's position was now so menacing that the new duke

of Norfolk took the alarm. He told Hereford that Richard had not yet forgiven them their share in the work of the appellants, and urged him to unite with him against the king. Hereford told the whole story to Richard, and Norfolk declared that it was all an invention of Hereford's. A deadly quarrel henceforth divided the two old associates, and they were ordered to prove their truthfulness by trial by battle. The fight was arranged to take place at Coventry on September 12, 1398. Just before the duel began, the king stopped the fight and banished both combatants, Hereford for ten years, Norfolk for life. But while Norfolk was treated with every severity, Hereford was still regarded with comparative favour. His term of exile was cut down to six years, and he was promised that, in the event of his father dying, he should forthwith inherit the duchy of Lancaster. Thus even the appellants who had deserted their old side came within the scope of the king's vengeance. Richard's triumph was now complete. He ruled England with the help of flatterers and favourites, and declared "that the laws were in his mouth or in his breast, and that he alone could change the statutes of his realm." His Cheshire archers maltreated his subjects at their will, and a veritable reign of terror proclaimed the reality of the new despotism. When John of Gaunt died, early in 1399, Richard and the committee of parliament withdrew the permission granted to Hereford to receive his father's succession in his absence.

The banishment of Norfolk and Hereford, 1398.

14. So secure did Richard now feel himself, that in May, 1399, he crossed over to Ireland, and busied himself with a vigorous attempt to restore the waning power of England in that island. In July, Henry of Hereford and Archbishop Arundel landed with a small force at Ravenspur, on the Humber. Henry declared that he had only come to claim his duchy and to drive away the favourites who had taught the king to play the despot. Many of the northern lords flocked to his standard, among them being Henry Percy, recently made earl of Northumberland, the old ally of John of Gaunt. Henry then marched southwards with a constantly increasing army. Before long he was joined by the regent, his uncle the duke of York. He captured Richard's chief ministers at Bristol and put them to death. With his growing power the invader enlarged his ambitions, and began openly to aim at the crown. Meanwhile Richard returned from Ireland and marched through North Wales to Conway. These tidings brought Henry northwards again to Chester. But Richard

The Lancastrian revolution of 1399.

had alienated every class of his subjects as signally as Edward II. had done. Finding that he had no backing, he submitted to his cousin at Flint, whence he was taken to London as a prisoner. Parliament then met, and Richard was forced to surrender the throne. Next day his abdication was read in parliament, which had assembled in a great hall before an empty throne. Henry of Lancaster sat in his place as duke, but before long he rose and claimed the throne, as being descended from Henry III., and "through the right which God had given him by conquest, when the realm was nearly undone for default of governance." Parliament rapturously applauded this, and he sat down on the throne as Henry IV. Next year it was given out that Richard had refused his food, and died of self-inflicted starvation in his prison at Pontefract. There is not much doubt but that his end was hastened by violence, but the circumstances of his murder were so obscure that his partisans long believed that he was still alive, and an impostor who assumed his name was for a time treated as Richard by the Scottish enemies of England.

CHAPTER VI

BRITAIN IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

1. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the Angevin despotism was at the highest point of its power. It was broken down by the calamities of the reign of John, and replaced by something quite different during the reigns of John's son and grandson. The fourteenth century saw the working out in detail of the principles laid down in the days of Henry III. and Edward I. The result of this process was that England became a national state, governed by a strong monarch, who was in his turn controlled by a popular and representative parliament. The period which we now have to study is that of the formation of the English nation and of the English constitution. It was in these days when the state of society which we call *mediæval* reached its culminating point. Not only were the state and the constitution as vigorous as the times permitted: mediæval religion, science, literature, life, trade, and society alike attained their highest perfection.

Mediæval civilization.

2. In matters of state the king still governed the country, and was expected to use all the power which the constitution gave him. The ministers of the crown were chosen by him, and were responsible to him alone. It was only when a weak or incompetent monarch was on the throne that the barons took the executive power out of his hands and transferred it to such a body as the Fifteen of 1258, the Lords Ordainers, or the Lords Appellant. Yet even an Edward I. was expected to rule with some regard to the opinion of his subjects, and in particular the views of the mighty barons who claimed to be the natural-born counsellors of the crown, and its partners and fellow-workers in determining the policy of the nation. After the reforms of Edward I. had destroyed the political power of feudalism, the barons found it increasingly expedient to work through the means of parliament.

The king.

It is as the leaders of public opinion as expressed by parliament that the nobles now held the great position which they still retained in the English state.

3. *Parliament* in the early days of Henry III. was merely another name for the Norman Great Council of the tenants-in-chief. Since the days of Simon of Montfort it became usual to strengthen the baronial element by associating with it the representations of the shires and boroughs. After Edward I.'s time the only body to which the name of parliament rightly belonged was the representative assembly of the three estates, and after 1322 no law was regarded as valid unless it had been approved by this body. By the reign of Edward III. the lower clergy had ceased regularly to send their representatives to parliament. This made it easy for the higher clergy, the bishops, and abbots, to take their places along with the secular magnates. The result was the creation of the modern House of Lords, which thus represented both the estate of the nobles and, to some extent, the estate of the clergy. The third estate now exclusively formed the House of Commons. Cut off from the assembly of the nation, the lower clergy were content to meet in their clerical assemblies, which were summoned for each province by the archbishops of Canterbury and York. These provincial synods were called the *convocations* of Canterbury and York. The king used them to raise taxes from the clergy, but properly speaking they were no part of parliament. So long as the king got enough money from the clergy, he was indifferent whether it was voted him by an ecclesiastical or a political assembly.

The Parliament of the Three Estates.

Convocation.

4. The *House of Lords* of the fourteenth century consisted of the *lords spiritual and temporal*. The former included all the *archbishops* and *bishops*, and a considerable number of *abbots* and *priors*, the heads of the more important monasteries. For most of the middle ages the clerical members formed a majority of the House. The lay peers were, up to the reign of Edward III., either earls or barons. The *earls* were seldom more than a dozen in number, and were in nearly every case men of vast wealth and territorial influence. They were the natural leaders of the baronage, and were still looked upon as officials as well as mere dignitaries. The lay *barons* of the fourteenth century were less than a hundred in number, and were always tending to become less numerous. Both earldoms and baronies had become by this time strictly hereditary. Under

The House of Lords.

Edward III. new grades of the peerage were added, such as *duke*, *marquis*, and *viscount*. This tended somewhat to depress the dignity of the earl, as he now ranked after the duke and the marquis, and the number of earldoms became somewhat greater.

5. The *House of Commons* consisted of two *knights of the shire*, chosen by the county court of each English county, and of two *citizens* or *burgesses*, elected by the courts of their respective cities and boroughs. The two great *palatine counties* of Cheshire and Durham sent no representatives, as they were so fully under the control of their earl and bishop that they were for most purposes outside England altogether. Under Edward III. Lancashire also became a palatine county, but having already sent knights and burgesses to parliament, it continued to do so as before. Wales, both the Principality and the March, was also unrepresented in parliament, save on two occasions under Edward II. Though ruled by the English crown, Wales was no part of the English realm. In practice the sheriffs, who returned both the knights and the burgesses, had a good deal to do with determining which individuals should be chosen. The king decided which boroughs should be asked to appoint representatives, and as the sending of members was thought a burden rather than a privilege, towns were often anxious to avoid having to make an election. The result was that the number of boroughs was constantly fluctuating. As parliament became stronger, it suited the king's interest to summon burgesses from small places under his control, as he had power of influencing members so selected. Thus, even in early times there were many parliamentary boroughs which were not places of any importance. Both counties and boroughs paid wages to support the members they sent to parliament. The knights of the shire, who in practice represented the country gentlemen or smaller landholders, were the more important element of the House of Commons. They had greater wealth, a higher social position, and were more interested in public events. The citizens and burgesses were generally content to follow their lead. But even the knights were not always capable of independent action. As a rule, the opposition to the crown was stronger among the Lords than the Commons, and the Commons were largely in the habit of looking up to the peers for guidance. This is seen very clearly in the debates of the Good Parliament of 1376.

The House of Commons.

6. The powers of parliament were very considerable. It was on the petition of the estates that the king drew up the *statutes* or *acts of parliament*, so that no new law could be promulgated

except on their initiative. The Commons were especially concerned in the finances of the nation. As most taxes were paid by them, they were naturally anxious that they should have control over the king's expenses. By the fourteenth century, it was considered unlawful for the king to raise general taxes which had not been granted by the Commons, though the clergy in their convocation also granted money payable by the clergy only. The Commons also had the right of petitioning the crown and unfolding all their grievances and complaints against the king's government. The Lords joined in most of this work, but they also exercised judicial functions, in which the Commons refused to take any part. A wise king took care to keep on friendly terms with his parliament, and even strong rulers were often forced to give up power that they cherished to please it.

Powers of Parliament.

7. The old institutions of the twelfth century still went on, though with diminished vitality. *Great Councils* of the nobles still sometimes assembled, but as they could not grant money, they were of little use to the king. More important than these occasional assemblies was the permanent council of the king, called sometimes the *Concilium Ordinarium*, and later the *Privy Council*. This was a standing body of the king's ministers, judges, courtiers, and personal friends, which accompanied him in his constant journeys, and gave him advice as to the conduct of affairs of state. As many of its members were great barons and bishops, the king's council could sometimes take up a fairly independent line, though it was mainly a consultative rather than a directing body. With the help of his council the king governed the country. As time went on the council began to encroach upon the powers of parliament. In particular, it exercised considerable judicial as well as administrative authority. Though it was not supposed to legislate, it published *ordinances* that every one had to obey, and which were laws in everything but name. An able king made his council reflect his own will. Under a weak king or during a minority, the council became the battle-ground of contending factions, and acted very much as it liked.

The King's Council.

8. The *law courts* took their modern shape by the time of Edward I. There were three *common law courts*, the *King's Bench*, the *Court of Common Pleas*, and the *Court of Exchequer*. The first and third of these were descended from the Curia Regis and Exchequer of Norman times, but they had ceased to be chiefly concerned with politics and finance, and were now mainly busy

with holding trials and pronouncing judgments. Cases which the common law could not deal with, or cases where the common law was too harsh and narrow, were referred to the *Court of Chancery* under the Chancellor. This gradually became what was called a *Court of Equity*, wherein the rigid doctrines of the common lawyers were brought into harmony with men's natural sense of justice. All through this period the lawyers were powerful, rich, and numerous. In the thirteenth century many lawyers in the king's courts were clergymen. By the fourteenth the lawyers had become a lay profession, with a strong corporate spirit and fixed traditions of their own. Great schools of law grew up in London called the *Inns of Court*, which took the place of the universities as places of study for English law. Besides the king's lawyers and courts there were still the *lawyers and courts of the Church*, which exercised such extensive powers that the king and his lawyers looked upon them with the utmost suspicion.

The Church and the Papacy.

9. The religious and intellectual movements of the twelfth century yielded their finest fruits during the period now before us. The Church was at the height of its power and influence during the thirteenth century. Though many individual churchmen, like Langton or Grosseteste, were patriotic Englishmen, the Church as an institution was not national. It was the chief representative of that cosmopolitan ideal which still looked upon the nations of the civilized world as part of a single Christian commonwealth. Of this great power the pope was the recognized head, and for nations like England the only head, since the power of the emperor had never been real outside Germany and Italy, and after the fall of Frederick II. had ceased to be effective even in those countries. The pope was the *universal bishop* of Christendom, and for England he was, for most of the thirteenth century, the feudal overlord as well. Though his unlimited authority, especially in politics, at last provoked a strong reaction, there was no one at this period who ventured to question his ecclesiastical omnipotence.

St. Francis and the Mendicant Friars.

10. A great religious revival in the early years of the thirteenth century emphasized the strength and authority which the Church still exercised over men's minds. Like all mediæval religious movements, it took the shape of a new development of monasticism. Vast as had been the influence of the Cistercians and Regular Canons in the monastic reformation of the twelfth century (see p. 154), the new orders had not escaped the dangers against which their rules had been a

protest, and their very wealth and authority exposed them to all the temptations of pride and worldliness. Against all the evil tendencies of the times a vigorous reaction was embodied in the life and work of St. Francis of Assisi. A young Italian gentleman, Francis forsook his father's heritage and devoted his life to the care of the poor, the sick, and the neglected. He gave out that he had wedded the lady Poverty as his bride, and taught the followers who soon gathered round him that they must literally live, like Christ and the apostles, lives of absolute self-renunciation. He thus became the founder of a new order, to which he gave the name of the *Friars*, or brothers, or, as he called them in his humility, the *Minorites*, or Lesser Brethren. The fame of their leader also caused the saint's followers to be called *Franciscans*, while the rough garb of undyed wool which they wore also led the people to speak of them as the *Grey Friars*. Francis' first principle was that of absolute poverty. The monks had taken the vow of poverty, but they interpreted it as meaning individual poverty, and the monastery could hold as much land as it could get, though each monk could possess nothing. To Francis this was not enough, and he ordered his followers so to understand their vow that they were bound to corporate as well as individual poverty. They were therefore called the *Mendicant Friars*, because, having no goods of their own, they gained their bread by begging from the faithful. So beautiful was the character of St. Francis, and so wonderful the work of his followers, that many other orders of friars were formed upon the model which he suggested. The chief of these was the *Order of Preachers*, called the *Black Friars* from the black hood they wore over their white dress, or the *Dominicans*, from their founder St. Dominic, a Spanish canon regular, who had devoted his life to preaching the doctrines of the Church and winning back the heretic and the infidel to its fold. Inspired by Francis and Dominic, the *Mendicant orders* worked a wondrous change for the better in the religious life of Europe.

The Franciscans and Dominicans in England.

11. In 1221 the Dominicans first came to England, and in 1224 they were followed by the Franciscans. They established their first convents at London and Oxford, and rapidly spread all over the country. Their piety, devotion, and sincerity soon won for them numerous disciples among all ranks of Englishmen. They laboured for the salvation of souls, the care of sickness, and the relief of distress. They ingratiated themselves with the rich as well as with the poor. Henry III. and Edward I. selected friars as their confessors, and

Simon of Montfort and Grosseteste were among their chief supporters. A special field for their labour was the crowded suburbs of the greater towns, where the people lived in ignorance, squalor, and vice. They erected in the chief towns their spacious but plain churches, adapted for preaching to large congregations. Unlike the monks, who withdrew themselves from the world, they lived in the world and tried to make it better. They had many enemies, as for example the lazy parish clergy whose work they did, and the monks and canons who envied their zeal and popularity. As time went on they fell away from their early activity, and often became corrupt. Yet down to the time of the Reformation the friars remained the chief teachers of religion to the poor. Hardly less important was their influence on the thought and learning of their age. A large proportion of the professors of theology at the universities were Mendicant Friars.

12. The universities, which began in the twelfth century, became exceedingly flourishing in the thirteenth. In the reign of Henry III., Oxford became one of the chief centres of study in Europe, and a second English university had arisen at Cambridge, though this was less important than Oxford for the rest of the Middle Ages. Paris still remained the greatest university of the West, and many English scholars still studied there. All classes of society were represented among the students. There were rich noblemen living in their own houses with a band of servants, while many scholars were so poor that they had to beg for their living. There was plenty of freedom and activity, but little order and discipline. All the scholars ranked as clerks, and had the privileges of clergy; but this did not prevent them rioting, drinking, and fighting with the townsfolk. All lectures were in Latin, and the teachers were those students who had completed their courses, and so became doctors or masters. There were five *faculties*, or branches of study—*Theology*, *Civil Law*, *Canon Law*, *Medicine*, and *Arts*. Most scholars began with arts, that is, grammar, philosophy, and mathematics. It took seven years' study before a student could become a *Master* or *Doctor of Arts*, and then he was compelled to stay for a time at the university and teach others. Some Masters of Arts also studied in one of the other or higher faculties.

The Universities.

13. After the coming of the friars, Oxford became much more important than before. In particular, the friars devoted themselves to the study of theology, which worldly men neglected in favour of law and medicine because these opened up better prospects of success

in their careers. The chief thinkers in philosophy and theology were called *schoolmen*. Among them a large proportion came from Britain, such as Alexander Hales, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Robert Kilwardby and John Peckham, the two Mendicant friars who became in succession archbishops of Canterbury under Edward I. The example of Kilwardby and Peckham shows how the Universities opened up brilliant positions for poor men of ability. Never were men of learning more powerful and influential than in the great days of the schoolmen.

The Schoolmen.

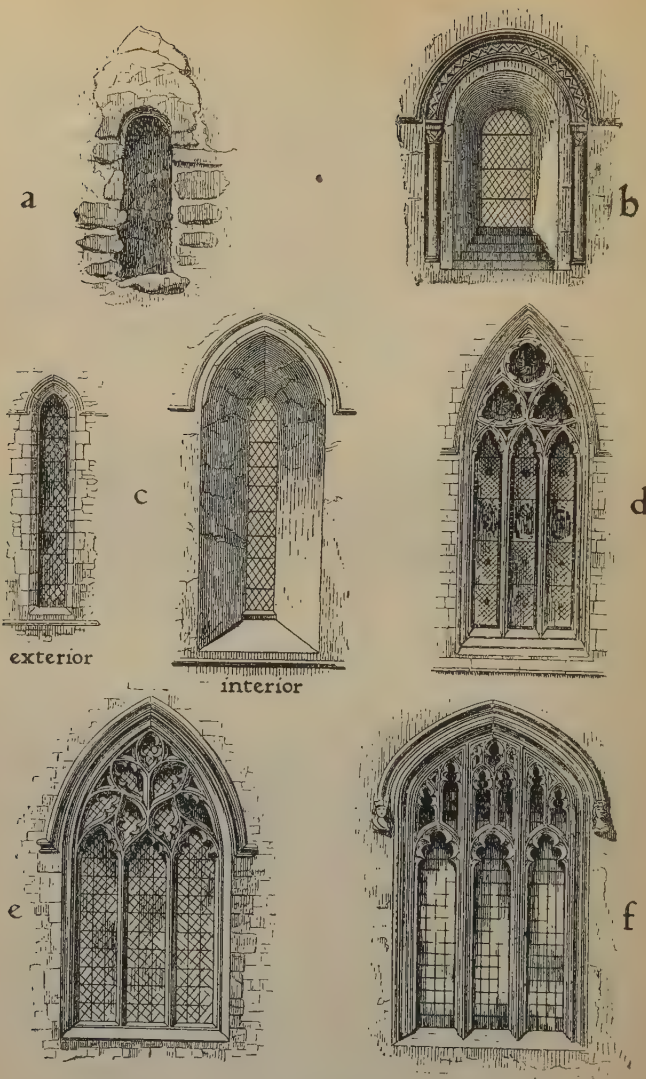
14. As time went on, rich men gave lands and money to the universities to help forward poor students and unpopular studies. In particular, small societies were set up within the universities called *colleges*, where buildings were erected in which scholars could be supported while devoting themselves to study. The first important college was *Merton College* at Oxford, set up by Walter of Merton, chancellor of Henry III. In the fourteenth century there were many such foundations, both at Oxford and Cambridge. By this time the universities were losing some of their first energy and freedom, but they still played a considerable part in the life of the nation. It was at Oxford that John Wycliffe first taught those new views about religion which were to make so great a stir all over Christendom. But the times were not ripe for so thorough-going a reformer as Wycliffe, and the end of the fourteenth century saw the Church restored to much of its former power.

Colleges.

15. Gothic architecture, like the universities, began in the twelfth century, and attained its full glory in the thirteenth. At first the English had built much upon the lines of those who had first created the Gothic style in France, but under Henry III. English Gothic struck out ways of its own. The so-called *Early English* fashion of building, with its lancet windows, clustered shafts, square east ends, and delicacy of detail is best exemplified in Salisbury Cathedral, which altogether dates from the reign of Henry III. A comparison between it and the cathedral of Amiens, the chief work of contemporary French art, will well illustrate the difference of plan and construction between English and French Gothic of the best period. Yet the French tastes of Henry III. have given us an opportunity of studying the French style in our own land. His favourite foundation of Westminster Abbey reproduced on English soil the towering loftiness, the vaulted roofs, the short choir, and the ring of absidal chapels

Gothic architecture.

Early English.



SOME FORMS OF MEDIÆVAL ARCHITECTURE.

a. Anglo-Saxon. b. Norman. c. Early English.
d. Geometrical Decorated. e. Flowing Decorated. f. Perpendicular.

(*From Parker's "Glossary of Architecture,"* 1850.)

of the great French minsters. As the century advanced some of the fashions of the French builders, notably as regards window-tracery, were taken up in England. The early days of Edward I. mark the beginning of the so-called *Decorated style*. The earlier form of this, characterized by large windows adorned with elaborate tracery marked out in *geometrical* patterns, is well exemplified in the *angel choir* of Lincoln, built about 1280 to contain the shrine of St. Hugh, who himself erected the westerly part of the choir of the same cathedral. Later Decorated is called *flowing*, because the patterns of the window-tracery take wavy or flowing lines, such as can be seen in the nave of York minster. In Exeter Cathedral, which is almost entirely of the Decorated period, we can best study the development in succession of both the geometrical and decorated types of tracery. Side by side with these changes, the building as a whole became more elaborately decorated, and the mouldings became enriched with carved flowers and delicate carved leafwork. As time went on the decoration became excessive, and masked or impaired the solidity of the constructive parts. When ornament thus became used for its own sake, the spirit of Gothic architecture was beginning to decay. By the reign of Edward III. the last and most peculiarly English type began. This is called the *Perpendicular* style, and is characterized by the great use made of right angles and upright lines, and in particular by the rigid and straight lines of its window tracery. The arches became gradually flattened instead of pointed; the windows and doors became square-headed; and walls were enriched by flat panelling instead of the arcading of the earlier styles. The earliest examples of Perpendicular are to be seen in the choir of Gloucester Cathedral and the nave of Winchester Cathedral, both built under Edward III., the latter by William of Wykeham. It is a noticeable feature of both these buildings that their architects did not erect them afresh, but recased and adapted the old Norman buildings, toning down and hiding the massive romanesque structure by their new work.

Decorated.

And Perpendicular.

16. Castle-building followed similar changes. The stern simplicity of the Norman castle had already given place to the newer style which began with Château-Gaillard in Normandy, and which is seen in its perfection in the castles such as Carnarvon, Conway, Harlech, and Beaumaris, erected by Edward I. to ensure the subjection of the mountaineers of North Wales. The castles of this period were often built after what is called the *concentric* fashion, and were characterized by

The concentric castle.

successive lines of defence, each roughly radiating from a common centre. The keep, the special feature of Norman strongholds, was suppressed altogether, and replaced by many lofty towers erected along the lines of the successive circuits. The most perfect example of the type is perhaps found in the castle of Caerphilly, erected by Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, Edward I.'s rival and son-in-law, in his Marcher lordship of Glamorgan. After this period castle-building, unlike church-building, became much less frequent. By the fourteenth century England had become so peaceable that noblemen had no longer any need to erect castles to live in, but could look to comfort and convenience as well as to safety from attack. The improved condition of society is seen in the greater stateliness and beauty of domestic and civil architecture, which were now far more important than in previous ages.

17. Arms and armour became, like buildings, more complicated and costly. Great pains were taken to perfect the machines by which castles were assaulted, and ponderous instruments, such as the *trébuchet*, could hurl huge stones a great distance by means of an elaborate system of pulleys and counterpoises. Before the middle of the fourteenth century the use of *gunpowder* became known, and the earliest artillery was designed. These cannons were cumbrous and ineffective weapons, which, if sometimes dragged about on a campaign, as at Crécy, were more often used for siege purposes than in the open field. Armour changed greatly in character during the fourteenth century, as gradually solid plates of steel supplemented the *chain-mail* of the thirteenth century.

The siege-train and the beginnings of cannon.

Plate armour.

The knight of the age of Edward III. covered his coat of mail with a breastplate of richly embossed and decorated steel, and wore *brassards*, *cuissards*, *jambards*, and other plates of metal to protect his arms and legs. Over his armour he still donned a *surcoat*, which, having been long and loose in the thirteenth century, became short and close-fitting about the time of the advent of plate-armour. On this and on his shield was embroidered or painted the knight's *arms* or device.

Heraldry.

Every knightly house possessed by the fourteenth century its hereditary arms, and a special science called *heraldry* grew up, which explained the differences between the arms of various noble families.

Tournaments.

The *tournaments*, which, though condemned by the Church, remained very popular, kept the knight in exercise, and gave him chances of glory even in peace time. After Bannockburn

and Crécy had rung the knell of the ancient fashion of fighting on horseback in the field, the old-fashioned tilting on horseback with lances was still practised in the tournament. The tiltyard did much to spread the *chivalry* which was so marked a feature of the age of Edward III. This was further kept up by the *orders of knighthood*, of which Edward's Order of the Garter was the first example. All knights belonged to an international brotherhood of arms, and if their pride of caste made them often contemptuous of the common people, it did good service in promoting kindly feeling between kings, barons, and simple country gentlemen. There was no royal caste in the fourteenth century, and the country squire, who was a knight, had much in common with his brother knight, the king or the great earl. Yet social distinctions no longer counted for much in serious warfare. The archer won battles more than the mail-clad knight and squire. Unlike the man-at-arms, the bowman went to the fight unprotected except by his steel cap and leather jerkin, and save for his long bow of yew and his arrows, a yard long, tipped with bright steel, his only weapons were his sword and buckler. The mobility thus gained compensated to some extent for the lack of protection afforded by body-armour.

Chivalry and the Orders of Knighthood.

Archers.

18. Much that we have described was common to all Western Christendom. Every country had its representative system of estates, its king and barons, its lawyers, churchmen, and friars. The universities knew no distinction of nationality, and Gothic architecture, the baronial castle, the equipment of the warrior, and the brotherhood of chivalry were shared equally by every nation with which Englishmen were brought into contact. Even the national movement was common to most of the kingdoms of the West, and the thirteenth century saw the growth of the French and Spanish as well as of the English and Scottish nations. Yet the result of the national movement was to separate one people from another, and with the fourteenth century a sharp line of demarcation began to be drawn between England and her neighbours. The English and French states, very similar in the days of Edward I. and Philip the Fair, became quite different under Edward III. and the early Valois kings. The common English of the days of the Hundred Years' War hated the French with a hatred more deadly than was found among the cosmopolitan knightly class that took the lead in the fighting against the

The cosmopolitan and the national ideals.

national enemy. In such circumstances, though the bilingual habit long clave to the upper classes in England, the result of the process was in the long run the restoration of English to its position before the Conquest as the everyday language of all classes of Englishmen from king to peasant. From this flowed the marvellous development of English literature, which was one of the great features of the age of Edward III.

19. The thirteenth century was not a very literary age. Though many books were written by Englishmen in Latin, French, and English, few of them had any serious pretensions to high literary rank. The grave Latin treatises produced by the scholars of the Universities were almost entirely destitute of any literary charm. It was a great age for science and philosophy, and men of learning cared nothing for the form of the matter that they produced in their books. The finest Latin literature was that of the chroniclers, and especially of the series of illustrious historians who made the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans the most continuous centre of historical composition in Britain. Of these, the best is Matthew Paris, who wrote the history of England up to 1258. He is, perhaps, the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, having a vivid though prolix style, a bold and independent judgment, an insatiable curiosity, and a sturdy English patriotism that makes him the forerunner of the national movements of the days of three Edwards. As the schoolmen became more powerful, even historical literature began to decline, and the chroniclers of the reign of Edward I. are but sorry successors to those of the days of Henry II. and Henry III. Things became better under Edward III., but for the most artistic presentations of that famous reign, we must go to those who wrote in French rather than in Latin.

Latin literature.

Matthew Paris.

20. Never was French more used or better written in England than in the days of Henry III., in which reign French words first began to be used freely in the English language, which since the Norman conquest had stubbornly refused them admission. Moreover, public proclamations and official letters, hitherto mainly issued in Latin, are often published in French, which by the time of the Hundred Years' War began to rival Latin as the international tongue of the statesmen, diplomatists, and lawyers. It also remained the most usual language in which men composed the light literature of song, romance, and chronicle, which was written to amuse the upper classes. The most vivid description of Edward III.'s reign was written in French by

French literature.

the Hainault clerk, John Froissart, who spent many years at the court of his patroness and compatriot, Queen Philippa. Froissart had no care for accuracy, and was blind to the deeper movements of the time; but in wealth of detail, in literary charm and colour, and in genial appreciation of the externals of his age, he was unsurpassed. Nowhere else can be read so vivid a picture of the courts, battles, tournaments, and feasts of the knights and barons of the Hundred Years' War.

John Froissart, 1333-?1404.

21. English literature was mainly represented during the thirteenth century by a great mass of translations and adaptations, which showed that there was a public ready to read vernacular books, but not at home in the French language. Few continuous works of high merit were as yet written in the native tongue, but much evidence of deep feeling and careful art lay hidden away in half-forgotten and anonymous lyrics, satires, and romances. The language in which these works were written was steadily becoming more like our modern English. The dialectical differences became less acute; the inflections began to drop away; the vocabulary gradually absorbed a large *romance* (French and Latin) element, and the prosody abandoned the forms of the West Saxon period for measures that show a close connection with the contemporary poetry of France. With the age of Edward III., the time of triumphant English nationality, a really great literature in English was written. While the Frenchman Froissart was the chief literary figure of Edward III.'s court in the middle period of his reign, his place during the last few years of it was occupied by Geoffrey Chaucer, the first real poet of the English literary revival. The son of a substantial London vintner, Chaucer held minor offices at court, took part in the several campaigns of the Hundred Years' War, and served in diplomatic missions to Italy, Flanders, and elsewhere. His early poems reflected the modes and metres of the current French tradition in an English dress. His Italian mission may have first introduced him to the famous Italian poets—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—whose works he admired and copied. In his *Canterbury Tales*, he produced the most consummate work which any Englishman ever wrote before the Elizabethan age. Though he was a court poet, writing to amuse lords and ladies, he depicted every phase of English life with unrivalled insight, knowledge of character, delicacy of humour, and profound literary art.

English literature in the thirteenth century.

English literature in the fourteenth century.

Geoffrey Chaucer, ?1340-1400.

22. Chaucer wrote in the tongue of the southern Midlands, the region wherein were situated his native London, the two Universities, the habitual residences of the court, the chief seats of parliaments and councils, and the most frequented resorts of commerce. The later *Middle English* which he used prepared the way for the *Modern English* of the sixteenth century. For the first time, a standard English language, the *King's English*, came into being, which largely displaced for literary purposes the local dialects which had hitherto been the natural vehicles for writing. The dialect of the south, the descendant of the tongue of the West Saxon court, became the language of peasants and artisans. That a greater future remained to the idiom of the north country was due to its becoming the speech of a free Scotland, the language in which John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, commemorated for the court of David II. and Robert II. the exploits of Robert Bruce and the heroes of the Scottish war of independence. The unity of England thus found another notable expression in the oneness of the popular speech, while the development of the northern dialect into the *Lowland Scottish* of a separate kingdom showed that, if England were united, English-speaking Britain remained divided against itself.

The beginnings of standard English.

23. Froissart and Chaucer show us the bright sides of the England of Edward III. The social and economic troubles of the years of strain and stress that succeeded the Black Death are shown in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, the work of William Langland, a man from the March of Wales, who spent his life mainly in London, and wrote in the language of the city of his adoption. His vigorous and purposeful verses set closely before us the miseries of the poor, the corruptions of the Church, the greediness of the lords and ladies, the unrest and discontent of the labouring classes, and the bitter indignation of the masses against the old social order which found its fullest expression in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Though written in archaic diction and in the ancient *alliterative* metre, Langland, even more than Chaucer, reflected the modernity of his age. A still more modern note was sounded by John Wycliffe, the first Englishman to lead a revolt against the teachings of the mediæval Church. Wycliffe's early writings were in Latin, and are altogether technical and scholastic in their character. When, after the outbreak of the papal schism, he became an avowed heretic, he saw that it was not enough to have doctors and thinkers

William Langland, 1330-1400.

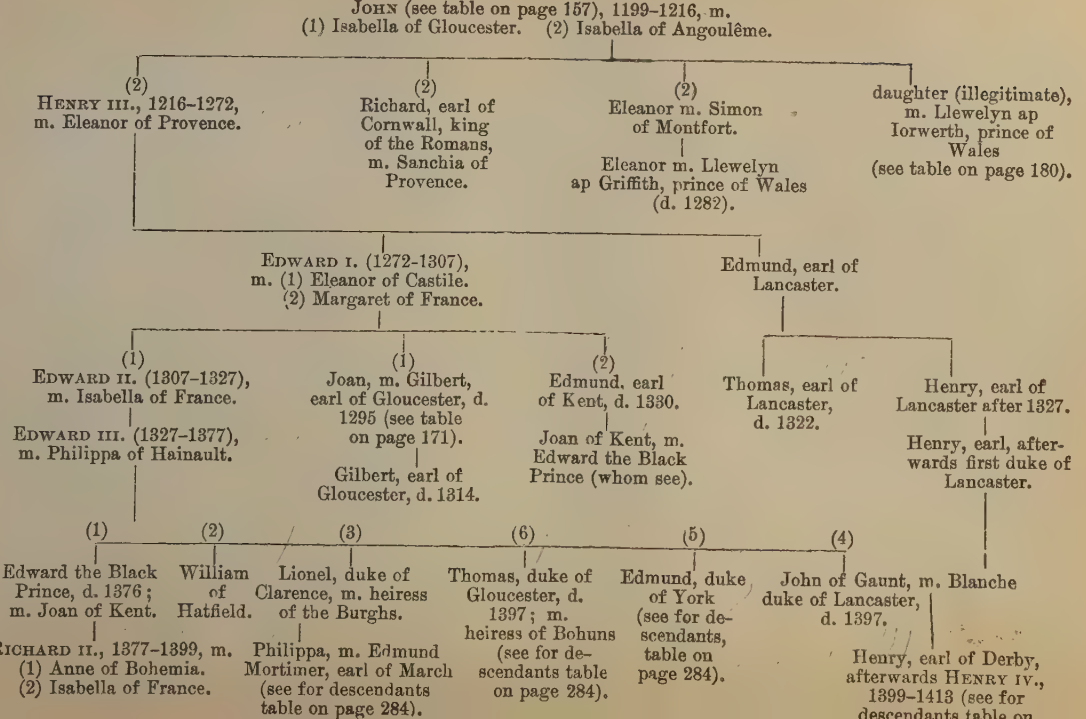
John Wycliffe, 1384, and the beginning of modern English prose.

on his side, but that he must make an appeal to the people of England. Accordingly he began to employ the English tongue, and, Yorkshireman though he was, he wrote in the southern language of London and Oxford rather than in the dialect of his native north. In pithy vigorous tracts and sermons, he strove to take the English people into partnership with him in his war against the old Church. Above all, he inspired his followers to undertake a translation of the Bible into English, and probably carried out a part of the work with his own hands. Wycliffe's *English Bible*, extensively circulated by his poor priests and other Lollard teachers, became widely read and eagerly studied. It stands to English prose as Chaucer's poetry stands to English verse. With these works the future of the English tongue was finally fixed, and in them the national movement of the fourteenth century found its fullest and completest expression.

Books recommended for the Further Study of the Period 1216–1399.

The first four reigns of this period are covered by Tout's *History of England*, 1216-1377 (Longmans' "Political History of England," vol. iii.), and that of Richard II.'s, by Oman's *History of England*, 1377-1485 ("Political History of England," vol. iv.). Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, vol. ii., exactly includes this portion of our history. Ecclesiastical History may be studied in the later part of W. R. W. Stephens' *History* already referred to, and its continuation W. W. Capes' *History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. For particular points the following may be consulted: G. W. Prothero's, or Charles Bémont's *Simon de Montfort* (the latter in French); Little's *Mediæval Wales;* O. M. Edwards' *Wales* ("Story of the Nations"); Tout's *Edward I.* (Macmillan's "Twelve English Statesmen"); Warburton's *Age of Edward III.* (Longmans' "Epochs of Modern History"); R. L. Poole's *Wycliffe* (Longmans' "Epochs of Church History"); and G. M. Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wycliffe*. The latter part of Miss Bateson's *Mediæval England* ("Story of the Nations") illustrates the social history, for which also Chaucer's *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, and G. C. Macaulay's abridgment of Froissart's *Chronicle* in English (Macmillan's "Globe Series"), may most profitably be consulted. Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Fourteenth Century* (translated by Lucy T. Smith), and the same writer's *Piers Plowman*, throw light on important aspects of the time. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce: Middle Ages*, shows the industrial development of the period. G. G. Coulton's *Chaucer and his England* gives a lively picture of late fourteenth century English society. Hilda Johnstone's *Hundred Years of History*, 1216–1327, gives a useful and coherent selection of translations from original authorities. Maps xviii. (Edward I.), xix. (Anglia Sacra), xxv. (Scotland *c.* 1300), and xxix. (Early Ireland), in *Oxford Historical Atlas*.

GENEALOGY OF THE ENGLISH KINGS FROM JOHN TO RICHARD II.


JOHN (see table on page 157), 1199–1216, m.
(1) Isabella of Gloucester. (2) Isabella of Angoulême.
(2)
HENRY III., 1216–1272, m. Eleanor of Provence.
(2)
Richard, earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans, m. Sanchia of Provence.
(2)
Eleanor m. Simon of Montfort.
Eleanor m. Llewelyn ap Griffith, prince of Wales (d. 1282).
daughter (illegitimate), m. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, prince of Wales (see table on page 180).
EDWARD I. (1272-1307), m. (1) Eleanor of Castile. (2) Margaret of France.
Edmund, earl of Lancaster.
(1)
EDWARD II. (1307–1327), m. Isabella of France.
EDWARD III. (1327–1377), m. Philippa of Hainault.
(1)
Joan, m. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, d. 1295 (see table on page 171).
Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, d. 1314.
(2)
Edmund, earl of Kent, d. 1330.
Joan of Kent, m. Edward the Black Prince (whom see).
Thomas, earl of Lancaster, d. 1322.
Henry, earl of Lancaster after 1327.
Henry, earl, afterwards first duke of Lancaster.
(1)
Edward the Black Prince, d. 1376; m. Joan of Kent.
RICHARD II., 1377–1399, m. (1) Anne of Bohemia. (2) Isabella of France.
(2)
William of Hatfield.
(3)
Lionel, duke of Clarence, m. heiress of the Burghs.
Philippa, m. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March (see for descendants table on page 284).
(6)
Thomas, duke of Gloucester, d. 1397; m. heiress of Bohuns (see for descendants table on page 284).
(5)
Edmund, duke of York (see for descendants, table on page 284).
(4)
John of Gaunt, m. Blanche duke of Lancaster, d. 1397.
Henry, earl of Derby, afterwards HENRY IV., 1399–1413 (see for descendants table on

BOOK IV

LANCASTER AND YORK (1399–1485)

CHAPTER I

HENRY IV. (1399-1413)

Chief Dates:

1399. Accession of Henry IV.
1400. Revolt of Owen Glendower.
1401. Statute *de heretico comburendo.*
1403. Battle of Shrewsbury.
1408. Battle of Bramham Moor.
1413. Death of Henry IV.

1. The Lancastrian revolution of 1399 marks the end of the period which had opened with the granting of Magna Carta and the beginnings of the parliamentary system. That time had seen the growth of our system of limited monarchy and parliamentary control, and strong kings like Edward III. had sought to evade rather than deny their constitutional restrictions. Alone of the fourteenth-century kings, Richard II. had striven to break down the constitution and make himself a despot. On his utter failure, the throne passed to the man whose previous career and ancestry alike compelled him to accept the constitution and rule England as a limited monarch. With Henry IV.'s succession, the constitutional opposition, whose claims had so often been upheld by the House of Lancaster, mounted the throne. No one could be deceived either by Henry's pretence to inherit the throne from Henry III. or by his claim to possess it by right of conquest. The son of John of Gaunt was not even the nearest heir to Richard by blood, and the deposed king had acknowledged the earl of March, the grandson of Lionel of Clarence, as presumptive successor to the crown. But the growth of the parliamentary system had made the hereditary element less

The Constitutional Revolution of 1399.

important than ever. Henry owed his throne to the choice of parliament, which saluted in him the avenger of the Lords Appellant, and expected him to rule after a constitutional fashion. The first result of the revolution, then, was to secure the triumph of the constitutional cause. Henry IV.'s parliaments forced him to redress their grievances before they would grant him supplies, and under him the House of Commons secured for all time the exclusive right of initiating taxation. On more than one occasion the Commons forced him to nominate his council in parliament. If this custom had become permanent, his reign would have anticipated the modern system of *cabinet government*, by which the ministers, formally chosen by the king, are really subject to the approval of parliament. Moreover, not only Henry IV., but his son and grandson also ruled after this constitutional fashion. Under the Lancastrian kings the parliament attained the greatest power that it ever secured before quite modern times.

2. Richard II. had been careless of the Church as well as neglectful of the constitution. Under him Lollardy grew, though he was no Lollard; and he was bitterly opposed to the orthodox constitutional prelates, whose influence had so long been thrown into the side of the opposition. With Henry of Lancaster archbishop Arundel came back to England, and was restored to the throne of Canterbury. He was the strongest of the conservative prelates of his time, and soon made his influence felt against heretics and enemies of the Church. Moreover, Henry IV., a crusader in his youth, was the most devout and orthodox of kings. The result was that the Lancastrian revolution was as much an orthodox reaction from the lax and anti-clerical spirit that had prevailed at Richard's court, as it was a constitutional reaction from the late king's despotic ways. The change which secured the rights of parliament brought about the decline and fall of Lollardy. In 1401 Archbishop Arundel carried through parliament a statute for the burning of heretics (*de heretico comburendo*), by which persons condemned in the Church courts for false teaching were handed over to the sheriff of the county to be burnt alive. The first victim of the new policy was a Lollard priest named Sawtre. Before the king died, Lollardy had produced many martyrs; and Wycliffe's teaching was not firmly enough rooted to endure the fires of persecution.

The ecclesiastical reaction of 1399.

3. It was easier for Henry IV. to win the throne than to keep it. All through his reign he was beset by troubles on every side. The encroachments of his parliaments and the resistance of the

Lollards were not the worst of his difficulties. He had to face a constant series of conspiracies and revolts at home, the persistent hostility of the chief foreign powers, and the unending jealousies of rival court factions. Though he had stooped to acts of treachery and violence, he was on the whole a high-minded and well-meaning man, and the death of Richard sat heavily upon his conscience. Though in the end he overcame his worst troubles, he wore himself out in the struggle.

Henry IV.'s character and difficulties.

4. After the accession of the new king, parliament reversed the acts of the Parliament of 1397, and Richard's friends were deprived of their new titles and estates. In disgust at this, the partisans of the late king formed a plot against his successor. Their plan was to meet at Windsor on Twelfth Night, 1400, on pretence of holding a tournament. Then they were to seize the king and put him to death, and restore Richard to the throne. The design was betrayed, and the chief conspirators fled to Cirencester, where the townsfolk forced them to surrender. The only important result of the conspiracy was that it taught Henry the danger of allowing Richard to remain alive. A short time after its failure it was announced that Richard was dead at Pontefract.

Death of Richard II.

5. Serious trouble soon broke out in Wales, where Richard's party was still strong, and where the tradition of national independence still lingered. Difficulties began in a dispute between the Marcher baron, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and a neighbouring Welsh landlord, Owen ap Griffith, lord of Glyndyvrdwy, on the upper Dee, commonly called Owen of Glendower. Grey had taken possession of certain lands which Owen claimed, and Owen, being refused all redress by the English law courts, recovered the districts by force of arms. His private war against Grey soon grew into a formidable rebellion. Before long Owen assumed the title of Prince of Wales, and set vigorously to work to restore the independence of his country. Every part of Wales rallied round him. Many of the castles of the king and his Marcher lords fell into his hands, and two expeditions led by Henry in person against him proved utter failures. At last, in 1402, he occupied Ruthin, and took Grey, his enemy, prisoner into Snowdon. A few months later he defeated Sir Edmund Mortimer, a grandson of Lionel of Clarence, and uncle of Edmund, earl of March, at *Pilleth*, near Radnor, and also took him prisoner. A third royal expedition to Wales was as unsuccessful as the two

Owen Glendower.

previous ones. On Henry's retirement, Mortimer made peace with Owen, and married his daughter. It was now given out that the object of the allies was to restore King Richard if he were alive, and, if not, to procure the accession of the earl of March, under whom Owen was to reign as prince of Wales. This union of the Welsh and the Mortimers threatened alike the English power in Wales and Henry's position in England.

6. Henry IV. was the less able to grapple with the Welsh revolt since foreign powers regarded him with great hostility. The French long refused to recognize him as king, and there were fierce disputes about the return of Queen Isabella, Richard's widow, to France. The Scots were equally hostile, and in 1402 invaded England, but were defeated by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, at *Humbleton*, where many Scottish lords were taken prisoners. Northumberland and the Percies had materially helped to gain Henry his throne, but they were discontented that the king allowed them less power than they had hoped, and threw a large share of the trouble and expense of fighting the Scotch and Welsh on to their hands. Northumberland's son, Henry Percy, called Hotspur, by reason of his rash valour, was the brother-in-law of Edmund Mortimer, and was induced by him to make common cause with the Welsh. At last, in 1403, the Percies made peace with the Scots, rose suddenly against the king, and marched from the north to join the Welsh and the Mortimers. Henry resolved to crush the rebellion before the Welsh and Percies united their forces, and was helped in this by Glendower rashly choosing this moment to extend his power into South Wales. When Hotspur approached Shrewsbury on his way to join Owen, he found that the Welsh were far away, and that the border city was occupied by the king with a strong force. On July 21, the *battle of Shrewsbury* was fought at Berwick, three miles to the north of the town, on a site since marked by the church of Battlefield, erected by Henry in commemoration of the victory which he won. Hotspur was slain, his uncle, the earl of Worcester, and his ally, the Scotch earl of Douglas, were taken prisoners. A few weeks later Northumberland, who had remained in his Yorkshire estates, made his submission. For the moment the English rebellion seemed suppressed.

Revolt of the Percies, 1403.

7. Owen Glendower still remained in arms. A fourth expedition of Henry proved as unsuccessful as the rest. Owen now made an alliance with the French, and a French fleet came to Carmarthen Bay to help him. He summoned a Welsh parliament, and

transferred his obedience from the Roman pope acknowledged in England, to the Avignon pope recognized by the French. In 1405 his cause was helped by a second revolt of Northumberland. Thereupon Owen, Mortimer, and Northumberland made a treaty by which they divided England into three parts, of which each confederate took one as his share. Meanwhile Henry's troops put down Northumberland's rising at *Shipton Moor*, in Yorkshire. Northumberland escaped, but Archbishop Scrope of York, who had joined him, was taken prisoner and executed, with complete disregard to the immunity of the Church from secular jurisdiction. Northumberland fled to Scotland, but in 1408 he once more appeared in the north, and again rallied a force round him. He was again defeated, at *Bramham Moor*, in Yorkshire, and perished in the conflict. After his death Henry had no more trouble with his English enemies. Even Owen Glendower gradually began to lose ground. The king's son, Henry, prince of Wales, bit by bit conquered all southern and central Wales. However, Owen held out manfully in the north, and was still in arms at Henry IV.'s death. He was no longer a prince, but a fugitive in the mountains. In the days of his prosperity he had shown wonderful courage and skill both in fighting the English and in building up his new principality. He now showed even more rare gifts in bravely coping with adversity. It was no wonder that he became the great hero of his countrymen. Wales was, however, once more in English hands, and stern laws kept its people in subjection.

Gradual collapse of the risings.

8. As Henry's domestic difficulties decreased, he gradually became able to take up a firmer position abroad. In 1406 a piece of good luck saved him from further difficulties with the Scots. In that year James, the son of Robert III., king of Scots, was captured by English sailors off Flamborough Head, as he was on his way to be educated at the French court. Within a few months his father's death made Henry's captive king James I. He remained for nineteen years a prisoner in England, where his presence was a guarantee that the Scots could not inflict much harm on England. Henry was equally lucky in his dealings with France, when king Charles VI., Richard II.'s father-in-law, went mad and was quite unable to restrain the fierce faction fights that now broke out between the two parties of the *Burgundians* and the *Armagnacs*. The former faction was headed by the king's cousin, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy and count of Flanders, who

Henry IV. and France.

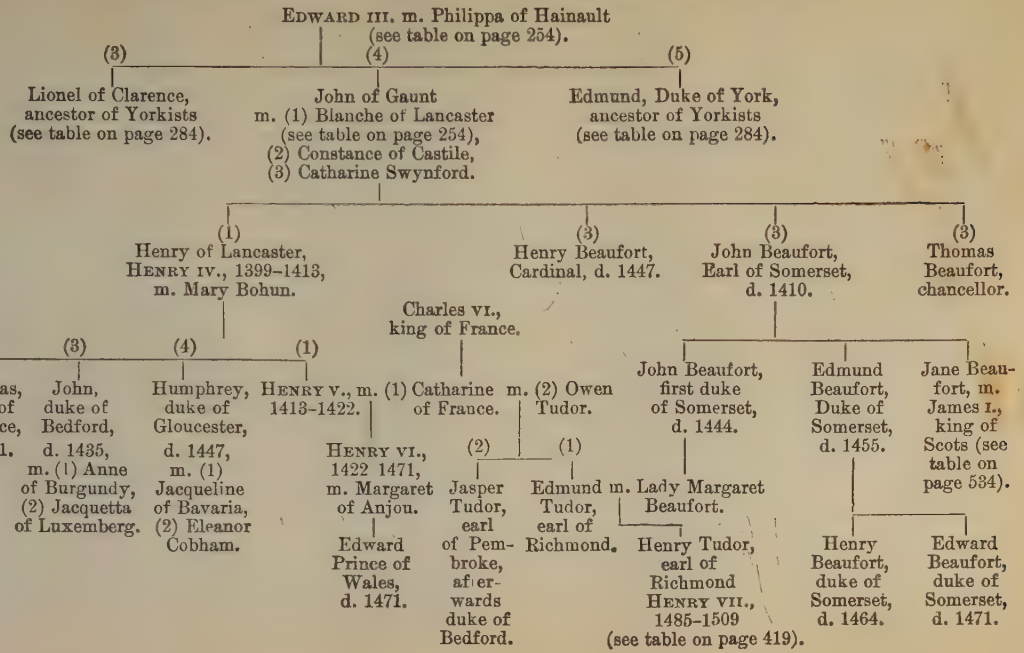
was not only the mightiest noble in France but also aspired to the position of an independent prince. The rival party of the Armagnacs was led by the count of Armagnac, one of the greatest of the feudal lords of the south. The disputes between them soon reduced France to such a low condition that Henry had nothing more to fear from her hostility. Towards the end of his reign he was able to revenge himself for the French help given to Glendower by sending expeditions to France. These forces at one time helped the Armagnacs, at another the Burgundians, and thus increased the confusion in that country.

9. Thus, after long struggles, Henry IV. established himself securely in his throne. But he wore himself out in the conflict, and after 1406 was a broken-down invalid. His unfitness to govern gave opportunity for court factions to revive and struggle for power. Archbishop Arundel, who had long been Henry's chief minister, represented the traditions of the Lords Appellant and the old constitutional party. He found bitter enemies in the Beauforts, the half-brothers of the king. The Beauforts were the sons of John of Gaunt by Catharine Swynford, who became the duke's third wife after their birth. This marriage gave an excuse for Richard II. legitimatizing Catharine's children, but Henry IV., when he confirmed this act, provided that they should not be regarded as competent to succeed to the throne. The eldest of the brothers, John, became earl of Somerset, while Henry became bishop of Winchester, and Thomas, the third, succeeded Arundel as chancellor in 1410. The Beauforts upheld the tradition of the courtiers with whom John of Gaunt had himself so long been associated. They had a powerful ally in Henry, prince of Wales, a high-spirited and able young man, who, when very young, had won much credit by the share he took in putting down the Welsh rising, but had caused some scandal by his wild and injudicious pursuit of amusement during his scanty leisure. The prince was ambitious, and showed an eager desire to profit by his father's illness to get power into his own hands. Against him and the Beauforts Arundel strove to uphold the personal authority of the sick king. The archbishop's dismissal and his replacement by Sir Thomas Beaufort was the work of the prince. It was believed that the prince wished to procure his father's abdication, and the king was bitterly wounded by his son's conduct. Recovering his health somewhat, Henry restored Arundel to the chancellorship. Soon afterwards he grew worse again, and died in 1413, when only forty-six years of age.

The Beauforts and the prince of Wales.

Death of Henry IV., 1413.

GENEALOGY OF HOUSE OF LANCASTER, INCLUDING THE BEAUFORTS


EDWARD III. m. Philippa of Hainault
(see table on page 254).
(3)
(4)
(5)
Lionel of Clarence, ancestor of Yorkists (see table on page 284).
John of Gaunt m. (1) Blanche of Lancaster (see table on page 254), (2) Constance of Castile, (3) Catharine Swynford.
Edmund, Duke of York, ancestor of Yorkists (see table on page 284).
(1) Henry of Lancaster, HENRY IV., 1399–1413, m. Mary Bohun.
(3) Henry Beaufort, Cardinal, d. 1447.
(3) John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, d. 1410.
(3) Thomas Beaufort, chancellor.
Charles VI., king of France.
(2) (3) (4) (1)
Thomas, duke of Clarence, d. 1421.
John, duke of Bedford, d. 1435, m. (1) Anne of Burgundy, (2) Jacquetta of Luxemberg.
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, d. 1447, m. (1) Jacqueline of Bavaria, (2) Eleanor Cobham.
HENRY V., m. 1413–1422.
m. (1) Catharine of France.
m. (2) Owen Tudor.
John Beaufort, first duke of Somerset, d. 1444.
Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, d. 1455.
Jane Beaufort, m. James I., king of Scots (see table on page 534).
HENRY VI., 1422 1471, m. Margaret of Anjou.
(2) (1)
Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, afterwards duke of Bedford.
Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond.
m. Lady Margaret Beaufort.
Edward Prince of Wales, d. 1471.
Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond HENRY VII., 1485–1509 (see table on page 419).
Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, d. 1464.
Edward Beaufort, duke of Somerset, d. 1471.

CHAPTER II

HENRY V. (1413–1422)

Chief Dates:

1413. Accession of Henry V
1414. Oldcastle's Rising.
1415. Battle of Agincourt.
1417. End of the Papal Schism.
1419. Conquest of Rouen.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1422. Death of Henry V.

1. HENRY V. was crowned king on Palm Sunday, 1413. "As soon as he was crowned," wrote a chronicler, "suddenly he was changed into a new man, and all his intention was to live virtuously." He had not shown much good feeling in his relations to his father, but he was now eager to set his past aside, and to rule wisely as the chosen king of the whole nation. He strove to bury the old feuds by releasing his rival, the earl of March, from prison, and by erecting a sumptuous monument over the remains of Richard II. in Westminster Abbey. In his anxiety to put a complete end to the Welsh revolt, he offered to pardon all the Welsh in arms against him, including Owen Glendower himself. This prudent policy proved completely successful. Owen scorned to accept pardon from his supplanter, and remained unconquered among the mountains. His followers, however, made their submission, and, on the chieftain's death soon afterwards, the Welsh troubles were completely ended.

Early measures of Henry V.

2. The only thing which Henry did that showed any spirit of revenge was his removal of Archbishop Arundel from the chancery. Henry Beaufort became chancellor in the archbishop's place, and remained the new king's chief adviser. Henry, however, continued to work cordially with Arundel, especially when the archbishop attacked the Lollards. The most powerful supporter of the Lollards was Sir John Oldcastle, a knight from the Welsh March, who had become Lord Cobham by his marriage with a Kentish heiress. He was an old friend of the king, and had fought under him in several campaigns, but Henry's fierce orthodoxy made him

Oldcastle and the Lollard rising, 1414.

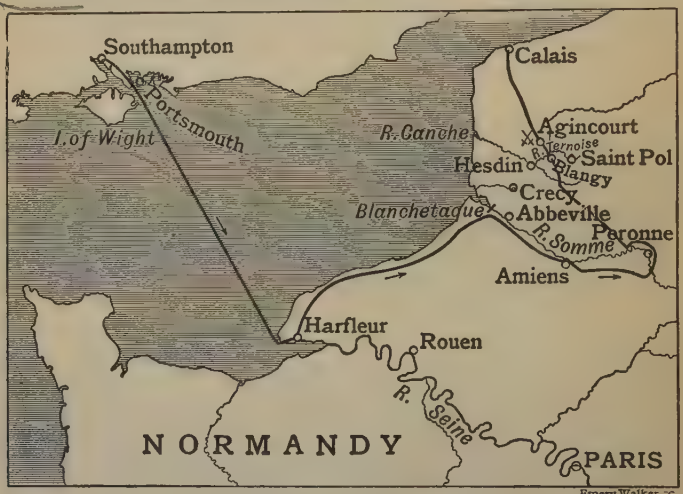
regardless of personal ties when he had to deal with heretics. Oldcastle was arrested, and convicted of heresy before Archbishop Arundel. Soon after his condemnation Oldcastle escaped from the Tower, and neither king nor archbishop could find out his hiding-place. The Lollards had long suffered severely from persecution, and in the fall of their leader their last hopes seemed to have vanished. In their despair they formed a plot to capture the king at Eltham, while a Lollard mob mustered in St. Giles' Fields, to the west of London, and sought to divert attention from the attack on Henry by an assault on the city. Henry's promptitude easily frustrated the conspiracy. He left Eltham for London, and shut himself with an armed force within the capital. Next morning, January 12, 1414, he surrounded the Lollard gathering at St. Giles' Fields, and easily frustrated their designs. Oldcastle fled to the March of Wales, where he lay hiding till 1417, when he was captured, taken to London, and hung as a traitor. With his execution Lollardy almost disappeared from history. Though the Lollard leaders had shown great constancy in persecution, they were too few in numbers and held too extreme views to have much influence over the nation at large. Within a generation the Lollards were almost extinct. Thus the orthodoxy of the Lancastrian kings secured a complete triumph.

3. Henry V. was above all things a soldier, and his chief anxiety was to revive the foreign policy of Edward III. He had good reason to resent the hostility of France to the House of Lancaster, and the deplorable state of anarchy into which France had now fallen offered him a temptation, which he made no effort to resist, to profit by French misfortunes. His first parliament agreed with him that he should renew Edward III.'s claim to the French throne, though, even if Edward III.'s title to France had been a just one, the heir of it was not the king, but the earl of March. Parliament made Henry a liberal grant of money to enable him to enforce his claim. Besides this, it passed an act whereby the *alien priories*—that is, the small monasteries of foreign monks established on the English estates of French houses of religion—should be suppressed, lest the foreign inmates should send English money out of the country to be employed in making war against England. This law is worth remembering, because it marks the first occasion on which parliament ventured to suppress religious houses and lay hands upon the property of the Church. Orthodox as were Henry and his parliament, they had no great love of extreme ecclesiastical pretensions.

Renewal of the claim to the French throne.

4. In the summer of 1415, Henry went down to Southampton to embark with his army to France. His departure was delayed by the news that his cousin Richard, earl of Cambridge, the son of Edmund, duke of York, had joined a plot to deprive the king of his throne, in favour of Edmund, earl of March, whose sister, Anne, he had married. Earl Edmund, however, repaid Henry's generosity by refusing to join the conspirators, and repeating all that he knew to the king. Cambridge was arrested, and condemned to immediate execution, and March himself sat among his brother-in-law's

The first expedition to France, 1415.



THE AGINCOURT CAMPAIGN.

judges. Immediately afterwards the king and his troops crossed over to France, landing at the mouth of the Seine.

5. In France, Henry's first step was to besiege Harfleur, a town which was then the chief port on the north bank of the estuary. Harfleur made a heroic resistance, and the English suffered greatly from sickness during the long siege. When, late in September, the place at last surrendered, Henry's army was so much weakened that all he could do was to march northwards to Calais, by as direct a road as lay open to him. He proceeded along the Norman coast as far as the Lower Somme, where he reached the ford of Blanchetaque, which Edward III. had crossed in 1346. There, however, he found that the French held

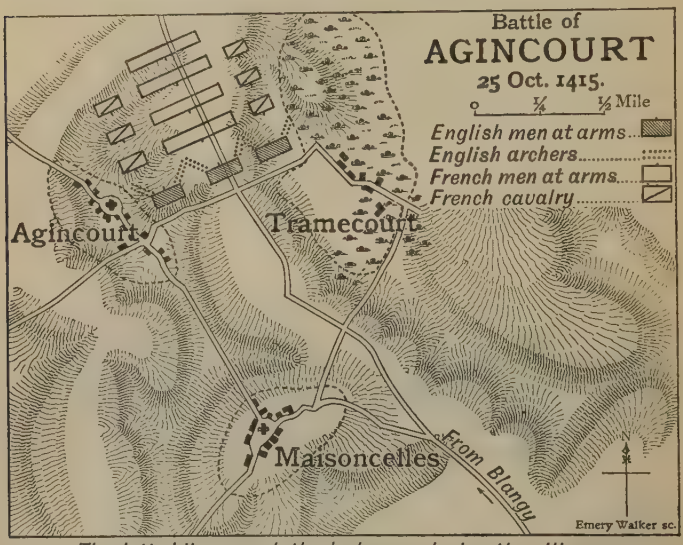
The siege of Harfleur.

the bank with such force that it was dangerous to attempt the passage. Accordingly, he marched past Abbeville and Amiens, up the left bank of the Somme, which he at last succeeded in crossing a little higher up than Péronne. Here he again resumed his northward progress, which was uninterrupted until he had safely crossed the Ternoise at Blangy, between Saint-Pol and Hesdin. Once over the river, he climbed up through narrow and deep-sunk lanes to the plateau which lies north of the stream, and took up his quarters at the village of Maisoncelles. There he perceived that his further movements were blocked by a great French army, which held the flat upland immediately to his north, between the villages of Tramecourt and *Agincourt*, now called Azincourt, whose hedges and enclosures formed natural limits to the battle ground to the east and west.

6. The war-worn English army had now the alternative of retreating, or of cutting its way through the superior forces of the enemy. Henry at once resolved to engage in battle, and his soldier's eye saw at once that the narrow plateau on which the French had elected to fight did not give them room enough to employ their superior numbers to advantage. By the morning of October 25, his troops were ready to fight a defensive battle after the accustomed fashion. Archers and men-at-arms were alike dismounted, and the former, placed on the wings of each of the three divisions of the army, provided themselves with stakes to form a palisade to protect them from the French charge. For some time they waited, hoping that the enemy would attack, but instead of this the French withdrew somewhat to the north. Thereupon Henry ordered the English to advance, and take up a new position between Agincourt and Tramecourt, within bowshot of the foe. This act of daring stirred up the French to make their long-deferred attack. The bulk of their army was also dismounted, but cavalry forces occupied each wing, and these, galled by the English arrows, advanced, in the hope of riding down the English archers. Protected by their palisades, the English bowmen made light of the assault, and soon the French horsemen were retreating in confusion. By this time the French men-at-arms had drawn near to the English centre. The soft ground was muddy from recent rain, and the heavily armoured French, assailed by the archers on their flanks, found their action much impeded. Seeing that the enemy's forward movement was checked, the archers, flushed with victory, abandoned the palisades, and fell on the French with sword, axe, and mallet in flank and rear. Before long the whole

The battle of Agincourt.

French army was thrown into hopeless confusion, and the English, with slight loss, won an overwhelming victory. Next day, the conquerors renewed their march for Calais, and, within a few weeks, Henry marched in triumph through London.



The dotted lines mark the hedges enclosing the villages.

7. Agincourt won for Henry as great a position in Europe as ever Edward III. had enjoyed. One good result that flowed from this was, that Henry was able to use his influence to put an end to the deplorable schism in the papacy, which, since 1378, had scandalized all Europe. The Emperor Sigismund was very anxious to restore unity to the Church, but the first efforts to promote it had had the unfortunate result that a third pope was elected while the other two popes still remained in office. Sigismund visited England, where Henry gave him a royal welcome. Partly through their efforts, a *General Council* of the Church met at Constance. At first, it seemed likely that the enmity of France and England would make peace hopeless among the assembled councillors; but at last the union of the English and Germans resulted in the deposition of all three popes, and the appointment of Martin V., a new pope whom all Europe recognized. The council also tried to

The Council of Constance, and the end of the Schism in the Papacy.

remedy the abuses of the Church. In this it was not very successful; but it burnt John Huss, a professor of the university of Prague, in Bohemia, who had studied Wycliffe's writings, and had striven to establish in his own land the views that the Lollards had upheld in England. Thus the teaching of Wycliffe was condemned on the Continent as well as in England. The Hussites, though they made a brave fight, were put down like the Lollards, and the orthodox party triumphed everywhere.

8. The battle of Agincourt had not resulted in the capture of a single castle, and from 1415 to 1417 all the lands held by the English in northern France were Calais and Harfleur. Harfleur itself, which Henry wished to make a second Calais, was in some danger. However, in 1417, Henry led a second expedition into France, with which he set to work to effect the conquest of Normandy. He met with fierce resistance at every step, but persevered with such energy, that, by 1419, nearly the whole of the duchy was in his hands. The last place of importance that resisted him was Rouen, which surrendered early in 1419, after a long and famous siege, which tried the skill and endurance of Henry's soldiers far more than the fight at Agincourt.

The conquest of Normandy, 1417-19.

9. Burgundians and Armagnacs continued their feuds even when the enemy was conquering their native country, and it was not until all Normandy was in English hands that the two factions made an effort to unite against the invader. At last, however, it was arranged that Charles, dauphin of Vienne, the mad king's eldest son, who now led the Armagnacs, should hold a conference with Duke John of Burgundy, at Montereau on the Yonne. The meeting took place on the bridge, and was signalized by the treacherous murder of the duke by the Armagnacs. A great wave of feeling now turned all northern France from the bloodthirsty Armagnacs. Philip the Good, Duke John's son and successor, at once made a treaty of alliance with the English. Paris, where Burgundian feeling was very strong, gladly followed his lead, and in 1420 the *treaty of Troyes* was signed between Henry and his French allies, by which the foreign invader assumed the new character of the partisan of the Burgundian faction. By it, Henry was to marry Catharine, the daughter of the mad King Charles VI., and to govern France, as regent, for the rest of his father-in-law's life. On Charles's death, Henry and his heirs were to succeed to the French throne, it being only stipulated that France should still be ruled by French laws and by French councillors. So bitter was

The treaty of Troyes, 1420.

the feeling against the dauphin, that a large number of Frenchmen, and most Parisians, gladly welcomed the victor of Agincourt as their ruler. English arms had won Henry only one glorious victory and one province. The Burgundian alliance now opened up the prospect of his ruling over all France.

10. The treaty of Troyes was largely accepted in the north. However, south of the Loire, where Armagnac feeling predominated, Charles the Dauphin was still recognized, and Henry's pretensions were rejected. While Henry returned to England with his new queen, his brother Thomas, duke of Clarence, strove to extend the sphere of Anglo-Burgundian influence in Central France. In 1421 Clarence was defeated and slain, at *Baugé*, by a force of French and Scots.

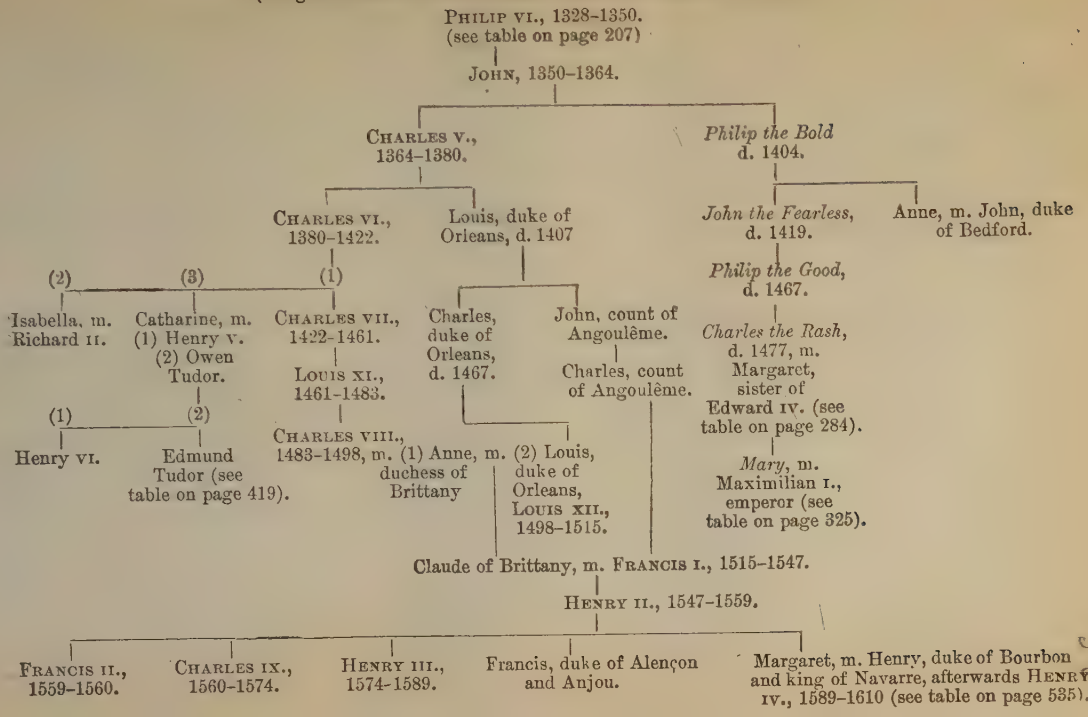
The battle of Baugé, 1421.

11. It was clear that much fighting would take place before the treaty of Troyes could be carried out. Henry at once led a third expedition into France, taking with him the captive king of Scots in the hope that the Scots would hesitate to fight against their own sovereign. Henry was welcomed by the Parisians as their future king, and had made some progress with his difficult task, when he was carried off by disease, at Vincennes, in August, 1422, when only thirty-five years of age, and before disaster had checked his wonderful career of conquest. He was one of the greatest of our kings, an admirable soldier, an able general, a wise and conciliatory statesman, and a highminded, honourable gentleman. He was strict, austere, grave, and cold. His intentions were good, but he wanted insight, sympathy, and imagination. He found it easy to persuade himself that whatever he wished to do was right. Thus he was profoundly convinced that his pursuit of power and glory flowed altogether from his conviction of the lawfulness of his claims to the French crown. He was, however, wonderfully efficient in carrying out anything that he undertook. Though he could be cruel to those who stood across his path, he was, for the most part, a lover of justice, a kind master, merciful to defeated foes, and careful of the comfort and well-being of his soldiers and subjects. His piety was sincere, but showed an unlovely side in his harshness to the Lollards. He was the only strong and popular king of the house of Lancaster, and Englishmen trusted him so entirely that he could afford to play the part of a constitutional ruler, since his parliaments always gave him all that he asked for. His glory, undimmed during his life, shone with even brighter lustre through the disasters of the next reign.

Third expedition, and death of Henry V., 1422.

THE VALOIS KINGS OF FRANCE AND THE VALOIS DUKES OF BURGUNDY

(Kings of France in small capitals; dukes of Burgundy in italics.)


PHILIP VI., 1328–1350.
(see table on page 207)
JOHN, 1350–1364.
CHARLES V., 1364–1380.
Philip the Bold d. 1404.
CHARLES VI., 1380–1422.
Louis, duke of Orleans, d. 1407
John the Fearless, d. 1419.
Anne, m. John, duke of Bedford.
(2)
(3)
(1)
Philip the Good, d. 1467.
Isabella, m. Richard II.
Catharine, m. (1) Henry V. (2) Owen Tudor.
CHARLES VII., 1422–1461.
Charles, duke of Orleans, d. 1467.
John, count of Angoulême.
Charles the Rash, d. 1477, m. Margaret, sister of Edward IV. (see table on page 284).
LOUIS XI., 1461–1483.
Charles, count of Angoulême.
(1)
(2)
CHARLES VIII., 1483–1498, m. (1) Anne, duchess of Brittany
(2) Louis, duke of Orleans, LOUIS XII., 1498–1515.
Mary, m. Maximilian I., emperor (see table on page 325).
Henry VI.
Edmund Tudor (see table on page 419).
Claude of Brittany, m. FRANCIS I., 1515–1547.
HENRY II., 1547–1559.
FRANCIS II., 1559–1560.
CHARLES IX., 1560–1574.
HENRY III., 1574–1589.
Francis, duke of Alençon and Anjou.
Margaret, m. Henry, duke of Bourbon and king of Navarre, afterwards HENRY IV., 1589–1610 (see table on page 535).

-1422.]
HENRY V.
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CHAPTER III

HENRY VI. (1422-1461)

Chief Dates:

1422. Accession of Henry VI.
1429. Relief of Orleans.
1431. Death of Joan of Arc.
1435. Congress of Arras.
1444. Truce of Tours.
1447. Deaths of Gloucester and Henry Beaufort.
1450. Revolt of Cade.
1453. Battle of Castillon.
1455. Battle of St. Albans.
1460. York claims the throne; battle of Wakefield.
1461. Deposition of Henry VI.

1. On Henry V.'s death, his only son, a baby nine months old, succeeded him as Henry VI. A few weeks later the little king's grandfather, Charles VI., died also. Henry was thereupon proclaimed king of France as well as England. It was hard enough, under any circumstances, to carry out the conditions of the treaty of Troyes, and this policy had now to be executed under the special difficulties of a long minority in both realms. The English parliament made Henry's elder uncle, John, duke of Bedford, *protector* of England, and the king's chief councillor; but as John also became regent of France, it was provided that, in his absence, his younger brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, should hold his English office. In reality, the royal power was put into the hands of the council, of which Gloucester was little more than the president.

Regency of Bedford established, 1422.

2. Bedford was a true brother of Henry V., and showed rare skill, devotion, and magnanimity in carrying out the hopeless task which lay before him. He was wise enough to see that the only chance of making his nephew king of France lay in close alliance with Philip the Good and the Burgundian party. He showed such loyalty to his allies that, in Paris and all other districts of northern

Bedford's work in France, 1422-1428.

France where the Burgundians were influential, his nephew was accepted as king without difficulty. He further strengthened his position by an alliance with the duke of Brittany, who, after Burgundy, was the most powerful of the great French feudatories. All his exertions could not, however, prevent the proclamation of the dauphin as Charles VII. in central and southern France; and, south of the Loire, the only district that acknowledged Henry as king was the scanty remnant of the English duchy of Aquitaine. Charles VII. was, however, hated for his share in the tragedy at Montereau; and his self-indulgent, lazy, and unenterprising character made him ill-fitted to play the part of a patriot king. His enemies called him, in derision, the "king of Bourges," and he seldom went far from the region of the middle Loire, where his best friends were to be found. Bedford and Burgundy now sought to extend their power. In 1423 they defeated the Armagnacs at *Cravant*, near Auxerre, in Burgundy, and in 1424 won another brilliant victory at *Verneuil*, in upper Normandy. As the Scots continued to give much help to the French, Bedford released the captive James I., married him to Jane Beaufort, the daughter of the earl of Somerset, and sent him back to Scotland as the ally of the English. Bedford's prudent policy was, however, sorely hampered by the folly of his brother Gloucester, who made himself the rival of Burgundy by marrying Jacqueline of Bavaria, a claimant to the county of Hainault, over which Duke Philip also had pretensions. The Anglo-Burgundian alliance seemed on the verge of dissolution, when Duke Humphrey invaded Hainault, and waged open war against Duke Philip. However, in 1426, Bedford managed to patch up peace between them, but it was long before the old cordiality between England and Burgundy was restored. The natural result of this was that the cause of King Henry made slow progress in France. Though Bedford and Burgundy could win battles, they were not strong enough to govern the country which they conquered. Northern France fell into a deplorable condition of weakness and confusion. Things were even worse in the regions which acknowledged Charles VII. The increasing weakness of the rival factions threatened all the land with the prospect of long years of anarchy.

3. In England, Duke Humphrey gave almost as much trouble to Bedford as in the Netherlands. He was a showy, vain-glorious, self-seeking man, who made constant efforts to win popularity. His only good point, however, was his love of letters and patronage of learned men. He was an incompetent politician, and under

his presidency the council was rent asunder by the disputes of rival factions. Gloucester posed as the leader of the popular party, while his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, carried on the traditions of the court politicians with which the Beauforts had been identified since the reign of Henry IV. Beaufort was a wiser statesman than his nephew, and had more influence in the council; while Gloucester was popular with the commons, who called him, with little reason, the *Good Duke Humphrey*. The disputes between the two rivals destroyed the effectiveness of the council, and weakened the government of the country. More than once Bedford was forced to abandon his work in France, and betake himself to England to reconcile his brother and his uncle. He never succeeded in establishing real cordiality between them. When the pope made Beaufort a cardinal, Gloucester demanded that he should be driven from the council, since, as cardinal, he was the natural counsellor of the pope, and had, therefore, no place among the advisers of an English king. So troublesome did Gloucester remain, that, in 1429, it was thought wise to crown the little king. Henry was only seven, but, after this ceremony, it was imagined that he was competent to rule on his own account. Gloucester ceased to be protector, and power fell more and more into the hands of Beaufort. His rival, however, was still strong enough to put grievous obstacles in the way of effective government.

Gloucester as Protector of England, 1422-1429.

4. The restoration of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, and the diminution of Gloucester's influence in England, enabled Bedford to undertake fresh steps for the extension of his power in France. He now resolved to attempt the conquest of the left bank of the Loire, where Charles's power chiefly centred. As a preliminary to this he began, in 1428, to besiege Orleans. This town, which is situated on the right bank of the Loire, commanded one of the few bridges that then spanned the rapid river. It was the natural gate of the south, and its reduction would have been a deadly blow to the fortunes of the king of Bourges. Charles, however, was quite unable to give any help to the hard-pressed garrison, and it looked as if Orleans would soon be forced to surrender to the Anglo-Burgundian alliance.

The siege of Orleans, 1428.

5. At this moment of extreme depression in the fortunes of France, there occurred one of the most wonderful things in all history. One day there came to King Charles's court at Chinon a simple country girl, named Jeanne D'arc, or, as the English called her, Joan of Arc. She was a native of Domrémi, a

village on the banks of the Meuse, on the borders of Champagne and Lorraine, and at the eastern extremity of the French kingdom. While tending her father's sheep in the fields, she had long pondered over the evils which the war had brought upon France. At last, as she firmly believed, God revealed Himself to her in visions, and bade her undertake the work of saving France from the foreigners, and restoring the blessings of peace. When first she told of her revelations every one mocked at her, but soon her faith won over many to believe in her mission. She was despatched right through the enemy's country, from Domrémi to the king's court at Chinon. "The King of heaven," said she to Charles, "bids me to tell you that you shall be anointed and crowned in the church of Reims, and that you shall be the deputy of the King of heaven, who is also King of France." Charles VII. had little belief in her words, but affairs were now so desperate that he let her do what she would. She donned armour like a man, and rode on a horse at the head of the garrison despatched to relieve the force at Orleans. At the end of April, 1429, Joan fought her way into Orleans, where her presence filled the discouraged soldiers with renewed hope. On May 7 she led an attack on the Tourelles—the strongest of the forts which the English had erected to shut in the beleaguered city. The Tourelles were taken, and, next day, the English abandoned the siege, and withdrew to the north of the Loire. A few weeks later Joan won a pitched battle over the English in the open field at *Patay*. These successes broke the long tide of disaster, and the courage and faith of Joan again made Frenchmen have confidence in themselves and their country.

The mission of Joan of Arc.

The relief of Orleans.

Battle of Patay.

6. Joan now bade the English quit France and recognize Charles as king. She fulfilled her promise by conducting Charles through the heart of the enemy's country to Reims, where she stood by while he was crowned and anointed king. Charles's position in the north was still so weak that he was forced to retreat beyond the Loire immediately after the ceremony. Yet from this moment his position in France was changed. Up to now he had been the discredited leader of a faction; henceforth he was the divinely appointed monarch, with an indefeasible claim to the obedience of all Frenchmen. French patriotic feeling, long suspended through the baleful effects of party strife, once more asserted itself in response to the teaching of the maid of Orleans.

Coronation of Charles VII.

FRANCE IN 1429.

7. The first stage of Joan's work had now been accomplished; but she did not regard her mission as completed until she had driven the English out of France. She therefore still remained with the army, and made desperate efforts to win over the north to the patriotic cause. Victory, however, had made her over-confident. Her merit lay in her faith and inspiration. Now that, owing to her success, soldiers sought her advice on problems of generalship, she naturally made bad mistakes. She failed completely in an attack on Paris, and rashly threw herself into Compiègne, a place which, stirred up by her patriotic influence, had thrown off the Burgundian yoke and was now besieged by Duke Philip. On May 23, 1430, she fell into the hands of the enemy as she was returning from an unsuccessful sally on the defenders. After a long imprisonment, Joan was condemned, by a French ecclesiastical court, as a witch, and in 1431 was burned to death at Rouen. She had done such great deeds that English and French alike believed that there was something supernatural about her. But while French patriots were convinced that she was a maid sent from God, the English and Burgundians professed that she was inspired by the devil. She died so bravely that the more thoughtful of her English foes were convinced of her nobility of purpose. "We are undone," said they, "for this maid whom we have burned is a saint indeed."

Martyrdom of Joan of Arc, 1431.

8. The work of the maid of Orleans outlasted her martyrdom. The whole French people was now on the side of Charles, and even the Burgundians who had done Joan to death began to feel that their true position was that of traitors in league with the national enemy. In the face of ever-increasing difficulties, Bedford struggled nobly to uphold the English power. As if to answer the hallowing of Charles at Reims, he brought King Henry to France, and sought to have him also crowned at the accustomed crowning-place. But the patriotic party was now so strong in Champagne that access to Reims was impossible, and, after long delays, Bedford was forced to be content with his nephew's coronation in the cathedral of Paris. An English bishop, Henry of Winchester, performed the ceremony, and even the faithful Parisians grew discontented at the prominence given to the young king's English councillors.

Coronation of Henry VI. at Paris, 1431.

9. The personal relations between Bedford and Burgundy now became strained. The death of Bedford's wife, who was Duke Philip's sister, broke the closest tie between them, and Bedford soon committed his one imprudence, that of marrying Jacquetta of

Luxemburg, a vassal of Philip, without the duke's knowledge or permission. From that moment the English power in France rapidly declined. The end came the quicker since the intrigues of Duke Humphrey once more forced Bedford to revisit England. When he went back to France he found that, outside Normandy and the neighbourhood of Paris, the English power was almost at an end. Duke Philip, now anxious to break with his English allies, summoned, in 1435, a general European Congress to meet at *Arras*, in the hope of making peace. There the English were offered the whole of Normandy and a large extension of their Gascon duchy if they would conclude peace and renounce their king's claim to France. With great unwisdom, Bedford refused these terms. He withdrew from the congress, and died soon after. Burgundy then made peace with Charles, and, in 1436, Paris opened its gates to the national king.

Congress of Arras, and death of Bedford, 1435.

10. The war still lingered on for many years. Though success was hopeless, the English still struggled bravely, and the French were still so weak that their progress was comparatively slow. Henry VI. was now reaching man's estate. He was virtuous, intelligent, religious, and humble, but he was not strong enough, either in mind or body, to rule England effectively. The factious strife in his council went on as much as ever, and the parties of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort still contended for ascendancy. Beaufort was statesman enough to see that the wisest course for England was to conclude an honourable peace with France, which was still willing to make substantial concessions of territory in return for Henry's renunciation of his claim to the throne. Duke Humphrey bitterly opposed this pacific policy, and won a cheap popularity by denouncing all concessions, and clamouring for the continuance of the war. The young king was sincerely anxious for peace, and, as he grew up, his support gave Beaufort's party the ascendancy in the council. The indiscretion of Eleanor Cobham, Gloucester's wife, now brought about a further diminution of the duke's influence. The duchess of Gloucester, knowing that her husband was next in succession to the throne if Henry should die, consulted witches and astrologers as to the best way of hastening that event. By their advice she made an image of the king in wax, and melted it before a slow fire, believing that, as the wax melted away, so the king's life would waste away. In 1441 the duchess's childish form of treason was detected. Her accomplices were put to death, and

The peace and war parties in England.

Eleanor herself was imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man. Not daring to intervene, Duke Humphrey "took all things patiently, and said little." Henceforth he had little influence, and chiefly busied himself with his favourite pursuit of literature.

11. In 1442 Henry came of age, and, guided by Beaufort's advice, pressed forward the policy of peace. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, a soldier who had fought bravely against the French, and a strong supporter of Cardinal Beaufort, became the chief agent of the royal policy. In 1444 he negotiated a short truce at *Tours*, by which a marriage was arranged between Henry and Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of René, duke of Anjou, nominal king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and actual count of Provence and duke of Lorraine. The house of Anjou was a junior branch of the French royal house, and René's sister was the wife of Charles VII. In 1445, Margaret, a high-spirited girl of fifteen, was brought to England by Suffolk, and married to Henry.

The truce of Tours, 1444, and the French marriage, 1445.

12. The marriage was not popular; Margaret was poor, and did not even bring assured peace with France as her wedding portion. It was necessary to renew the truce from time to time, and the English were forced to purchase its continuance by the surrender of the few posts they held in Maine and Anjou, nominally to Margaret's father, really to the French. Suffolk was now made a duke, and became the chief adviser of the king and queen. In 1447 he procured the arrest of Gloucester, who had bitterly opposed the French marriage. Soon after his apprehension Duke Humphrey died. He had long been in wretched health, and his death was in all probability due to natural causes. His friends, however, persisted in believing that he was murdered, and accused Suffolk of the crime. In the same year his old enemy, Cardinal Beaufort, died also. He was the shrewdest statesman of the age, and his policy, though unpopular, was undoubtedly the right one. His death left the chief burden of responsibility on Suffolk. His nephew, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, now represented the family tradition, and was Suffolk's most prominent ally.

Deaths of Gloucester and Beaufort, 1447.

13. The weak point of Suffolk's position was that, though he had staked everything upon the French alliance, he had made no lasting peace. Yet he was so sure that peace would continue, that he neglected the commonest precautions for securing such possessions as still remained in English hands. His ally Somerset, who was governor of Normandy, so grossly neglected his charge, that it was not unreasonable that doubts should be cast upon his

honour. Knowing that the English were in no position to resist, the French broke the truce in 1449, and invaded Normandy, which had been largely in English hands since its conquest by Henry V. thirty years before. Somerset made a poor resistance, and, by 1450, the whole of Normandy had passed over to the French. Next year Gascony was attacked, and the last remnants of the Aquitanian inheritance renounced English sway when Bordeaux and Bayonne opened their gates to the conqueror.

The loss of Normandy, 1449-1450, and Gascony, 1451.

14. There was, however, a great difference between Gascony and Normandy. In Normandy the French came as deliverers, while in Gascony they came as conquerors. The men of the south had no complaint against the rule of their English dukes, and the government of Charles VII. proved so harsh and unpopular that, in 1451, they rose in revolt. John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, an aged hero who had fought in every war since the rebellion of Owen Glendower, was sent, in 1452, at the head of a considerable army from England, to assist the revolted Gascons. On his arrival nearly the whole of the district round Bordeaux returned to the English obedience. On July 17, 1453, Shrewsbury fought the last battle of the war at *Castillon* on the Dordogne. The French held a large entrenched and palisaded camp, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon. The Anglo-Gascon troops rashly charged these formidable earthworks, but were decimated by the enemy's fire before they reached the entrenchments. Shrewsbury himself was among the slain, and on that day the English duchy of Gascony finally perished. This was the last act of the Hundred Years' War. Henceforth Calais alone represented the English king's dominions in France.

The Battle of Castillon, and the end of the Hundred Years' War, 1453.

15. The disasters in France created a strong feeling among the English against the incompetent statesmen who controlled her destinies. In the parliament of 1450, Suffolk was impeached, and a long series of charges brought against him. He was accused of corruption and maladministration, of betraying the kings' counsel to the French, and of conspiring to win the throne for his son. So loud was the outcry against him, that Henry VI. dared not protect his favourite minister. He declared the charges against him not proved, but strove to appease the Commons and keep the duke out of harm's way by banishing him from England for five years. As Suffolk was sailing towards Calais, his vessel was intercepted by a royal ship, called the *Nicholas of the Tower*, which was lying in wait for him. Carried

Murder of Suffolk, 1450.

on board the *Nicholas* he was greeted with the cry of "Welcome, traitor!" and bidden to prepare for his end. Next day he was forced into a little boat, and an Irishman, "one of the lowest men in the ship," clumsily cut off his head with a rusty sword. The headless body was thrown upon the English coast, that all might see that not even the king's favour could save a man from the judgment of the commons of England.

16. The murder of Suffolk by the king's own seamen showed that the government was unable to preserve order. A few weeks later the incapacity of the administration was further proved by a formidable rising of the commons of Kent. Led by an Irish adventurer, named Jack Cade, who gave out that he was an illegitimate son of the last earl of March, a formidable force of Kentish men marched towards London, and set up a fortified camp on Blackheath. They defeated the king's troops, and Henry was forced to flee before them from London to the midlands. On his retreat, the citizens opened their gates to the rebels. At first, Cade kept good order, but his followers soon got out of hand, slew the king's ministers, and began to rob the citizens of their property. Many of the Londoners now turned against them, and there was a formidable fight between the citizens and the rebels on London Bridge. At last, however, the Kentish men were persuaded to go home under promise of a general pardon. Cade now endeavoured to excite a fresh revolt in Sussex, but was slain by a Kentish squire. His death ended the rebellion. At first sight the revolt reminds us of the rising of 1381, but the only grievances of the commons of Kent in 1450 were political. Their rebellion was a protest against the maladministration which still prevailed at court. Even the fall of Suffolk had taught nothing to the king and his advisers, and the only way to clear the council of Suffolk's party seemed to be armed resistance.

Revolt of Jack Cade, 1450.

17. Cade had made use of the name of Mortimer; and, soon after his death, the true heir of the Mortimers, Richard, duke of York, came to London from his Irish estates, and assumed the leadership of the opposition. York was the only son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, whom Henry v. had executed in 1415, and his wife, Anne Mortimer, sister and heiress of Edmund, the last earl of March of his house. From his grandfather, Edmund of Langley, third surviving son of Edward III., he inherited the duchy of York, but his real importance was due to his having inherited from his mother the earldoms of March and Ulster, with vast estates in the west of England and in

The position of Richard, duke of York.

Ireland. Moreover, Anne Mortimer was the heiress of Lionel, duke of Clarence, so that her son represented the elder line of the descendants of Edward III. Neither York nor his friends, however, regarded him as a rival to Henry VI. as king. Duke Richard's object was rather to renew the policy of Thomas of Lancaster or Humphrey of Gloucester. He aimed at acting as the leader of the constitutional opposition, and his chief motive was to drive the unpopular courtiers from the king's council, and help Henry to rule more firmly. Henry and Margaret were, however, childless, and York was generally looked upon as the nearest heir to the throne.

18. About the time York came back from Ireland, the French conquest of Normandy compelled its discredited governor, Somerset, to return to England. Despite his proved incompetence and possible treachery, Somerset was cordially welcomed by king and queen, and forthwith put in the place which Suffolk had once occupied. York at once demanded the dismissal of Somerset from the king's counsels. The outcry against the unpopular duke was soon increased by the tidings of the loss of Gascony, and the king, who was weak and peace-loving, might well have yielded to the storm. Margaret of Anjou, however, possessed the vigour and manliness which were so singularly wanting in her husband, though unluckily she never understood England, and thought only of protecting her friends against their enemies. Through her support Somerset's position remained unassailable. At last, in 1452, York raised an army. He was, however, anxious to avoid civil war, and dismissed his forces on the king's pledging himself that he should be admitted to the council, while Somerset should be imprisoned until he cleared himself of the accusations brought against him. Margaret prevented her husband from carrying out his promise, and York soon found that he had been tricked. In 1453 the king lost his reason. In the same year the birth of a son to Henry and Margaret—Edward, prince of Wales—cut off York's prospects of a peaceful succession to the throne, while the tidings of the battle of Castillon came to increase the distrust generally felt for the negligent government. For a time the council carried on the administration in the king's name, but in 1454 parliament insisted on the appointment of a regent, and, to Margaret's disgust, the Lords chose York protector of England. Before the end of the year the king was restored to health, and York's protectorate was put to an end. Somerset was restored to power, and York was even excluded from the royal council. Irritated at this treatment, Duke Richard once

Beginning of the Wars of the Roses, 1450-1455.

more appealed to arms. In 1455 he defeated his enemies at the battle of *St. Albans*, where Somerset was slain and the king wounded and taken prisoner. His agitation once more robbed Henry of his reason, and for a second time York was made protector.

19. The battle of St. Albans is generally described as marking the beginning of the Wars of the Roses, so called in later days because the house of York had a white rose as its badge, and the house of Lancaster was thought to have a red rose. In reality the red rose was not used till later, when it became the badge of the Tudors, who were the heirs of the Lancasters. The phrase Wars of the Roses, then, is a misnomer; but it is one so generally used that it may be allowed to stand. Whatever their name, these wars lasted for thirty years. It was not, however, a period of continued fighting, and affairs were not much more disorderly after the battle of St. Albans than before it. It was rather a period of short wars, divided by longer periods of weak government. The ultimate cause of the struggle was the inability of Henry VI. to govern England. Part of this was due to Henry's personal incompetence, but the root of the matter lay deeper. The long war with France had increased the greediness and ferocity of the English nobles, and now that they could no longer win booty and glory abroad, they began to fight fiercely with each other. Nothing but a strong king, able to enforce his will, could remedy this state of things. Since 1399, however, parliament had been so powerful that the crown had not enough power left to do its work. The Commons were not yet strong and coherent enough to take the lead, and parliamentary government meant, in practice, the rule of a turbulent nobility, which delighted in anarchy and was too proud to obey the law. The majority of the nobles were contented with the weak government of Henry, and even lent a steady support to Somerset. The Commons, on the other hand, longed for the restoration of order, and upheld the cause of Richard of York because they thought him vigorous enough to put an end to the prevailing misgovernment.

Characteristics of the Wars of the Roses.

20. Though most of the nobles were Lancastrians, a few great houses supported the Yorkists. Conspicuous among these was the junior branch of the great Yorkshire family of the Nevilles, earls of Westmorland. The head of this was Richard Neville, who became by marriage earl of Salisbury, and whose sister Cicely was the wife of Richard of York. His eldest son, also named Richard Neville, became earl of

The House of Neville.

Warwick by his marriage with the heiress of the Beauchamps. Both father and son had taken a prominent share in winning the battle of St. Albans, and henceforward they were the chief supporters of the Yorkists (see for the Nevilles table on page 294).

21. The second protectorate of York was even shorter than the first. Early in 1456 the king regained his wits, and York was forced to resign. The death of Somerset weakened the queen's party, and Henry, always honestly anxious to restore peace, allowed York to keep his place on the council. Both factions, however, bitterly hated each other, and every nobleman went about with a band of armed followers, even when attending royal councils. The country was hardly governed at all. Private wars became common, and the French commanded the Channel and plundered the coasts. Amidst the general confusion Warwick showed himself the strongest man in England. In 1458 he gained a naval victory over the French which saved England from invasion. Soon afterwards he quarrelled with Margaret and withdrew to Calais, of which he was governor, leaving the queen supreme. Next year (1459) Margaret strove to strengthen her position by an attack on Salisbury. War was at once renewed. Salisbury defeated Lord Audley, the queen's commander, at *Blore Heath* in Staffordshire, near Market Drayton. Soon afterwards Warwick returned from Calais. The two Nevilles joined Richard of York at Ludlow the centre of the Mortimer estates. Thereupon the king proceeded to the Welsh March, and showed such activity that he scattered the Yorkist forces without having to fight a battle. York took refuge in Ireland, while Warwick and Salisbury fled to Calais. After this flight a packed parliament at Coventry attainted all the Yorkist leaders. The triumph of the king seemed complete.

Reconciliation and the renewal of the strife, 1455-1459.

22. Henry's sudden burst of energy did not last long. The next year, 1460, Warwick and Salisbury came back to England, and with them came Edward, earl of March, the duke of York's eldest son. On July 10 they fought and won the *battle of Northampton*, when Henry was taken prisoner. York now returned from Ireland, and, when parliament assembled in October, claimed the throne as the nearest kin of Edward III. through Lionel of Clarence. The lords of parliament courageously rejected this claim, but agreed to a compromise, which Henry, to spare further bloodshed, also accepted. By this Henry was to keep the throne till his death, but York was declared his successor, and was to act as protector for the rest of the king's life.

York claims the throne, 1460.

23. After the battle of Northampton, Margaret had fled to Wales with her son Edward. She was bitterly indignant with her husband for his weak abandonment of the rights of their child, and resolved to carry on the struggle against Duke Richard. With that object she made her way to Scotland, where she obtained substantial help at the price of the surrender of Berwick. She was still in Scotland when the Lancastrian lords of Yorkshire rose in revolt against the rule of York. In December, Richard hurried to the north to suppress the rebellion. He kept his Christmas at his castle of Sandal, near Wakefield, which the enemy threatened to besiege. York scorned to be "caged like a bird," and on December 30 marched out of Sandal to offer battle to the superior forces of the Lancastrians. The fight which ensued, called the *battle of Wakefield*, cost him his army and his life. Salisbury, who was taken prisoner, was beheaded next day, and York's younger son, the earl of Rutland, was butchered after the fight by one of the Lancastrian lords. Thereupon Margaret hurried from Scotland and joined her victorious partisans. At the head of the fierce warriors of the north, she made her way to London. As she approached the capital, Warwick went out to intercept her at St. Albans, taking the king with him. On February 17, 1461, the *second battle of St. Albans* was fought, in which Warwick was completely defeated and Henry fell into his wife's hands. The wild north countrymen were, however, so much out of hand that even the reckless Margaret feared to lead them on to London lest they should wreak such atrocities as should permanently alienate the citizens from her cause. While she hesitated, Edward, earl of March, now duke of York by his father's death, effectively rallied his party. A fortnight before Margaret's victory, he had scattered the Lancastrians of the west at the battle of *Mortimer's Cross*, near Leominster. Thereupon he hastened towards London at the head of a great army of Welshmen and Marchers from his own estates. He joined Warwick's beaten troops on the way, and nine days after the battle of St. Albans, took possession of London. Soon after, Warwick's brother, George Neville, bishop of Worcester, the Yorkist chancellor, declared to the citizens that Edward might rightly claim the crown. On March 4, Edward seated himself on the royal throne in Westminster Hall and asked the people if they would have him as king. A shout of "Yea, yea!" rose from the assembly, and henceforth the pretender ruled as Edward IV.

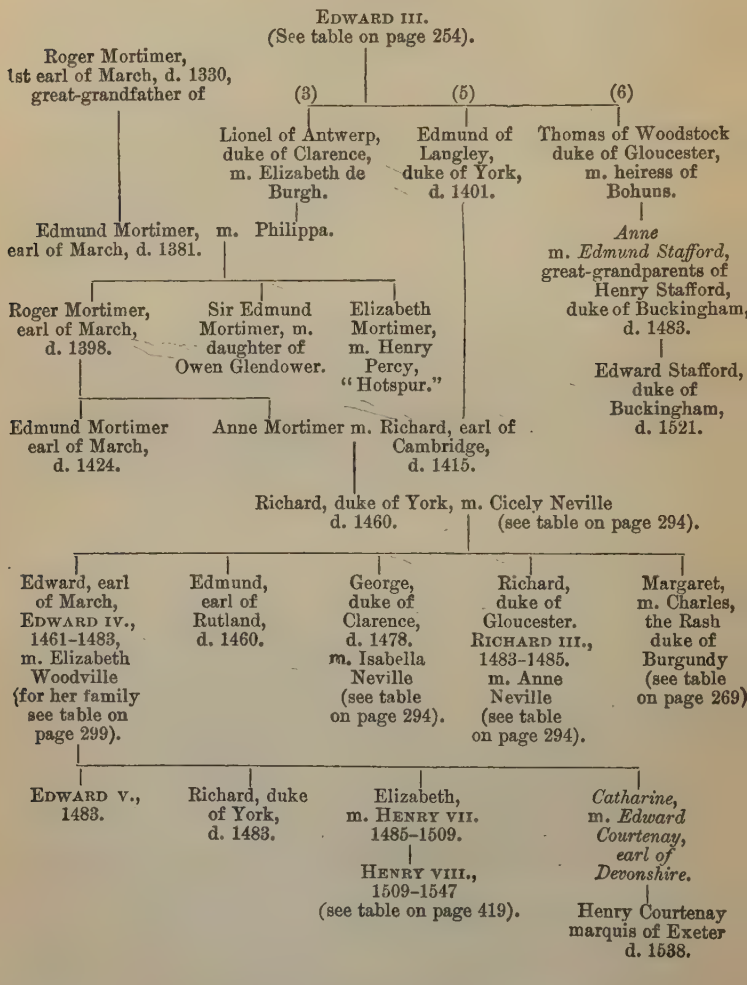
The fall of Henry VI., 1460-1461.

Battle of Wakefield, 1460.

Second Battle of St. Albans, 1461.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF YORK, INCLUDING THE MORTIMERS AND STAFFORDS


EDWARD III.
(See table on page 254).
Roger Mortimer, 1st earl of March, d. 1330, great-grandfather of
(3)
(5)
(6)
Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, m. Elizabeth de Burgh.
Edmund of Langley, duke of York, d. 1401.
Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, m. heiress of Bohuns.
Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, d. 1381.
m. Philippa.
Anne m. Edmund Stafford, great-grandparents of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, d. 1483.
Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, d. 1521.
Roger Mortimer, earl of March, d. 1398.
Sir Edmund Mortimer, m. daughter of Owen Glendower.
Elizabeth Mortimer, m. Henry Percy, "Hotspur."
Edmund Mortimer earl of March, d. 1424.
Anne Mortimer
m. Richard, earl of Cambridge, d. 1415.
Richard, duke of York, d. 1460.
m. Cicely Neville (see table on page 294).
Edward, earl of March, EDWARD IV., 1461-1483, m. Elizabeth Woodville (for her family see table on page 299).
Edmund, earl of Rutland, d. 1460.
George, duke of Clarence, d. 1478. m. Isabella Neville (see table on page 294).
Richard, duke of Gloucester. RICHARD III., 1483-1485. m. Anne Neville (see table on page 294).
Margaret, m. Charles, the Rash duke of Burgundy (see table on page 269)
EDWARD V., 1483.
Richard, duke of York, d. 1483.
Elizabeth, m. HENRY VII. 1485-1509.
HENRY VIII., 1509-1547 (see table on page 419).
Catharine, m. Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire.
Henry Courtenay marquis of Exeter d. 1538.

Persons not mentioned in the text in *italics*.

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD IV. (1461–1483)

Chief Dates:

1461. Accession of Edward IV. and battle of Towton.
1464. Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.
1470. Restoration of Henry VI.
1471. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.
1475. Treaty of Picquigni.
1478. Death of Clarence.
1483. Death of Edward IV.

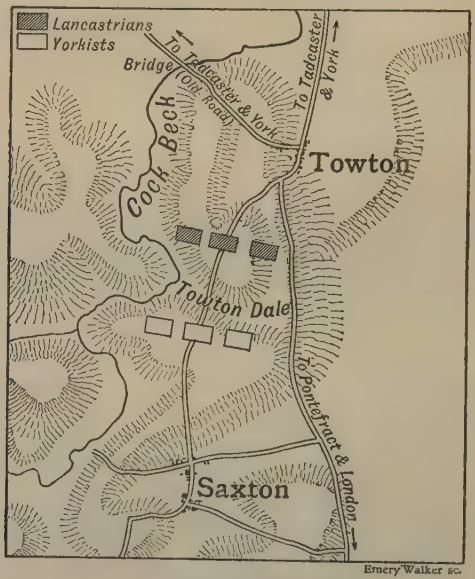
1. EDWARD IV. was only nineteen years old when he became king, but had already shown himself to be a born general and leader of men. He was exceedingly tall and good-looking, and his winning manners made him personally popular. He was inclined to carelessness and self-indulgence, but whenever he spurred himself to take action, he showed wonderful decision and vigour. Though pleasure-loving, greedy, and cruel, he was just the strong man needed to save England from anarchy. He owed his throne to his wisdom in the camp and in the cabinet, and few Englishmen concerned themselves as to whether he were the nearest heir of Edward III. All those parts of England, and all those classes of society to which peace and good order mattered most were his partisans. The townsman, the trader, and the artisan, the whole of the south and east, then the richest part of the country, were in his favour. The Londoners strongly supported him. Besides these, Edward owed much of his triumph to the steady backing of Warwick, who, after his father's death, united in himself the Beauchamp and Montagu inheritances. Warwick had enormous estates all over the country, and could raise an army of his own tenants in the west midlands. Gentlemen of good estate thought it an honour to wear his livery and display his badge of the bear and ragged staff. Men called him the *King-maker*, because he had done so much to win Edward the crown. His services to Edward were even more signal than those which the Percies had rendered to Henry IV. Another great source of

Edward IV. and the Yorkist party.

strength to the new king were his own vast estates, and especially the enormous territories which he inherited from the Mortimers.

2. Many still regretted the rule of Lancaster. There was still much sympathy for the gentle and unoffending king, and every tenant of the broad estates of the house of Lancaster felt personal devotion to his cause. Outside his hereditary lands, Henry's chief supporters were the fierce barons of the north, who had profited by his weakness to build up their own power. All the great names of the north

Battle of Towton, 1461.



BATTLE OF TOWTON.

country, such as Clifford and Percy, were on his side, including even the senior branch of the house of Neville, which held the earldom of Westmorland. The natural antagonism of the Principality and the March made the Welsh good friends of Henry. Accordingly, when, after Edward's proclamation, Margaret hurried with her husband to the north, the Lancastrian partisans were still able to fight desperately. Edward at once followed Margaret to Yorkshire, and, on Palm Sunday, 1461, the decisive battle of the war was fought between the northern and southern armies

at *Towton*, three miles south of Tadcaster, in Yorkshire. The Lancastrians were stationed on the northern slope of the rising ground overlooking the depression called Towtondale, between the villages of Towton and Saxton. Their left extended to the main road from the south to Tadcaster and York, while their right stretched towards the Cock beck, a tributary of the Ouse. A blinding snowstorm blew into their faces, and almost prevented the armies seeing each other. On such a day there was little opportunity for manœuvring, and even archery was ineffective. Nevertheless, Edward marshalled his inferior forces with such consummate skill that the Lancastrians lost the chief advantages derived from their strong position and numerical superiority. The southerners fought their way bit by bit up the slopes of the hill, and finally drove the northerners in panic flight from the field. The slaughter was terrible. Many fugitives were drowned in the swollen Cock, and the snow along the York road was stained with their blood. Henry and Margaret fled to Scotland, and their open alliance with England's traditional enemies robbed them of their last chance of the throne.

3. For the next nine years Edward IV. was monarch in fact as well as in name. He returned to London, and was crowned king. His brothers, George and Richard, were made dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and parliament attainted Henry and the chief Lancastrian partisans. Even now Margaret did not lose heart. She sought help from the French as well as the Scots, and for the next four years her attempts to stir up risings in the north made Edward's throne insecure. The last of these efforts was in 1464, and was crushed by the Yorkist victories of *Hedgeley Moor* and *Hexham*. Henry VI., who had joined the rebels, narrowly escaped capture in the pursuit that followed the latter battle. The Scots now abandoned him, and made a long truce with Edward. For more than a year the deposed king hid himself away amidst the wild moorland that separates Lancashire and Yorkshire. At last he was captured near Clitheroe, in Ribblesdale, and taken to London. Misfortune and harsh treatment soon robbed him of his small wits; but, as long as his son lived and was free, it was the obvious interest of Edward to keep him alive.

Triumph of Edward IV.

4. No sooner had Henry's captivity secured the throne for Edward IV. than difficulties arose between the new king and his own partisans. Warwick expected to keep him in constant control. The earl secured for his brother George the archbishopric of York, and placed his other brother, John, in the earldom of

Northumberland, forfeited by the Percies through their obstinate adhesion to Lancaster. Now that peace was restored at home, foreign policy again became important, and Warwick, adopting the traditions of the Beauforts, urged Edward to make an alliance with France, which was then ruled by the crafty and politic Louis XI., who had succeeded his father, Charles VII., in 1461. Louis was anxious to win Edward's support, because he was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the House of Burgundy, now ruled by Charles the Rash, son of Philip the Good. The Burgundian power extended over the whole of the Netherlands, and its duke rivalled the king of France, and surpassed the emperor in wealth, power, and importance. Accordingly, Louis proposed that Edward should wed Bona of Savoy, the sister of his queen. Warwick eagerly supported this proposal, and prepared to embark for France to bring about the match. Before he could start, Edward publicly announced that he was already married. His wife was Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Lord Rivers, and widow of Sir John Grey, who had perished, fighting for Lancaster, in the second battle of St. Albans. The lady was poor, and her family was insignificant, but her beauty attracted the king, who was very glad to inflict a public slight on the too-presumptuous Warwick by ostentatiously putting him into a false position. Edward soon broke with the French and made an alliance with Charles of Burgundy, who, in 1468, married Margaret, the king's sister. In his anxiety to free himself from the control of the Nevilles, Edward strove to raise up in the kinsmen of the new queen a party devoted to himself and bitterly hostile to Warwick (see table on page 299). Her father became Earl Rivers, her brothers and sisters made rich marriages, and soon a family party arose whose wealth, arrogance, and want of ancestral dignity made them bitterly hated by the old nobles.

The Nevilles and the Woodville marriage.

5. Warwick lost all his influence at court, and his brother, the archbishop of York, was driven from the chancery. In deep disgust, the king-maker sought for an ally against the king, and found one in Edward's vain and worthless brother, George, duke of Clarence, who fully shared Warwick's jealousy against the queen's kinsmen. Warwick had no son, and his two daughters, Isabella and Anne, were likely to divide his great possessions. In 1470 Warwick married Isabella, his elder daughter, to Clarence, and lured his son-in-law into treason by holding out hopes of putting him on his brother's throne. In 1469 Warwick's kinsfolk and

Robert Welles and Robin of Redesdale, 1469.

dependents stirred up a popular rising against Edward. The rebels, commanded by a knight who took the false name of Robin of Redesdale, defeated the king's troops at *Edgecote*, near Banbury, and beheaded the queen's father, whom they took prisoner. Edward was reduced to such distress that he surrendered to Archbishop Neville, and remained for a time at the mercy of his foes. Next year (1470) the tide turned. There was another rising of the Neville partisans, headed by Sir Robert Welles. Edward put this down with promptitude at Stamford, where the insurgents threw off their coats to run away with such haste that men called the day *Lose Coat Field*. Welles, taken prisoner, confessed that there had been a plot to make Clarence king. Edward then sought to lay hands upon his enemies, and Warwick and Clarence took ship for France.

6. Louis XI. gave the exiles a cordial welcome. The French king was anxious to weaken Charles of Burgundy by driving Edward from the throne, and was shrewd enough to see that Warwick's best way of winning back his position in England was by effecting a reconciliation between him and the Lancastrians. After much difficulty, Louis managed to make an alliance between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, who, since her husband's captivity, had lived in France. It was arranged that her son, Edward, prince of Wales, should marry Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter, and Warwick promised henceforward to be faithful to Henry VI. Louis then equipped a small expedition, and sent Warwick and Clarence to England. In September they landed at Plymouth, and, profiting by Edward's absence in the north, marched to London, and brought back Henry VI. from the Tower to the throne. Edward, unable to resist, fled to the Netherlands, where he took shelter with his brother-in-law, Charles the Rash. Thus Warwick once more proved his right to his title of king-maker. He was now monarch in all but name, for misfortunes had reduced Henry to permanent imbecility. The restored monarch was now, we are told, "like a sack of wool," and "as mute as a crowned calf."

Alliance of Warwick and Margaret.

7. Henry's VI.'s nominal restoration to power lasted from October, 1470, to May, 1471. In March, 1471, Edward IV. landed at Ravenspur, on the Humber, where Henry of Lancaster had landed in 1399. Englishmen who had been too apathetic to save him from his defeat, stood aside with equal indifference while he strove to win back power. At first Edward gave out that he had only returned to claim his father's duchy of York, but, as followers

The restoration of Henry VI., 1470-1471.

gathered round him, he openly announced that he wished to regain the throne. Before long he was joined by his brother

Emery Walker sc.

Clarence, who saw that Warwick's alliance with the Lancastrians was fatal to his personal ambitions. The brothers then

pushed south for London, which opened its gates to them on April 11. Thereupon Henry VI. was put back in the Tower, and Edward was once more recognized as king. Edward then marched out of London, and on Easter Sunday, April 14, gave battle to Warwick at *Barnet*, ten miles to the north of the capital. The fight took place in a thick mist, so that everything depended upon hard hand-to-hand fighting. Warwick and his brother John, marquis of Montagu, were slain on the field, and the death of the king-maker consummated the triumph of the Yorkists. With all his vigour and energy, Warwick had shown no striking capacity either as a soldier or as a statesman. His chief motive of action was the acquisition of power for himself and his family. He is the last conspicuous embodiment of the great baronial class whose turbulence had reduced England to anarchy.

8. Margaret, who had hitherto tarried in France, landed in the west of England along with her son on the fatal Easter Day which witnessed the ruin of her cause. Yet even now a considerable force from the south-west and from Wales rallied round her. Edward hastened to check her progress, and on May 4 the Lancastrians stood at bay at *Tewkesbury*. Edward easily won the day, and took Margaret and Edward prisoners. The young prince of Wales was barbarously butchered, and the same fate befel the duke of Somerset, the third head of the house of Beaufort who had lost his life in the civil wars. Margaret was taken by her captors to London, and was kept in prison for the next five years, after which she was suffered to go home to France to die. Immediately after Edward's arrival in London, it was given out that her husband had died in the Tower, "out of pure displeasure and melancholy." It was generally believed that he was murdered, and rumour made Edward's brother, Richard of Gloucester, specially responsible for the crime. In truth, after his son's death, Henry's life was no longer valuable to Edward, so he ordered him to be slain without delay. Of all the cruel deeds of this pitiless time none was more wanton than the death of the harmless and saintly king.

The Battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.

9. Edward reigned in peace and without a rival for the rest of his life. His position was much stronger than in the earlier period of his rule, and he soon felt himself able to revenge himself on Louis XI. for abetting Warwick. In 1475 he agreed to unite with his brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy, in a combined attack on France. Parliament gladly voted a liberal subsidy, and Edward marched out of Calais at the head of a large and brilliant force.

Much to his disgust, Charles joined him, not with an army, but almost alone. The duke of Burgundy had unwisely gone to war in Germany, though his French rival was still unbeaten. Edward and Charles disliked each other already, and Charles's lack of faith gave the English king a good excuse for deserting so untrustworthy an ally. Louis, eager to win England to his side, was lavish in promises, and at last the two kings held a meeting on the bridge of Picquigni, a village on the Somme, between Abbeville and Amiens. So distrustful were they of each other that they kept themselves apart by a wooden partition, and talked through a grating. In the *treaty of Picquigni* Louis bought peace with England by the payment of a large sum of money, and a promise to marry his son to Edward's daughter. Edward then returned home, leaving Charles to his fate. Two years later, in 1477, the rash duke of Burgundy was slain at the battle of Nancy, in the course of an unsuccessful war which he had foolishly provoked with the Swiss. Louis XI. now annexed Burgundy to France, but could not prevent the Netherlands going to Mary, Charles's daughter, though not by his English wife, Margaret of York. Mary married the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, and we shall soon hear again of her descendants. Even after this check, Louis XI. was so powerful that he had no longer any need to humour the king of England. Just before the death of both kings in 1483, Louis repudiated the marriage arranged at Picquigni, and ceased paying subsidies to keep England quiet. Edward was so much mortified that the French believed he died of grief at the news of this breach with France. But for his death a renewal of war would have probably ensued.

Edward IV., Burgundy, and France.

10. Edward was the strongest ruler of England since Edward III. He was popular with the people, and especially with the merchants, because he kept the nobles in good order and sternly put down private war. He ruled in a very different fashion from that of the Lancastrians. He looked on parliaments with suspicion, and summoned them as seldom as he could. When he wanted money he did not always go to parliament, but often asked his subjects to give him what was called a *benevolence*. This was nominally a free gift offered by the subject to the king, but in reality those who were asked to give a benevolence dared not refuse to pay it. Edward did not, however, risk the popularity which he loved by exacting too large sums from his subjects.

Home policy of Edward IV.

11. Clarence soon began once more to excite the suspicions of

the king. He had been fully pardoned for his treachery in 1470. He was made earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and hoped to secure for himself the whole inheritance of his father-in-law, the king-maker. He found, however, a rival for the Warwick estates in his younger and abler brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester. Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter, was the widow of the unfortunate son of Henry VI. In 1472 she was prevailed upon to marry Richard of Gloucester, the reputed murderer of her first husband. Henceforward the two brothers were rivals for the Neville and Beauchamp lands, and Clarence became very discontented when Edward assigned the larger portion of them to his brother. Things grew worse when Isabella Neville died, and Clarence sought to upset his brother's good understanding with France by a proposal, which came to nothing, that he should marry Mary of Burgundy, the heiress of Charles the Rash. Clarence now had against him the king, Gloucester, and the powerful kinsmen of the queen. In 1478 he was accused of treason, attainted in parliament, and condemned to execution. Edward was afraid to slay Clarence openly, and put him privately to death in the Tower. It was believed at the time that he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. Five years later, in April, 1483, Edward IV. died.

Death of Clarence, 1478, and Edward IV., 1483.

GENEALOGY OF THE NEVILLES

John Lord Neville of Raby,
d. 1388.

Ralph Neville, 1*st Earl of Westmorland*,
d. 1425.

- *John Neville*, ancestor of the earls of Westmorland, elder and Lancastrian branch of the family.
- Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, m. heiress of Montagus, d. 1460.
  - Richard Neville, earl of Warwick and Salisbury, the king-maker, d. 1471, m. heiress of Beauchamps.
    - Isabella, m. George, duke of Clarence.
      - Edward, earl of Warwick, d. 1499.
      - Margaret, countess of Salisbury, d. 1541.
        - Reginald Pole, cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1558.
    - Anne, m. (1) Edward, prince of Wales, d. 1471, (2) Richard, duke of Gloucester, Richard III., d. 1485.
  - John Neville, sometime earl of Northumberland and marquis of Montagu.
  - George Neville, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York.
- Cicely, m. Richard, duke of York, d. 1460 (see table on page 284).

Persons not mentioned in the text in *italics*.

CHAPTER V

EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III. (1483–1485)

Chief Dates:

1483. Reign of Edward V. Accession of Richard III.
1485. Battle of Bosworth and death of Richard III.

1. Edward IV. left two sons. The elder, who was only twelve years old, now became Edward V., and his younger brother, Richard, had already been made duke of York. By the late king's will, the guardianship of the young king went to his uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester, who was at once acknowledged as lord protector by the council. Richard had kept on good terms with the queen's kinsmen, and they doubtless expected to share power with him. The chief of the queen's family were her brother Antony Woodville, Earl Rivers, and her two sons by her first marriage, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, and Sir Richard Grey. At the moment of his accession the young king was at Ludlow, in the custody of his uncle Rivers and his half-brother, Richard Grey. Fearful lest Gloucester should put an end to their influence, they formed a plan with the queen for Edward's immediate coronation, hoping that this would put an end to Gloucester's protectorate, and make the Woodvilles and Greys masters of the kingdom. The upstart kinsmen of the queen were, however, very unpopular, and were particularly disliked by the old nobles, whom they had driven from the court and council of the late king. The most important of the old nobles was Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, a descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the son of Edward III., and the representative of the great house of the Bohuns. Buckingham, though married to a sister of the queen, was bitterly opposed to her policy. He made common cause with Gloucester, and the two allies showed great vigour in striking against their enemies. As the young king was riding from Ludlow to London, escorted by Rivers and Richard Grey, Gloucester and Buckingham fell upon him, took Rivers and Grey prisoners, and secured the personal

Edward V., 1483.

custody of Edward, whom they brought to London. In great alarm Queen Elizabeth fled for sanctuary to Westminster Abbey.

2. Gloucester's first move was so successful that it encouraged him to go further and aim at the crown. He found a fresh difficulty when some of the nobles, who had cordially supported him against the Woodvilles, refused to join with him in this further step. At the head of this party was Lord Hastings, a prominent friend of Edward IV., and, up to now, a conspicuous ally of Gloucester. Gloucester showed the same vigour against Hastings that he had shown against the Woodvilles. On June 13 he accused Hastings of treason, during a meeting of the council. After a stormy scene, Gloucester struck his fist sharply on the table, whereupon soldiers rushed in, dragged Hastings out, and at once cut off his head on a log of timber. Rivers and Grey were now executed, and Dorset only saved his life by flight beyond sea. The queen was persuaded to surrender the duke of York to the protector, who forthwith shut him up in the Tower, where the king was already in safe custody. The protector's next step was to win over the Londoners to his side. Next Sunday, June 22, his partisan, Dr. Shaw, brother of the mayor, delivered a sermon at St. Paul's on the text, "Bastard slips shall not take deep root." The preacher declared that Edward IV. had made a contract to marry another lady before he had wedded Elizabeth Woodville, and that therefore his marriage with her was invalid. As a result of this, the young king and his brother were illegitimate. Doubts were also cast on the lawful birth of Edward IV. and Clarence, and the duke of Gloucester was declared to be the rightful heir to the crown. The Londoners heard this strange tale in silence; but, two days later, Buckingham repeated Shaw's statements in the Guildhall to the mayor and chief citizens. The majority of his audience was still unmoved, but a few of the retainers of the two dukes raised shouts of "King Richard!" and their cry was supposed to be evidence that the city had declared itself in favour of the protector. Parliament met next day, and begged Richard to accept the throne. After a sham pretence of reluctance, Gloucester fell in with their wishes. On July 6 he was crowned Richard III. in Westminster Abbey. After this event nothing more is known as to the fate of the deposed Edward V. and his brother Richard of York. There is little doubt but that they were murdered in the Tower by their uncle's orders.

The deposition of Edward V.

3. In the sordid revolution which made Richard III. king, Buckingham had played the part of a king-maker. Richard now

overwhelmed him with favours, and even promised to surrender to him the half of the Bohun estates which Henry IV., in the right of his mother, had brought to the crown. Yet Buckingham soon became discontented, and his inordinate ambition made him look still higher. In August he fled from court, and raised the standard of revolt at Brecon. At first he thought of claiming the throne for himself, but in the end he was prudent enough to unite with the remnants of the Lancastrian party, which was still strong in Wales. At the head of a considerable force of Welshmen, Buckingham marched as far eastwards as the Severn. But the river was in flood, and he could not effect a passage over it. This check soon proved fatal to his hopes. His forces melted away, and he was obliged to flee in disguise. Before long he was tracked to his hiding-place, and on November 2 was beheaded in the market-place of Salisbury.

Richard III. and Buckingham.

4. Early in 1484 Richard met his parliament. It attainted Buckingham and the other enemies of the king, and passed many useful acts, conspicuous among which was a statute declaring benevolences illegal. Its proceedings show that Richard was making a bid for popular favour, and striving to pose as a constitutional Yorkist king. He was anxious to remove the bad impression created by the crimes through which he had won his way to the throne, and he was so able a man that he might very well have become a good ruler and a useful king if he had had the chance of developing his policy. However, his power rested on too narrow and personal a basis. He could not conciliate the Lancastrians, and he had hopelessly set against himself most of the supporters of York. He could expect no faithful service from the selfish nobles who had helped him to the throne, and constant intrigues and conspiracies made his position insecure. Moreover, domestic troubles further clouded his prospects. His only son and his wife died. Thereupon he thought of making his heir, Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of Clarence. Richard also proposed to marry his own niece Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville. Before this scheme could be carried out, a fresh revolt cost him his crown and his life.

Richard III.'s policy, 1483-1485.

5. After the murder of Henry VI. and his son, the main branch of the house of Lancaster had become extinct. The only representative of the line of John of Gaunt had now to be sought in the house of Beaufort, whose legitimate descent was more than doubtful. Even the house of Beaufort was extinct in the male line, when the last of the dukes

The Beauforts and the Tudors.

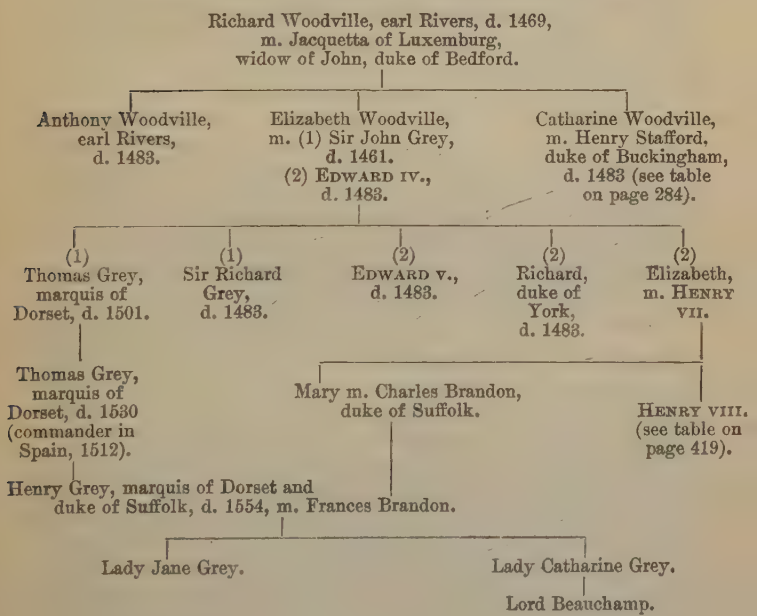
of Somerset was put to death on the battlefield of Tewkesbury. It was, however, still represented by the Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John Beaufort, first duke of Somerset, and now the heiress of all the Beaufort claims. From her cradle the Lady Margaret had been a great heiress, and she had been married by Henry VI. to his half-brother, Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond. Richmond's father, Owen Tudor, was a Welsh gentleman who had neither high rank nor great possessions. He was good-looking, plausible, and attractive, and won the heart of Henry VI.'s mother, Catharine of France. To the great scandal of the court, Catharine, the widow of a king of England and the daughter of a king of France, took this Welsh squire for her second husband, and had by him two sons. The elder of these was the Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, who was married to the Lady Margaret, while the younger, Jasper, became earl of Pembroke. Edmund Tudor had long been dead, but his son by Margaret, Henry Tudor, inherited the earldom of Richmond, and was now, for the lack of a better, the only possible head of the house of Lancaster, to which all the Tudors were entirely loyal. Both Henry Tudor and his uncle Jasper had long been living in exile in Brittany. The split in the house of York, consequent on Richard's usurpation, had revived the hopes of the Lancastrians, so that Henry Tudor now became an important personage. Though Margaret was still alive, Henry was regarded as the only possible Lancastrian monarch. Buckingham, when he revolted from Richard, declared himself in favour of Richmond's claims to the throne, and, after Buckingham's fall, all who wished to put an end to Richard's power looked to the exile in Brittany as the most likely instrument of their wishes. Prominent among Richard's supporters were the brothers Thomas and William Stanley, the heads of a rising house which had already attained a great position in south-west Lancashire. Like Buckingham, the Stanleys were disloyal to Richard, and Thomas, the elder, was now the husband of the Lady Margaret, Richmond's mother. While still remaining in Richard's confidence they intrigued with the Breton exiles.

The battle of Bosworth and the death of Richard III., 1485.

6. In 1485, Richmond and Pembroke left Brittany for France, where Charles VIII., who had succeeded his father, Louis XI., in 1483, received them with favour, and helped them with men and money. In the summer they crossed over from Harfleur to Milford Haven, where they landed at the head of a small army. The Welsh flocked in large numbers to their countryman's

standard, so that Henry Tudor was strong enough to march through Wales into the Midlands and challenge Richard's throne. On August 22 the decisive battle between Henry and Richard was fought at *Market Bosworth*, in Leicestershire. During the struggle William Stanley deserted Richard for Henry, and this settled the fortunes of the day. Richard perished, fighting desperately to the last. When the field was won, Thomas Stanley, who had taken no part in the action, came up and joined the victor. At the end of the fight, the crown, discovered in a hawthorn bush, was placed by Thomas Stanley on his stepson's head. Henceforth the Lancastrian exile was King Henry VII.

GENEALOGY OF THE GREYS AND WOODVILLES


Richard Woodville, earl Rivers, d. 1469, m. Jacquetta of Luxemburg, widow of John, duke of Bedford.
Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, d. 1483.
Elizabeth Woodville, m. (1) Sir John Grey, d. 1461. (2) EDWARD IV., d. 1483.
Catharine Woodville, m. Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, d. 1483 (see table on page 284).
(1) Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, d. 1501.
(1) Sir Richard Grey, d. 1483.
(2) EDWARD V., d. 1483.
(2) Richard, duke of York, d. 1483.
(2) Elizabeth, m. HENRY VII.
Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, d. 1530 (commander in Spain, 1512).
Mary m. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.
HENRY VIII. (see table on page 419).
Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset and duke of Suffolk, d. 1554, m. Frances Brandon.
Lady Jane Grey.
Lady Catharine Grey.
Lord Beauchamp.

CHAPTER VI

BRITAIN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1. The fifteenth century in England witnessed no great changes in the constitution. We have seen how, in the earlier part of it, the Lancastrian rulers were so completely controlled by their parliament that in a fashion their government seems to anticipate our modern cabinet system. But the times were too rough to make such a method of government practicable. The supremacy of parliament meant in effect the increase of the power of the nobility, and the rule of the nobles meant constant factions and threatened anarchy. The Lancastrian constitutional experiment perished in the Wars of the Roses, and the result of the failure was the restoration of a strong monarchy under Edward IV., who prepared the way for the still stronger rule of the Tudors. With the decay, alike in numbers and in power, of the baronial aristocracy, one characteristic feature of mediæval English society was removed.

The constitution in the fifteenth century.

2. The Church, like the nobility, had seen its best days. It had escaped the threatened danger of Lollardy, and seemed outwardly as powerful as ever. Never was it more wealthy or magnificent, and never did churchmen take a more prominent share in the national life. But it had lost the old vigour and spiritual force which had marked the Church of the thirteenth century. Its characteristic leaders were political ecclesiastics, who spent their days in the service of the State, and received their reward from the wealth of the Church. In the days of St. Thomas of Canterbury it had been thought impossible for the same man to be archbishop of Canterbury and the king's minister. In the fifteenth century it became a regular custom to make the southern primate lord chancellor. The State had no longer anything to fear from the restlessness or the encroachments of the Church, for the Church in its half-conscious weakness leant upon the support of the State, and had little wish to assert itself against the secular power. There was little energy and small wish for reform, though the abuses of the Church were great, and a few earnest men were still found who were anxious to make things

The Church.

better. It was not so much the corruption as the worldliness of the Church that was so conspicuous. There were few spiritual leaders of the people, and the most active and public-spirited of the bishops were those who lavished their wealth on pious foundations, on erecting magnificent colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and in building schools to supply them with scholars.

3. In the universities also there was the same want of life and freshness. After the silencing of Wycliffe, Oxford sank back into orthodoxy, but showed little energy and produced few noteworthy writers or thinkers. Both Oxford and Cambridge were adorned with magnificent buildings, great and well-endowed colleges, and stately and well-stocked libraries. Conspicuous among these new foundations were *New College*, at Oxford, the creation of Bishop William of Wykeham, and *King's College*, at Cambridge, which was established by Henry VI. Both the bishop and the king founded great schools in connection with their colleges, to supply them with students. Wykeham thus set up Winchester school, and Henry VI. Eton. But though such measures rendered the means of study more accessible, the spirit that inspired study was seldom very strong. The best thought and literature were outside the universities, which remained the homes of the decaying scholasticism of the Middle Ages.

The universities and learning.

4. Deficient as was the fifteenth century in strenuous purpose and high ideals, its history is in no wise altogether a history of decline. Despite the fierce fighting at home and abroad, England did not altogether stand still. The quarrels of kings and nobles affected but little the life of the ordinary man. Even during the Wars of the Roses the simple Englishman managed to till his farm and sell his goods, with little regard to the clash of party strife. Farmers throve by reason of good harvests and improvements in cultivation. Villeinage steadily died out because it was more profitable to cultivate the soil by means of free labour. In particular, the constant demand for English wool from the Netherlands made sheep-farming a profitable business for farmer and landlord alike. All classes prospered through the increase of trade and the beginnings of our foreign commerce; when Edward IV. began to bring back order and strong government, progress became rapid. Population increased greatly, though it was still not very high, and England probably numbered at the end of our period about four million inhabitants.

Prosperity of the fifteenth century.

5. In the towns trade was brisk and increasing. It was the time of the greatest influence of the *craft-guilds*. These were clubs

or societies formed by members of each of the chief trades practised within a town. They served as benefit societies to shield their members from misfortunes, and as social clubs which celebrated holidays by feasts, processions, and solemn services in church. Besides thus encouraging self-help and good-fellowship, they kept prices steady, watched over the quality of the articles produced, and protected the guild brethren from undue competition and the cutting down of profits. Foreign commerce was on the increase, and at last a fair proportion of it was falling into English hands. In earlier days the *Easterlings*, or merchants from the Hanse towns of Northern Germany, the Venetians, and other Italians, had the bulk of English commerce in their own hands. Since the great naval victories of Edward III. Englishmen took more readily to the sea. Shipbuilding developed, and numerous commercial treaties opened up foreign ports to English enterprise. The English merchants formed societies for mutual assistance. Of these the most famous was the society of the *Merchant Adventurers*, which set up its factories in the Scandinavian kingdoms, and began to compete successfully with the Hanse merchants for the trade of the Baltic and North Sea. London was crowded with ships, and flourished exceedingly. Bristol, the chief western port, prospered on account of the Irish trade, and obtained a large share of the commerce with Iceland, whose stormy seas were a rare school of seamanship. The export of wool, still our chief product, was mainly conducted through Calais, the seat of the staple, and now a thoroughly English town. As the open door through which English wool was exported to the clothing towns of the Netherlands, it was as important in commerce as it was in politics as the gate which opened up France to the invasion of English armies.

The towns and trade.

6. The increased prosperity of the towns and country alike was seen in the increasing number and splendour of the churches and public buildings. A large number of stately and magnificent parish churches were erected all over the land. They were built in the *Perpendicular* style of Gothic architecture, which continued to be the one fashion of building until the middle of the sixteenth century. The later Perpendicular buildings were even more costly and spacious than those of the reign of Edward III., and were infinitely more numerous. One feature of the style was the erection of beautiful and richly adorned towers; others were the magnificent timber roofs, or the fantastic and elaborate stone vaulting, in which ornament and decoration

Late Perpendicular architecture.

were pursued for their own sake. The culmination of this is to be found in the *fan tracery* of the vaults of Henry VI.'s chapel of King's College, Cambridge, or Henry VII.'s chapel at the east end of Westminster Abbey, both characteristic buildings of the period. Though this style is less pure than the earlier Gothic, it is still very rich, impressive, and magnificent. Nor were churches, colleges, and monasteries the only structures which men now set up. Private houses were now built in a more durable and comfortable fashion, and even the warlike nobles gave up erecting gloomy castles for their abodes, preferring in their stead large, well-lighted, and roomy mansions, which, though following the lines of the old castles, and capable of standing a siege, were built with a primary regard for the comfort of those living in them rather than with the view of keeping out the enemy. Magnificent specimens of the castellated mansions of the nobles of this period are to be seen in the ruined houses of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, and Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, both of which belong to the reign of Henry VI. They are both remarkable as being among the earliest brick buildings erected in England since Roman times. By the end of the century the fashion of building in brick had become common, and made it easier to erect substantial houses in districts where stone was scarce or bad.

Domestic buildings.

7. New styles in dress and customs showed how general was the change of taste. Armour became more costly and elaborate than ever, and efforts were made to strengthen it in such a fashion as would protect the wearer from bullets and arrows as well as from the thrust or cut of lance or sword. The use of firearms became more general, and light hand-guns, the predecessors of the later musket, were beginning to come into use. Yet the long-bow, now at its prime, was still generally preferred in England to these clumsy and uncertain weapons. It was abroad rather than at home that new experiments were now made in the art of war. The French adopted the use of artillery more readily than the English, and it was by reason of the excellence and number of their cannon that they discomfited the long unconquerable English archer, notably at the battle of Castillon, which closed the Hundred Years' War.

Armour and weapons.

8. The literature of the fifteenth century reflects the general character of the age. Since the death of Chaucer there was no more poetry of the highest rank, but the style of Chaucer was imitated by a whole school of versifiers, who wrote fluently, freely, and vigorously, though with little

Literature.

originality or artistic gift. The best poetry of the time is to be found in the large number of anonymous *ballads*, some of which are of a high order of excellence. Another feature was the growth of a popular drama, which was chiefly represented by religious dramas called *Mysteries*, or *Miracle-plays*, wherein were enacted stories from Scripture, or sermons in verse, setting forth the mysteries of the faith. It became the custom for the townsmen to amuse themselves on holidays by witnessing miracle-plays of this kind, acted in temporary theatres erected in the streets and public squares. We have still extant the cycles of dramas that delighted the citizens of Chester, York, and Wakefield during this period.

Poetry and the drama.

9. Prose was better than poetry. There was a larger reading public, but it was not very particular as to the quality of what it read so long as it was amusing or instructive. The monastic chronicles became few and feeble, as the vigour of the religious life declined; but as a compensation great men began to employ private *historiographers*, who set down in prose or verse the deeds of their patrons. These men were sometimes the heralds or chaplains of their employers, and sometimes foreigners, especially Italians, who were brought into the country by noblemen and prelates anxious to show their sympathy for the wider and fuller literary movements of lands beyond the sea. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was the most bountiful and broad-minded of these noble patrons of letters. He had in his pay an Italian who called himself Titus Livius, and wrote at his master's bidding a Latin life of Henry v. The Percies employed an Englishman named John Harding to compose a metrical history of their house, wherein he took good care not to minimize the glories of the distinguished family to which he owed his bread. It is a sign of the greater extension of knowledge and the spread of the practice of composition that we have for the first time collections of private and familiar correspondence, which give us a much more vivid idea of what ordinary men thought and said than can be gathered from the stiff and formal official letters of state which alone survive from earlier ages. Conspicuous among such collections are the *Paston Letters*, the correspondence of a pushing and rising family of Norfolk squires, which give us far the best picture that we have of the state of society during the Wars of the Roses.

Prose.

10. The increased demand for books led to the existence of a large class of *scriveners* and *stationers*, whose business was to copy out and sell volumes for which there was a constant popular

demand. The skill shown by these men was great, and they multiplied books with as much faithfulness and quickness as were possible, so long as every fresh example had to be written out by hand. But the impossibility of producing books by the laborious process of copying them out in manuscript set men's brains to work to devise means of multiplying them by mechanical devices. In the course of this century the invention of *printing* was soon to make obsolete the painful art of the scrivener.

Spread of reading.

11. The first books produced by mechanical means were what were called *block-books*. In these the matter which had to be reproduced was written on flat blocks of wood, and then the rest of the surface of the block was cut away so that the pattern written stood out in relief, and when smeared over with oily ink, could be pressed or printed upon pieces of paper, much as wood-cuts were multiplied in later times. This method was only possible for short works of considerable circulation, since it was slow and costly, and the blocks were useless save for the one purpose for which they were designed. For about a century, however, *block-books* were the only alternatives to manuscripts, until about the middle of the fifteenth century, the ingenuity of John Gutenberg, a citizen of Mainz, in Germany, devised the method of casting movable types in metal to correspond to the various letters and characters. These types could then be set up to represent any combination of letters, and when the copies needed were printed off, the type could be distributed and rearranged to make a fresh book. Gutenberg's great invention soon spread all over Europe, and that the more rapidly since the first book he printed, a *Latin Bible*, issued in 1455, was of such extraordinary beauty as to rival or surpass the best type of manuscript. The result of the spread of printing was that books became suddenly cheapened and multiplied, and that a great impetus was given to reading and study.

The invention of printing.

12. In Edward IV.'s time printing was brought into England by a Kentishman named William Caxton, a shrewd and successful merchant, settled for many years in Flanders, who learnt in the Netherlands and in Germany the new art about which all interested in books were talking. He bought types from a Flemish printer, and, about 1474, produced with them at Bruges, in Flanders, the first printed books in English. These were a romance called a *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy*, and a treatise on *The Game and Play of Chess*. In 1477, Caxton went back to England, and set up his press under the shadow of Westminster

William Caxton, the first English printer.

Abbey, where he printed and published many books, both in English and Latin. Caxton was not only a good business man but a competent scholar, who wrote prefaces to his books and translated many of them into English. Edward IV. and Richard III. and the more cultivated nobles were his patrons. After his death in 1491, his press went to his pupil, Wynkyn de Worde. Other men followed their example, and before the end of the century, the art of printing was firmly established in England. So powerful was the press by this time, that the king and the Church would allow only those books to be printed which had obtained a licence.

Scotland in the fifteenth century.

13. One feature of this period is the growth of an independent English-speaking state in Scotland. So constant was the hostility of the northern and southern kingdoms that it was to France rather than to its neighbour that the little Scottish kingdom looked for support and guidance. It was characteristic that, for example, Scottish buildings which in earlier ages had been erected after the same fashion as those in England, now followed the French rather than the English style. Thus there is hardly any *Perpendicular* Gothic in Scotland, though builders were as busy beyond the Tweed as in England during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Scottish churches of this time follow in preference the *Flamboyant* or late Gothic of France, which differs in some ways more widely from contemporary English art than any other mediæval style. A comparison of the *Flamboyant* churches of Melrose or St. Giles, Edinburgh, with the English churches of the same date, will show how deeply divided against itself English-speaking Britain had become. It was the same with domestic architecture, where the Scottish barons erected for themselves imitations of French castles rather than English manor-houses. When in 1508 the art of printing was tardily introduced into Scotland, it was in France that the earliest Scottish printers learnt their craft. In law, in the same way, the Scots looked to France and the Roman Civil Law rather than to the customary law of England, which was originally common to all parts of the English-speaking race. In literature, also, the court speech of Edinburgh was, as we have seen, the old Northumbrian dialect, and not the Midland tongue which Caxton, like Chaucer, adopted as the most appropriate for English literary speech. Yet the ties of common language still counted for something. James I., a cultivated and intelligent king, brought back from his long English captivity a sincere love for Chaucer's poetry, and perhaps wrote the poem, called the *Kingis Quhair*, in the style of

the southern master. From this time the fashion of Chaucer took a deep hold on Scottish men of letters. All through the fifteenth century Scots poets, like Robert Henryson, set forth in the northern form of English spirited imitations and adaptations of Chaucer's themes and metres, which show that there was more true poetic spirit to the north than to the south of the Tweed. The reigns of the early Stewart kings witnessed in this, and in many other ways, a wonderful growth of civilization, order, and prosperity. Historians of the school of Barbour described the stirring deeds of the heroes of the War of Independence, and a wandering minstrel called Blind Harry wrote a rude poetic romance on the exploits of Wallace, the great popular hero of the north. The same period also witnessed the establishment of three Scottish universities at St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, so that the northern scholar had no longer to leave his own land to obtain a learned education. Save in the wild Highlands beyond the Forth, where the unchanging Celtic civilization still went on without a rival, Scotland, like England, was becoming awake to the new issues that were soon to excite the interest of all Europe.

The end of the Middle Ages.

14. The changes which we have sketched show that fifteenth-century Britain was by no means standing still, though it was not now, as it had been, fully abreast of the Continent. Everywhere the Middle Ages were slowly dying away. It was an age of discoveries, of new inventions, of greater love of knowledge, and of a wider interest in man and nature. Before long, Columbus was to make his way to the new world called America. It was already the time of the *Revival of Letters*, or the *Renascence*—that is, the new birth of learning and thought. None of the new movements had as yet reached Britain, but elsewhere, and especially in Italy, there had been wonderful progress made in many directions. Even in our island some men were beginning to be interested in the new tendencies. Those who read deeply began to think for themselves. When men began to think for themselves, modern times were already at hand.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF THE PERIOD 1399-1485

Oman's *History of England*, 1377-1485, in Longmans' Political History of England, vol. iv.; Stubbs' *Constitutional England*, vol. iii., which includes the best survey of the political history of the period; James Gairdner's *Houses of Lancaster and York* (Longmans' Epochs of Modern History); A. G. Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr* and C. L. Kingsford's *Henry V.* (both in Heroes of the Nations); Oman's *Warwick the King Maker*, a spirited sketch (Macmillan's Men of Action). For Caxton and his successors, see E. G. Duff's *Early Printed Books*, ch. viii.-xi. The *Paston Letters*, edited with valuable introductions by James Gairdner, throw a flood of light on the political and social history of the period.

BOOK V

THE TUDORS (1485–1603)

CHAPTER I

HENRY VII. (1485–1509)

Chief Dates:

1485. Accession of Henry VII.
1487. Imposture of Lambert Simnel.
1492. Treaty of Étaples; beginning of Warbeck's imposture.
1494. Poynings' Law.
1496. The *Magnus Intercursus*.
1499. Execution of Warbeck and Warwick.
1503. Marriage of James IV. and Margaret Tudor.
1509. Death of Henry VII.

1. Henry VII. had been schooled by his early trials in prison and exile to repress his feelings, and to regard his own interests as his primary care. Silent, cold, suspicious, and reserved, he was never able to make himself popular, though he delighted in fine clothes and the pageantry of his office. Prudent, careful, and politic, he was remorseless to those who stood in his way, though never capricious or bloodthirsty. Greedy as he was of wealth and power, he refused to regard himself as the mere chief of the Lancastrian faction, and did his best to make himself king over the whole nation. One of his first acts was to marry the Lady Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., and, by her brothers' disappearance, the nearest representative of the house of York. He hoped thereby that the friends of Edward IV., who had hated the usurpation of Richard, would thus become his supporters. Anyhow it was certain that the children of Henry and Elizabeth would have a clearer title to the throne than any king after Richard II.

Character of Henry VII.

2. The long faction fight could not be ended in a day, and the

first years of the new reign seemed but a continuation of the old struggles of the rival houses. Henry had to reward his followers, and though he deprived few Yorkists of their estates and titles, the return of the Lancastrian exiles, and the elevation of his friends and kinsfolk to high rank, naturally changed the balance of parties. The Yorkists at once sought to redress their fortunes by rebellion, and Henry VII. soon found, like Henry IV., that his real difficulty was not in conquering England, but in holding it.

Continuance of the old party struggles.

3. The first Yorkist rising was in 1486, when Lord Lovel and the Staffords, the kinsmen of the late duke of Buckingham, broke into rebellion at once in different parts of the country. They were easily put down. Without a leader, it was hard for the Yorkists to act together. Their natural head was the wife of the Lancastrian king, while their nearest male representative, Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of the murdered Clarence and a daughter of the king-maker, was detained a close prisoner in the Tower by the suspicious Henry.

Lord Lovel's rising, 1486.

4. Outside England, circumstances were more favourable to the Yorkists. Edward IV.'s sister, Margaret of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Rash, still possessed great influence in the Netherlands, and encouraged every plot against the hated Tudors. Though Ireland was for all practical purposes independent of England, and ruled by its own clan chieftains and feudal lords, yet the house of York, as heir of the Mortimers, had a strong position among the leading Irish families. There were many Irish barons eager to make loyalty to York an excuse for throwing off even nominal obedience to the English king. Chief among these was the earl of Kildare, the head of the Leinster branch of the great Norman house of Fitzgerald. Kildare had been made deputy, or governor, of Ireland by Richard III., and was no friend to Henry Tudor. Though the new king had not ventured to take away from him his office, he had set over him as lord lieutenant his uncle, Jasper Tudor, now duke of Bedford. This so much irritated Kildare that he gladly fell in with the scheme hatched by Margaret of Burgundy to supply the Yorkists with a pretext for a fresh rebellion. In 1487 there landed in Ireland a pretty boy, about twelve years old, accompanied by a priest, who gave out that the child was Edward, earl of Warwick, who, he said, had escaped from the Tower. The Fitzgeralds at once took up the cause of the youth, and had him crowned king in Dublin. Really, the pretender was one Lambert Simnel, the son of

Lambert Simnel, 1487.

an Oxford organ-maker. Having no true prince in whose name they could fight, the Yorkists set up this impostor as their candidate for the throne. It was easy for Henry to defeat so transparent a fraud. He took the real Warwick out of prison, so that the Londoners could see for themselves that the boy-king in Ireland was a counterfeit. Before long, Simnel's friends were reinforced by the exile Lovel and a troop of German mercenaries, under Martin Schwarz. They were now emboldened to cross the Channel and try their fortunes in England. But few English joined the motley host of Irish, Germans, and Yorkists. The invaders were easily defeated at the battle of *Stoke*, near Newark, and the pretended Warwick fell into the king's hands. Henry showed his contempt for the impostor by giving him a free pardon, and making him first turnspit in the royal kitchen. Henry was, however, still so weak that he forgave Kildare, the real author of the revolt.

5. During the first years of his reign, Henry had many troubles abroad. Besides the old duchess of Burgundy, both Scotland and France were unfriendly to him. To meet the hostility of Charles VIII. of France, Henry made an alliance with Duke Francis of Brittany, who was at war with his overlord. However, in 1488, Francis died, leaving as his heir an only daughter named Anne. The French now sought to marry the Duchess Anne to their young king, Charles VIII., and so unite Brittany and France. This alarmed the chief enemies of France, Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Maximilian of Austria, king of the Romans, who, by marrying the daughter of Charles the Rash, had established himself as lord of the Netherlands. Henry ventured to ally himself with these princes against the French, and sent small forces to Flanders and to Brittany. The French now overran Brittany, and in 1491 Anne was married to Charles VIII. Next year (1492) Henry levied a large army, and landed in France. Like Edward IV. in 1475, he showed little eagerness to fight, and willingly made peace with the French in the *treaty of Étaples*, by which the French paid him a good round sum of money to ensure the withdrawal of his army. This inglorious retreat of Henry disgusted his allies without conciliating his enemies.

The Breton succession and the treaty of Étaples, 1492.

6. The friendlessness of Henry outside his kingdom soon bore fruit in a new imposture, much more formidable than the weak attempt of Lambert Simnel. A little before the treaty of Étaples there landed in Ireland a youth of noble presence and attractive

manners, who declared that he was Richard, duke of York, the younger of the sons of Edward IV. whom Richard III. had immured in the Tower. He said that he had escaped when his brother Edward V. was slain, and had now come to claim his inheritance. In truth, he was Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournai, in the Netherlands, and inspired, like Simnel, by the bitter malice of Margaret of Burgundy. Warbeck played his part so well that many people honestly believed in him, and for seven years he was a source of constant anxiety to Henry VII.

Perkin Warbeck, 1492.

7. Moved by Henry's clemency on a former occasion, Kildare and the Fitzgeralds gave a colder welcome to Warbeck than to Simnel. The new impostor soon left Ireland. Charles VIII. recognized him, and invited him to France, where many of the exiled Yorkists gathered round him. Driven from France by the treaty of Étaples, he found a refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, who declared him to be her nephew. Meanwhile, Yorkist conspirators were active in England. In 1495 these were joined by Sir William Stanley, who, with his brother, in 1485 made earl of Derby, had been chiefly instrumental in gaining Henry the throne. Like Hotspur under Henry IV., Stanley was discontented with the rewards given to him by the king, and was now eager to undo the work of his own hands. His plot was discovered; he confessed his guilt, and was put to death.

Execution of Sir William Stanley, 1495.

8. Disappointed at the failure of his friends, Warbeck strove to take his destinies in his own hands. Little success attended his gallant attempts. He failed to effect a landing in Kent; another effort to win over Ireland was attended with indifferent success. Meanwhile, Henry had cultivated the friendship of both Charles VIII. and Maximilian with such success that the Continent was henceforth barred to the impostor. James IV., king of Scots, was still Henry's enemy. In 1496 he invited Warbeck to Scotland, married him to his cousin, the Lady Catharine Gordon, and invaded the north of England, proclaiming that he was come to overthrow the usurper Henry Tudor, and uphold the just claims of Richard IV. No English would join a pretender backed up by the Scots, and James was forced to retire without daring to fight a battle. Next year a threat of invasion from England compelled the king of Scots to dismiss Warbeck from his country. Once more the impostor took refuge in Ireland, but soon found that his chance was as hopeless there as in the north.

Warbeck's exclusion from France and Scotland.

9. In 1496 Henry VII. made the Scots inroad an excuse for exacting heavy taxes from his subjects. In 1497 the Cornishmen, who had no fear of the Scots, rose in revolt, and, headed by a lawyer named Flammock, marched to London, and encamped on Blackheath, where, after hard fighting, they were scattered. Warbeck took the bold course of landing in Cornwall, hoping that the inhabitants of that shire, inspired by the spirit which had sent them to Blackheath, would welcome him, and rebel once more in his favour. He soon found enough followers to march eastward and besiege Exeter. Failing to capture the capital of the west, he resumed his eastern march as far as Taunton, where a royal army stopped his further progress. Seeing that battle was inevitable the next day, Warbeck lost heart. Leaving his followers to their fate, he took sanctuary with the Cistercian monks of Beaulieu in Hampshire. The Cornishmen, abandoned by their leader, went back to their homes, and so the danger to Henry's throne was over. Before long Warbeck was persuaded to surrender, on the promise of his life being spared. He was imprisoned in the Tower, where he made friends with the captive earl of Warwick. In 1499 both Warbeck and Warwick were condemned and executed, on a charge of an attempt to seize the Tower and overthrow the king. Whether guilty or not, their removal deprived the Yorkist party of its last sorry leaders, and firmly established Henry Tudor on the throne. The Wars of the Roses were at last over.

The Cornish rising, 1497, and the execution of Warbeck and Warwick, 1499.

10. Henry had perceived that his chief danger from Warbeck came from the unfriendliness of foreign powers. He therefore strove to conciliate the chief princes of Europe, and we have seen how successfully he had cut at the roots of the impostor's strength. The treaty of Étaples had driven Warbeck from France. It was a harder business to remove him from Flanders, since Maximilian declared that the dowager duchess was free to do what she liked in her own lands. Henry had, however, a useful weapon against him in the close commercial relations that still bound Flanders to England. By prohibiting all trade between the two countries, he soon persuaded Maximilian to keep Warbeck out of his dominions. In 1496 the relations between Maximilian and Henry were made very cordial by a treaty called the *Magnus Intercursus*, or Great Intercourse, by which trade was resumed, and both princes promised not to support each other's enemies. Ten years

The Magnus Intercursus, 1496, and the Malus Intercursus, 1506.

later, in 1506, Maximilian's son, the Archduke Philip, the real ruler of the Netherlands, was driven by bad weather to take refuge in an English port on his way to claim the throne of Spain. Henry treated Philip with all honour, but would not suffer him to continue his journey until he had signed a new treaty of commerce. This favoured English traders so much that the Flemings called it the *Malus Intercursus*—that is, the Bad Intercourse.

11. Foreign politics were more important than at an earlier time, since the leading monarchs of Europe were now so powerful that they had plenty of time to intervene in each other's affairs, and their mutual jealousies and alliances led to the beginning of what was called the *European Political System*, in which the chief princes strove to maintain a *balance of power* between each other, and prevent any one state from attaining such greatness as to make it dangerous to its neighbours. After the conquest of Brittany, Charles VIII. of France invaded Italy in 1494, and made himself for a time king of Naples. This triumph was but short-lived, for the Italians contrived to drive him out, and his rivals sided with them through their fear of the French. Conspicuous among the enemies of France were the Emperor Maximilian I. and Ferdinand, king of Aragon. Maximilian was a vain, showy, and moneyless prince, whose power was not very great. Ferdinand of Aragon was the wisest and strongest king of his day. He had married Isabella, queen of Castile, and the union of the two chief kingdoms of the peninsula under this couple was the beginning of the great Spanish monarchy.

The European political system and the balance of power.

12. Always suspicious of France, Henry made it the main object of his policy to win Ferdinand and Isabella to his side. He servilely followed their lead, and sought to marry his eldest son, Arthur, prince of Wales, to their younger daughter, the Infanta Catharine of Aragon. After five years' negotiations, the wedding was completed in 1501. Next year, however, Arthur died. Henry was so anxious to keep up the Spanish connection and to retain Catharine's liberal wedding portion in England, that he proposed that the widowed princess should marry his younger son Henry, who was now made Prince of Wales. As a marriage of a man to his brother's widow was prohibited by the Church, Henry obtained from Pope Julius II. a *dispensation* which suspended the law in this particular case. Thus Catharine remained in England, though several years elapsed before she and Henry were actually united. Meanwhile the dependence

The Spanish alliance, 1501.

of Henry on Ferdinand continued. The Archduke Philip, who had married Catharine's elder sister, Joan, and so became king of Castile on Isabella's death, died in 1506. Soon after his visit to England, Henry, already a widower, proposed to Ferdinand to marry Joan of Castile, though she was a madwoman.

13. Moreover, in 1503, Henry VII. wedded his elder daughter Margaret to James IV., king of Scots, who had up to then been generally hostile. Henry hoped to wean him from that close connection with France that every Scottish monarch had cultivated since the days of Edward I. Though the first hopes of this were disappointed, this marriage was so far successful that a hundred years later a descendant of James and Margaret united the English and Scottish thrones.

The Scottish marriage, 1503.

14. Despite Henry VII.'s intrigues and alliances, the power of England abroad was still insignificant. It was something, however, that the Tudor king had shown that England had once more a foreign policy, and was no longer in the state of impotence and isolation which she had occupied during the Wars of the Roses. Henry's best work, however, was not abroad, but at home, where he gradually restored the royal power and put an end to the weak rule and confusion which had culminated in the struggle of Lancaster and York. Though he was a Lancastrian, he made no attempt to govern in the constitutional fashion of the three Henries who had preceded him. He preferred to base his rule on the model of Edward IV. He summoned parliament as seldom as he could, and did not scruple to disregard the law of Richard III. by raising money by benevolences. He passed several wise laws, one of the most important being an act of 1495, by which it was declared that no one who obeyed the king who was reigning for the time being should be punished as a traitor, whether that king ruled with a good title or not.

Henry's domestic policy.

15. Henry VII. was fortunate in his ministers. His chief adviser, Cardinal Morton, who was both archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor, was much more of a statesman than an ecclesiastic. Morton served the king too faithfully to be popular, and was particularly shrewd in filling the king's coffers by indirect devices that did not openly break the law. After his death, in 1500, Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, was one of Henry's chief advisers, but the most trusted confidants of the king's latter years were two men of lower rank, Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson. Denounced by the people as Henry's "horse-leeches and skin-shearers," they managed to fill both the

Henry's ministers.

king's pockets and their own by devices much more odious than any that Morton had indulged in. Through their help, and through the rigid economy which never deserted him, Henry accumulated a store of treasure such as no previous English king had gathered together.

16. Englishmen could afford to submit to Henry's exactions, since he kept the land in better order than it had known for a century. The chief trouble of fifteenth-century England had been in the inordinate power of the nobles. Henry was doing a service to the people as well as to the throne when he devoted his best energies to compelling the turbulent nobles to obey the law like ordinary citizens. A chief means by which the nobles had defied the law was through the custom of *livery and maintenance*, whereby all who wore the badge or livery of a lord were bound to support him in all his quarrels, while the lord in return was bound to *maintain* his liverymen. This meant that he was to back them up in whatever trouble beset them, and either to coerce the law-courts not to pass sentences against them, or, if they were condemned, to see that the sentences against them were not carried out. Many statutes had been passed making livery and maintenance unlawful, but none of them had succeeded, since they were carried out by those very courts which were so powerless against the great nobles. In 1487 Henry passed a fresh act against livery and maintenance, by which a new court was established to carry out the law. This court consisted of ministers of state of such high rank that they were not amenable to the pressure which the nobles were so often able to exert against the judge and jury of an ordinary assize court. This body was not, however, the same as the famous *Star Chamber*, which was to serve later monarchs in good stead. It fulfilled its purpose when it had carried out the new statute so well that the abuses of livery and maintenance were speedily ended. The fate of the nobles ruined in attempts to resist Henry showed that the mightiest barons were no longer above the law. In thus breaking down the power of the aristocracy, Henry VII. laid solid foundations for that Tudor despotism which attained its culminating point under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

Reduction of the power of the nobles.

17. Henry VII. also did a little to extend strong government to Wales and Ireland. Proud of his Welsh descent, he called his eldest son after the famous British king Arthur, and sent him to rule his principality from Ludlow, the old home of the Mortimers. The council of advisers to

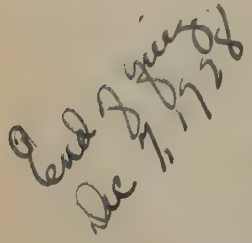
Henry VII.'s Welsh and Irish policy.

the young prince became the nucleus of the body which in the next reign became the *Council of Wales*. In Ireland more immediate steps were necessary, and after Warbeck's first attempted landing, Henry deprived Kildare of his deputyship, and sent Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland as his successor. A plain Englishman, superior to the local feuds of the land he ruled, Poynings passed in 1494 the famous Irish act of parliament, called *Poynings' Law*, by which all English laws were declared to be of force in Ireland, and the Irish parliament was forbidden to pass any measure until it had received the approval of the king's council in England. Thus Ireland was made definitely dependent on the English government of the day. Henry had not, however, power to go far in the direction thus defined by Poynings. Before long he again made Kildare his deputy, thinking that the cheapest way of keeping some sort of order was to invest one of the Irish magnates with the exercise of the royal authority. "All Ireland," he was told, "could not rule the earl of Kildare." Henry is reported to have answered, "Then let the earl of Kildare rule all Ireland." Thus Ireland still remained practically independent under its own clan chieftains and feudal barons.

Poynings' Law, 1494.

18. In this as in so many other matters, Henry VII. was only sowing that others might reap. But, when prematurely aged by the toils of statecraft, the first Tudor king died in 1509, he had established the infant dynasty on such a solid basis that his son and successor became from the moment of his accession one of the strongest of English monarchs.

Death of Henry VII.



CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY (1509–1529)

Chief Dates:

1509. Accession of Henry VIII.
1511. The Holy League.
1513. Battles of the Spurs and Flodden.
1515. Francis I., king of France; *Utopia* published.
1517. Beginning of the Reformation in Germany.
1519. Charles V., emperor.
1521–1525. War with France.
1521. Fall of Buckingham.
1525. Battle of Pavia.
1527. Henry applies for a divorce.
1529. Fall of Wolsey.

1. Henry VIII. was only eighteen years old when he succeeded his father as king of England. Tall, robust, and well-built, with a round and fair-complexioned face, and short-cut, bright, auburn hair, Henry was the handsomest sovereign in Christendom. He was a splendid athlete, an accomplished horseman, an enthusiast for the chase, and an excellent tennis-player. He looked every inch a king, with his stately form set off by gorgeous attire, glittering with jewels and gold. Though tenacious of his dignity, his friendly hearty manner won him the love of rich and poor alike. Carefully educated by his father, he played and sang well, spoke several languages fluently, and delighted in the society of scholars. Though seemingly absorbed in a round of pleasure and amusement, he never forgot that his real work was to rule England. His strength of will and stubbornness of purpose made him one of the very ablest of our kings. He knew what he wanted, and had few scruples as to how to get it. A shrewd judge of character, he chose his ministers well, and used them to the uttermost. He was selfish, greedy, hard-hearted, without the faintest gleam of pity or of softness. Ever stern and relentless, he became in later life a cruel and hateful tyrant; but he never quite lost the love of his subjects,

Character of Henry VIII.

and there always remained, amidst the worst excesses of his later life, some touch of his lionlike will and splendid force of purpose.

2. Henry was the first king since Henry v. whose title no man seriously disputed. Inheriting the fruits of his father's painful and laborious policy, and the great store of treasure that the elder king had hoarded up, Henry aspired to play a leading part in European politics. He felt that he could take up a bolder and more popular line than Henry VII. He strove to win over the people to his side, while he completed his father's work of crushing the old nobility and the great churchmen, who had so long stood in the way of the royal power. His ambition was to rule England as a strong but popular and national despot, and his people, long accustomed to find in the king their best protection against aristocratic licence and misrule, gave him a hearty and ungrudging support. In his eagerness to win popular favour, he sent to the Tower Empson and Dudley, the hated agents of his father's grasping extortion. At first they were charged with tyrannising over the king's subjects in their collection of the taxes, but this true accusation was dropped for a foolish charge of treason and conspiracy against the king. Early in 1510 parliament passed an act of attainder against them as traitors. A few months later both were beheaded on Tower Hill.

Execution of Empson and Dudley, 1510.

3. Though remorselessly sacrificing to popular hatred the most notorious of his father's subordinate agents, Henry continued in office the tried ministers who had really fashioned Henry VII.'s policy. They were mainly bishops and nobles of high position, but of no great ability or energy. The foremost among them were Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. Fox was a good and pious man, but anxious to give up politics; and Surrey, though a capable soldier, and the only conspicuous representative of the older nobles who remained unswervingly faithful to the king, was not clever enough to be able to give effect to the ambitious schemes of his young master. To carry out these an abler and more strenuous helper was necessary, and Henry soon found a minister after his own heart in Thomas Wolsey. The son of a substantial Ipswich merchant, Wolsey early distinguished himself at Oxford, but soon abandoned the student's career to become chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Fox, who thought well of him, gave him a footing at court, and under Henry VII. he had shown his capacity in several embassies. Under the young king he became dean of Lincoln and almoner.

The king's ministers.

Rise of Wolsey.

Fox's gradual withdrawal from politics gave Wolsey his opportunity, and the growing complication of foreign politics soon made him indispensable to Henry. In 1514 he became bishop of Lincoln, and, before the end of the year, archbishop of York. In 1515 he was made lord chancellor, and the pope sent him a cardinal's hat. For sixteen years Wolsey was supreme both in Church and State. Fresh preferment was heaped upon him, until he enjoyed the revenues of three or four bishoprics and of one of the richest abbeys in England. He lived on terms of intimate friendship with Henry, and though never gainsaying the fierce king's wishes, was able to control his policy as no other minister of the reign ever did. He was an indefatigable worker, and kept all the business of the state under his own control. Equally competent to organize an army and to conduct a subtle diplomatic intrigue, he was alike able to formulate a great policy and to plod patiently through the dull details of administration. He affected a pomp and ostentation such as the proudest nobles did not aspire to; but he posed as the friend of the poor, listening patiently to their lawsuits, and dealing out to them even-handed justice. The great nobles both envied him and hated him, recognizing in him the chief instrument employed by the king for their abasement. He had few of the strict virtues of the churchman, though he was a munificent patron of learning, and wished to see the clergy better educated and more energetic. He had something of the pride, the greed, the ostentation, and love of pleasure of his master; but he had a clear vision of the right policy for his country, and without his rare gifts the young king's reign would have been shorn of much of its glory.

4. The ability and energy of Wolsey were of special service to his master in the region of foreign politics. Under Henry VII. England had been of little account in European affairs; and the old king's fidelity to the Spanish alliance had met with but scanty recompense from Ferdinand of Aragon. As in the days of Henry VII., the rivalry of Louis XII. of France and of Ferdinand of Spain was the central fact of the European situation, and Italy had become more than ever the prize of victory. Louis, as duke of Milan, was the chief power in Northern Italy, and Ferdinand, as king of Naples and Sicily, dominated the south of the peninsula. Both princes threw themselves into the complicated intrigues of the Italian statesmen, and shared their fears of the aggressions of the wise, strong, and wealthy republic of Venice. So far did this fear lead them, that in 1508 Ferdinand and Louis forgot their rivalry for a

Foreign politics.

moment, and united with the Emperor Maximilian I. in the *League of Cambrai* against Venice. This union of all the chief powers of the Continent had the effect of isolating England from all opportunity of taking part in Continental politics. Nevertheless, Henry VIII. kept on good terms with Spain, and within a few weeks of his accession, he carried out his long-deferred marriage with Catharine of Aragon, Ferdinand's daughter, and his brother Arthur's widow. For three years the continuance of the League of Cambrai made Henry powerless to take a line of his own. But the clever Venetian statesmen began to play upon the jealousies of the ill-assorted coalition arrayed against them, and in 1511 they succeeded in breaking up the alliance altogether. Julius II., the fierce and warlike pope, who had taken a prominent part in the league, became alarmed lest the destruction of Venice should be followed by the establishment of French rule in Italy. He persuaded Ferdinand and Maximilian to break off their connection with France, and to join in a new combination with the Venetians, whose object was to drive the French out of Italy. This league was called the *Holy League*, because the pope was at the head of it.

The Holy League, 1511.

5. Henry VIII. was delighted that the break-up of the confederates of Cambrai into two factions gave him a chance of taking up a line of his own. He joined the Holy League, hoping to win glory for himself by gaining victories over the French, and believing that with the help of Maximilian and Ferdinand he might again bring Normandy and Gascony under the English king's rule. Wolsey showed wonderful energy in raising armies to fight his master's battles, and in levying the sums of money necessary to equip and feed them. It was the first time that England actively entered into a general European war waged on the large scale of modern times.

Henry joins the Holy League.

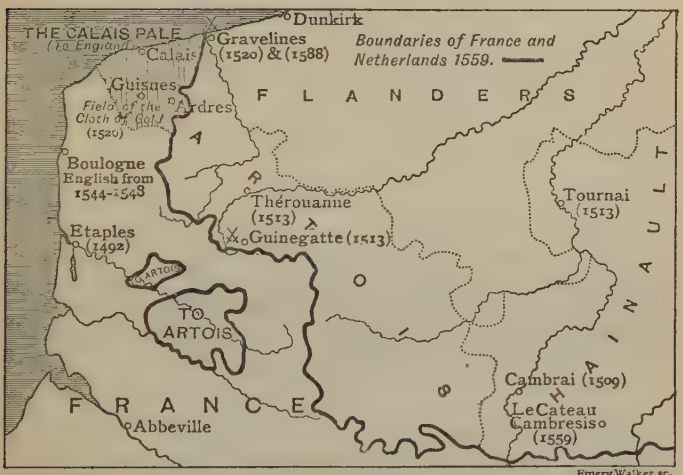
6. In 1512 there was fighting all over Europe. The Holy League drove the French out of Milan, and Ferdinand of Aragon conquered the little kingdom of Navarre, which was closely allied to France. Henry sent his cousin, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, with a considerable army to the north of Spain, hoping that the Spaniards would co-operate with him in his attempt to win back Gascony, the ancient heritage of the English kings. But Ferdinand was busy with Navarre, and left the English to look after themselves. The raw English troops were kept inactive; and disgust at the weakness of their generals, and complaints of the badness of the food and drink supplied to

The war in 1512 and 1513.

them, soon drove them into mutiny. Dorset was forced by his own soldiers to return to England without accomplishing anything at all. It was a ludicrous result after all Henry's fine talk of foreign conquests.

7. In 1513 Henry and Wolsey made fresh efforts to restore the credit of their arms. The king himself led an army through the open gate of Calais into the French king's lands, and the needy emperor, who claimed to be Caesar Augustus, and lord of the world, appeared in the English camp, and greedily took English pay. Henry defeated the French at *Guinegatte* with so much ease that the English called their victory

Battle of the Spurs, 1513.



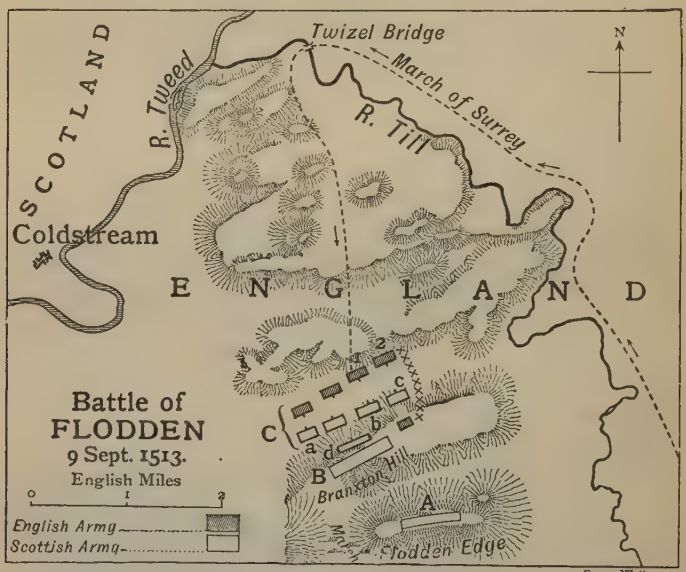
THE FRENCH AND NETHERLANDISH BORDERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

the *Battle of the Spurs*, since the enemy made more use of their spurs in their flight than of their swords in the struggle. This victory led to the capture of the towns of Thérouanne and Tournai. Wolsey, who had served all through the campaign with but little regard to the peaceful character of a prelate, was now made bishop of Tournai as the reward of his efforts.

8. After the ancient fashion, the French sought to weaken the English attack by stirring up their old allies the Scots to cross the Border. James IV., though Henry VIII.'s brother-in- law, eagerly

abandoned his new friendship with the English in favour of the traditional policy of the Scottish kings. About the time of the Battle of the Spurs he crossed the Tweed at the head of a well-equipped and gallant army, and easily captured many of the border castles. The earl of Surrey hastened to the north to expel the intruder. On Surrey's approach, James took up a strong position on *Flodden Edge*, one of the northern offshoots of the Cheviot hills, a few miles south of

Flodden Field, 1513.



A. First position of the Scottish army.
B. Second position of the Scottish army.
C. Position of the two armies at the beginning of the battle.

1. The Earl of Surrey.
2. The English left.
xxxx Their flank charge during the battle.

a. Borderers.
b. King of Scots.
c. Highlanders.
d. Scottish reserve.

Coldstream. The deep and broad river Till protected his right flank, and a marsh made his left hard to get at. Surrey, who was on the opposite or east bank of the Till, was unable to attack with advantage, but by a clever march northwards he succeeded in crossing the Till at Twizel Bridge, and put himself between the Scots army and Scotland. As Surrey moved northwards, James

foolishly abandoned Flodden Edge and stationed his army on Branxton Hill, a lower elevation, at some distance to the north. Surrey turned south to meet him, and on his approach, the Scots came down from the hill, and on September 9 the decisive battle was fought in the plain at its foot. The Scots king blundered to the last, and the four divisions into which his army was divided were stationed so far apart that they could do little to help each other. The struggle soon resolved itself into a fierce hand-to-hand fight. Though the borderers on the Scots' left carried all before them, the English left easily scattered the Highlanders who fought on the Scots' right. In the centre there was a prolonged struggle between Surrey and James, but when the English left turned from the pursuit of the Highlanders and took James in flank and rear, all that the Scots could do was to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The northern army was utterly destroyed, and James, with the bravest of his nobility, lay dead on the field. The victorious Surrey was rewarded by being made duke of Norfolk, a title which his father had forfeited by his support of Richard III.

9. Flodden Field was the only great exploit in the war. Henry was bitterly disappointed with the result of his intervention on the continent. He had got no help from his selfish allies, who only looked after their own interests, and he saw that it was hopeless to expect to win by English resources alone new victories that could match with Crécy and Agincourt. Louis XII., who had been finally driven out of Italy, was old and broken in health, and wishful to end his days in peace. Julius II. was dead, and the new pope Leo X. was anxious not to risk the results of his victories by continuing the war. Moreover, after James IV.'s death, his widow, Margaret Tudor, ruled over Scotland in the name of her little son, and won over the country to the English side. It thus became easy for Henry to make peace with France and Scotland, and he had little scruple in throwing over his father-in-law, Ferdinand, who had helped him so badly. The peace with France was cemented by the marriage of Henry's younger sister, Mary, to Louis XII. With his two sisters reigning over the French and Scots, Henry came easily out of a war that had brought him more expense and worry than glory.

Peace with France and Scotland, 1514.

10. For the next seven years England enjoyed unbroken peace. The special feature of this time was the dying off of the older generation of rulers, in whose places arose young, vigorous, and able princes, of the same age and with the same ambitions as the king of England. Louis XII.

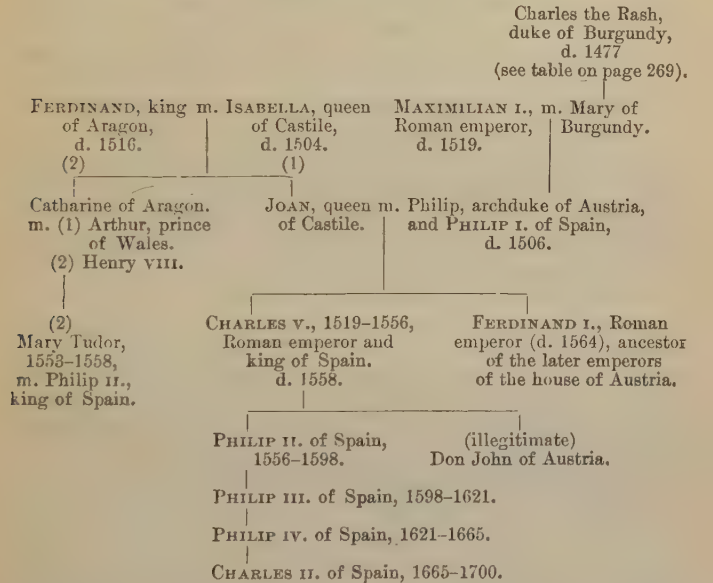
The young princes.

died early in 1515, whereupon his widow speedily married her old lover, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the personal friend and boon companion of her brother. Francis I., Louis' cousin, became king of France. He was ambitious and warlike, and at once renewed the struggle for Milan, winning in 1515 the great battle of *Marignano*, which restored him to the possession of that duchy, and forcing his enemies to make peace on terms that left Milan under

French rule. In 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Charles of Austria. Charles's mother was Joan, elder daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, and his father, the Archduke Philip, was the son and heir of the Emperor Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of Charles the Bold. On Ferdinand's death, Charles, who was already lord of the Netherlands, also became king of Spain and Naples and ruler of the great empire which Spanish adventurers were winning by the sword in the newly discovered continent of

America. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died also, whereupon Charles succeeded to Austria and the other hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs.

THE GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V. AND THE HAPSBURG KINGS OF SPAIN


Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, d. 1477 (see table on page 269).
Ferdinand, king of Aragon, d. 1516. (2)
m. Isabella, queen of Castile, d. 1504. (1)
Maximilian I., Roman emperor, d. 1519.
m. Mary of Burgundy.
Catharine of Aragon. m. (1) Arthur, prince of Wales. (2) Henry VIII.
Joan, queen of Castile.
m. Philip, archduke of Austria, and Philip I. of Spain, d. 1506.
(2) Mary Tudor, 1553–1558, m. Philip II., king of Spain.
Charles V., 1519–1556, Roman emperor and king of Spain. d. 1558.
Ferdinand I., Roman emperor (d. 1564), ancestor of the later emperors of the house of Austria.
Philip II. of Spain, 1556–1598.
(illegitimate) Don John of Austria.
Philip III. of Spain, 1598–1621.
Philip IV. of Spain, 1621–1665.
Charles II. of Spain, 1665–1700.

11. The once great title of Roman emperor had now been borne for several generations by the head of the house of Austria. But every emperor was chosen by the Seven Electors, and some of them were so much afraid of young Charles's power that they hesitated to appoint him to succeed his grandfather. Francis offered himself as a candidate, but after a fierce contest, Charles was preferred. He was henceforth called the Emperor Charles V., though the title did little to increase his real resources. However, the ancient rivalries of the older rulers of France and Spain were at once renewed between these two ambitious sovereigns. For the rest of their lives Francis and Charles contested fiercely for the first place in Europe. All the lesser states of Europe ranged themselves aside with one or the

Rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.

other, though the more prudent began to feel that the right policy for them was to strive to set up some sort of balance between the two great powers. It was mainly through the long rivalry of Charles and Francis that the doctrine of the *Balance of Power* was accepted as the basis of all European politics. It was thought to be the interest of every state to prevent any of its neighbours growing so strong that it could upset what was called the European Balance. The notion has prevailed more or less ever since, and most of the wars and treaties of the last four centuries have been directed to uphold the political equilibrium between the different states in Europe.

The Balance of Power.

12. Wolsey was strongly influenced by the notion of the political balance, and persuaded Henry that it was his interest to prevent either Francis or Charles having a decided preponderance over the other. Wolsey also strove to maintain peace between the rivals by threatening to throw the weight of England on to the side that began hostilities. For several years this policy succeeded, though it led to endless hollow and insincere intrigues, and made both parties look upon the English with suspicion. Moreover, after the contest for the empire, war became inevitable, so that after all Henry had to take a side. It speaks well for the way in which the reputation of England had revived that both Charles and Francis competed eagerly for her support.

Wolsey's foreign policy.

13. In 1520 Henry and Francis had a personal interview on the border between Calais and the French king's territory. Each king showed such magnificence and splendour that men called the place of their meeting the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Francis and Henry claimed to be like brothers in their affection, and wasted huge sums in giving elaborate entertainments to each other. There was, however, little reality in these solemn declarations, and very soon afterwards Henry held a less ostentatious meeting with Charles v. at Gravelines, and came to an understanding with him. Wolsey still professed to mediate between the rivals, but Henry had definitely gone over to the emperor's side. He still hated the French as England's hereditary enemies, and wished well to Charles v., who ruled over countries bound to England by many ancient ties of friendship, and was himself the nephew of Queen Catharine. Despite the talk about upholding the balance, Henry threw his weight into the scale which soon proved to be the heavier one.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

14. Between 1521 and 1529 Charles and Francis were at war

Henry began as an active ally of Charles, and in 1522 and 1523 English armies invaded France from Calais, the second of them being commanded by Henry's brother-in-law, Suffolk, the husband of the widowed queen of France. But neither expedition inflicted much harm on the French. As during the war of the Holy League, Henry had the mortification of seeing his enemies defeated by his ally, without being able himself to do anything effective against them. Charles drove Francis out of Italy; and when in 1525 the gallant chivalry of France again crossed the Alps and strove to win back Milan, Charles won a complete victory at *Pavia* and took his rival captive.

War with France, 1521-1525.

15. The overwhelming defeat of the French made the prospect of a fresh English attack on France very hopeful, and for a moment there was talk of invading that country. However, Wolsey had at last managed to make Henry believe in the new theory of the Balance of Power. He urged that Charles's victory was so complete that he seemed likely to be master of all Europe, and that his preponderance might well become dangerous to England if he were allowed to crush France altogether. Accordingly, Henry broke off his friendship with Charles and made peace with France. Francis, who was released from prison in 1526, again strove to win back his position in Italy. He would have been very glad of Henry's direct help, but the English, though professing great sympathy for him, left him to do all his fighting for himself. The little princes of Italy, who like Henry were much afraid of Charles's power, formed a league to help him to drive the emperor from the peninsula. Clement VII., the pope, a nephew of Leo X., put himself at the head of this confederation. But the emperor proved irresistible. In 1527 his troops sacked Rome and took the pope prisoner. All Europe was horrified, but the severe lesson showed the Italians that Charles was their real master. Francis struggled on till 1529, when he made the *peace of Cambrai* with Charles on terms that left the emperor supreme in Italy. Henry and Wolsey had done nothing to prevent Charles's triumph. With all their fine talk about holding the balance between the rivals, they had not ventured to strike a blow to save France from humiliation. Wolsey's diplomacy was as ineffective as Henry's armies. It was useless for England to pose as the mediator of Europe, when it refused to throw its weight on the weaker side. It seemed almost as if the English were conscious that their power counted for so little, and believed that even if it had been turned

The triumph of Charles, and the French alliance.

against the emperor, it would have been unable to redress the balance.

16. The old nobles envied Henry and Wolsey even their barren triumphs on the continent, and stood aside in sullen isolation, angry that low-born men should have the king's chief confidence, while they, whose ancestors had ruled all England, were quite without real power. The leader of the old houses was Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, son of the Buckingham whom Richard III. put to death. He was a proud, vain, foolish man, who was persuaded by false prophets that Henry would soon die and that he himself would become king, as one of the descendants of Edward III. He talked rashly about the king and the cardinal, and perhaps contemplated a real attack upon them. In 1521 he was suddenly arrested and accused of treason. The lords condemned him to death without much real evidence. But the king said he was guilty, and they were too timid or deferential to go against the king's wishes. He was beheaded as a traitor, and his fate frightened the proudest of the magnates into absolute subservience to the fierce and masterful king.

Fall of Buckingham, 1521.

17. Henry might safely humiliate the nobles so long as the people were on his side. But the cost of his expensive foreign policy and wasteful court revels had long ago exhausted his father's hoards of treasure, and the English king's ordinary revenue was so small that unusual expenses could only be met by fresh taxation. The House of Commons was loyal to the king, and in 1512 granted him all the money he asked for to carry on the French war. But in 1522 and in 1523 Henry made such vast demands upon his subjects that parliament began to grow restive. The English hated nothing so much as taxes, and while willing enough that the king should fight the French, showed a strong disinclination to pay the expenses necessarily involved in such a policy. The parliament of 1523 made a much smaller grant than the king had asked for, and only gave this after Wolsey had gone down to the Commons and lectured them on the necessity of supporting the king's government. So serious did their attitude seem that for the six years that remained of Wolsey's ministry the king never summoned another parliament. In 1525, when he thought of fitting out another army, he strove to raise the money by what was called an *Amicable Loan*, in which every one was called upon to lend to the king a sixth part of his income. There was a storm of resistance everywhere. It was said that Henry was

The king and the Commons.

The Amicable Loan, 1525.

reviving benevolences, which had been abolished under Richard III., and the only answer Wolsey could give was that Richard was a usurper and his laws invalid. A popular rebellion was threatened, and Henry was forced to cancel the loan and take what money his subjects offered freely. The cardinal was regarded as responsible for his master's failure. Already bitterly hated by the nobles, Wolsey was henceforth equally disliked by the common people.

18. New ideas were in the air, and beneath the seeming calm of the times the seeds of far-reaching changes were being sown. It was the time of the *Renascence*—that is, of the revival or new birth of learning. Men, who in former days had been content to take everything on trust, began to ask questions for themselves, and would believe in nothing that did not seem to them good and reasonable. The remarkable revival of arts and letters which had begun in Italy, gradually spread itself to lands like England, where old-fashioned notions had hitherto prevailed. Printing had now made books cheap and accessible, and scholars studied not only the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, but the classic literature of Greece and Rome. Indeed, a zeal for the study of Greek, a language little known in the Middle Ages, was a chief characteristic of what was called the New Learning. With the revival of antiquity came some sort of revival of the spirit of the ancient world.

The Renascence.

19. The institutions and ideas of the Middle Ages had brought about much good in their time, but many men had now lost faith in them. The Church had been the greatest institution of the Middle Ages, but the Church had long been in a state of decay. The papacy had ceased to be in any sense the religious centre of Christendom. The popes were still rich, powerful, and prominent, but it was as politicians or as patrons of the new learning, rather than as spiritual guides to the faithful, that they made themselves conspicuous. The chief popes of the time were fierce warriors like Julius II. or clever statesmen and lovers of art and literature like Leo X. The corruption of the head was but a sign of the decay of the members. Gross abuses were common throughout the whole Church, but more harm perhaps was done by the wide spread of indifference and worldliness. The great ecclesiastics had but little of the true spirit of religion. Among the people there was much superstition and ungodliness, and but little real faith and earnestness. The clergy were largely indifferent or hostile to the movements for reform. They thought mainly of preserving their old privileges

State of the Church.

and their own wealth. They were getting quite out of touch with their flocks. Yet, despite the growth of the new spirit, the Church was still outwardly unshaken. It was as rich, as strong, and as proud as ever, and though earnest men denounced its corruptions, there were very few who disbelieved in its doctrines or wanted to change its system.

20. The best minds in all countries were striving to make the new learning as widely spread as possible, and to get rid of the ignorance, superstition, and corruption which stood in the way of all reform. Since the reign of Henry VII., a little band of Oxford scholars had been upholding the new learning in England. Conspicuous among them was John Colet, who, after doing much for the revival of the study of Greek in Oxford, was made dean of St. Paul's in London. There he exercised immense influence by his preaching and life. Early in Henry VIII.'s reign he set up a new school, called *St. Paul's school*, in which boys were to be brought up in the spirit of the new learning. He was a straightforward, high-minded, and deeply religious man, who wished to make the clergy more active and better educated, but who had no desire to alter the doctrines or constitution of the Church.

The Oxford reformers.

21. Among those whom Colet's example deeply influenced were the famous foreign man of letters, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who spent many years in England, and the brilliant young English lawyer, Sir Thomas More. Erasmus was an enlightened but timid scholar, who laughed at bigotry and superstition, and did good service for learning by his writings and by his edition of the Greek Testament. But he had little of the sturdy directness of spirit of Colet, and his thoughts were always for the little world of scholars and thinkers rather than for the people at large. More combined with the delicacy and insight of Erasmus some of the vigour and straightforwardness of Colet. It was a great disappointment to his student friends when he gave up the scholar's life to become a lawyer and a statesman. But his knowledge of practical affairs gave him an insight into the roots of the evil that underlay the prosperity of the times, such as no mere scholar could ever possess. In his famous book *Utopia*, written in Latin and published in 1515, he described with great clearness and spirit the evils of the age, and by way of contrast drew an imaginary picture of a perfect commonwealth, called Utopia, where everything was ordered for the best. In this ideal state there was none of the selfishness and

Erasmus and More.

More's "Utopia," 1515.

greed for gain that he saw in the England around him. Every man had enough and none more than enough. Men could think as they pleased and worship God as they liked. They were interested in reading and improving their minds, and were not allowed to quarrel with each other. Very different from this, thought More, was the state of affairs in England. There the rich became richer and the poor poorer. Men unwilling to work, or for whom no work could be found, swarmed over the country as vagrants, thieves, and murderers. The hard laws that sent all felons to the gallows were useless to remedy this condition of things. The poor had nothing to do but to beg and rob, for grasping landowners had found out that it paid them better to turn their corn lands into pasture. Sheep, More said, were devourers of men, since fewer labourers were wanted to watch the great flocks of sheep that now pastured on lands which of old had been tilled to produce crops of corn. But the Flemish weavers paid a higher price for wool than the farmers could get for corn, and thinking of nothing but their own private gain, the landlords were stripping England of its inhabitants and the poor of their daily bread.

22. Henry VIII. and Wolsey never seriously grasped the need of such reforms as Colet and More described. But they were not untouched by the better spirit of the times, and they sometimes turned half aside from their schemes of selfish statecraft to strive feebly to make things better. More entered into Henry's service, and the king listened to his advice and treated him with great respect. Wolsey formed schemes to reform the Church, and obtained from Leo X., in 1518, a special appointment as papal legate, so that he could control the whole English Church by virtue of his representing the pope, and lord it even over the archbishop of Canterbury. He used his new power to dissolve several small and corrupt monasteries, and with their revenues he set up a great college at Oxford, which he called *Cardinal College*, and a noble school at Ipswich, his birthplace, to supply his Oxford college with well-trained students. It was no new thing for great prelates and nobles to endow richly schools and colleges. But not even William of Wykeham and Henry VI. had designed their foundations on so magnificent a scale as Wolsey. However, he was so busy in other work that he never had time to carry out his plans properly. What he desired was wise and noble. Like Colet and More, he wished to reform the Church from within. He strove to improve education, to make the clergy work harder and avoid gross corruption. But he never set his own life in

Wolsey and the Church.

order, nor did he even offer to resign the many bishoprics whose revenues enabled him to live like a prince, but whose duties he never troubled himself about discharging. It required more unselfishness, more faith, and more hard work than Henry and Wolsey were able to give, before the abuses of the Church could really be set aright.

23. On the continent, as in England, attempts were made to reform the Church from within. Erasmus, the friend of More and Colet, inspired those who wished to carry out such schemes, but, as in England, there was too much selfishness and too little earnestness for them to prosper. At last a more rough and ready method was tried with greater success. In 1517 Martin Luther, a friar of Wittenberg, in Saxony, stirred up a great agitation against the sale of *indulgences*. These indulgences were remissions of the penance, which those who confessed and repented of their sins had imposed upon them by the authority of the Church. They were openly sold for money, and the sturdy friar became indignant that men should be encouraged to believe that a mere cash payment would do away with the evil results of sin. He taught that men were not made righteous by their good works, or formal acts, but by their faith in God, not by what they did, but by what they were. Finding that his teaching was condemned by Leo X., he began to denounce the power of the pope and the authority of the bishops. This was the beginning of the *Reformation*. In a few years Luther led all North Germany to revolt against the papal authority and the system of the Mediæval Church. His coarseness, his violence, his contempt for the past, his revolutionary ideas, frightened cautious reformers like Erasmus and More into becoming lovers of the old ways. But the sturdy zeal of the Saxon friar accomplished the work that his more timid predecessors had failed to carry out, though it was done at the price of breaking up the majestic unity of the Mediæval Church, and with a haste and violence that destroyed what was good as well as what was merely corrupt and decayed. But if the work had to be done, Luther's way was the only practical method of doing it. It was in vain that the young Emperor Charles strove to silence the audacious heretic, and patch up peace with his captive Clement VII. on the basis of an alliance against the reformers. The spirit of Luther spread everywhere. His followers, called after 1529 *Protestants*, could not be put down.

The beginnings of the Reformation, 1517-1529.

Martin Luther.

24. Side by side with the Lutheran reformation, Ulrich Zwingle had started a similar movement among the Swiss at the foot of the Alps. And a few years later John Calvin, a Frenchman, began to do in France and French-speaking countries what Luther and Zwingle had done for the Germans. All these leaders of the Reformation broke utterly with the old Church, and set up new Churches of their own, based on principles which they believed to be more like primitive Christianity than the Church of the Middle Ages. As they could not agree with each other, the quarrels between the different schools of reformers complicated the strife of the old and the new faiths. Coming in the wake of many other far-reaching changes, the religious revolution called the Reformation completed the end of the Middle Ages, and ushered in the freer, wider life of modern times. But there was so much unrest, disturbance, and bitterness caused by the conflict of the old and the new, that men began sometimes to sigh for the days before the great changes began.

Zwingle and Calvin.

25. When Luther first began to denounce the pope and the old Church, every one in England was horrified at his boldness. Henry, who was proud of his knowledge of theology, wrote a book in Latin against the reformer, called the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, and Leo X. was so pleased with it that he gave Henry the style of *Defender of the Faith*, which curiously enough still remains among the titles of our English sovereigns. There were few Lollards left to welcome Luther as a new Wycliffe. Even the Englishmen who were fond of grumbling about the wealth, privileges, and corruptions of the clergy, had no real quarrel with the Church, and Luther's methods had convinced reformers like More that the old ways were better than his. Gradually, however, some young scholars went over to Germany and became ardent followers of Luther. Chief among these was the strenuous but bitter William Tyndall, who in 1525 published an *English New Testament*, that was eagerly circulated among the few English innovators, though condemned by the Church, which burned all the copies of it that could be found. But Wolsey found no trouble in silencing the majority of the English Protestants, and forced many to give up their new doctrines. For many years they were of no importance whatever. It was not through following in the footsteps of Luther that the English Reformation began, but from the self-will and violence of the king himself.

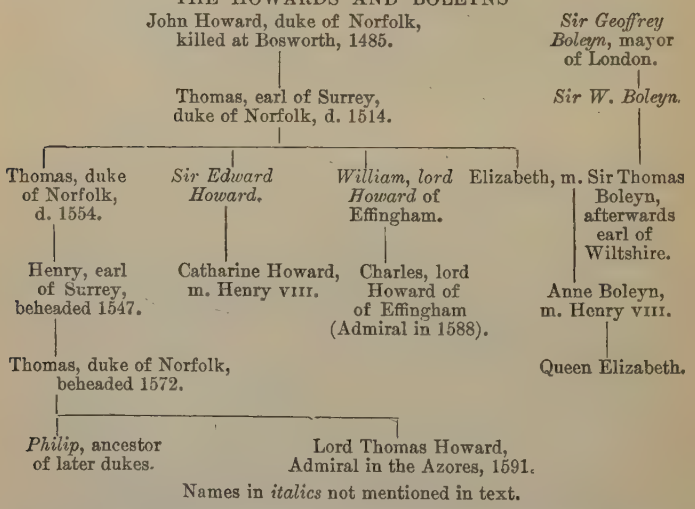
Henry VIII. and Luther.

26. About the time that Henry broke with Charles V., he began to grow tired of his wife, the emperor's aunt. Catharine of Aragon

was five years the senior of her husband, and bad health already made her an old woman. All the children of the marriage were dead except one girl, the Lady Mary. Henry now persuaded himself that the death of Catharine's other children was a proof that God was displeased at his breaking the law of the Church by marrying his brother Arthur's widow. Most Englishmen wished Henry to have a son, who might succeed peacefully to the throne, for there had been no instance of a woman ruling England, and it was feared that trouble might follow if Henry died without a male heir. But the real cause of Henry's scruples was the appearance at court of Anne Boleyn, the lively and attractive daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a Norfolk gentleman, who was connected with the great house of Howard by his marriage with Anne's mother, a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, who had won the battle of Flodden. With her the selfish king fell violently in love, and her charms made him eager to divorce Catharine, that he might make her his wife.

Catharine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn.

THE HOWARDS AND BOLEYNS


John Howard, duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth, 1485.
Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, mayor of London.
Thomas, earl of Surrey, duke of Norfolk, d. 1514.
Sir W. Boleyn.
Thomas, duke of Norfolk, d. 1554.
Sir Edward Howard.
William, lord Howard of Effingham.
Elizabeth, m. Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards earl of Wiltshire.
Henry, earl of Surrey, beheaded 1547.
Catharine Howard, m. Henry VIII.
Charles, lord Howard of of Effingham (Admiral in 1588).
Anne Boleyn, m. Henry VIII.
Queen Elizabeth.
Thomas, duke of Norfolk, beheaded 1572.
Philip, ancestor of later dukes.
Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral in the Azores, 1591.

Names in *italics* not mentioned in text.

27. In the Middle Ages a marriage sanctioned by the Church could not be dissolved. What was called a *divorce* meant declaring that a marriage had never been a valid one from the beginning. But the law of marriage was so complicated, and the Church courts were so corrupt, that it was not as a rule hard for a great

prince like Henry to find excuses for such an annulling of what seemed a lawful wedlock. Having resolved to get rid of his wife, Henry applied in 1527 to Clement VII. for a declaration that his marriage was invalid. It was a particularly awkward time to raise this question. Catharine was the emperor's aunt, and Charles V. had recently sacked Rome and had taken the pope prisoner. He was therefore Clement's master, and was not likely to allow him to gratify the king of England, whose desertion of the imperial cause Charles had not yet forgiven. Moreover, in raising the question of a divorce at all, Henry seemed to be following Luther's example of questioning the power of the pope. The ordinary law of the Church declared the marriage unlawful. Nevertheless, Julius II. had issued a *dispensation*, which made an exception from that law in Henry's favour. In asking Clement to disregard that, Henry practically raised the question of whether Julius had power to dispense with the law of the Church in his favour. It is true that Henry tried to avoid that issue by suggesting that there were certain irregularities of form in Julius's dispensation which made it possible for that particular document to be put aside without the general question of right being discussed. But plain men were sure to concern themselves with this problem, so that Clement was not only prevented from falling in with Henry's wish by fear of the emperor, but also by respect for the power of the office which he held. Neither party thought much of the wrongs of Catharine.

The origin of the divorce question.

28. Clement VII. thought that the best way out of his difficulties was to delay everything as long as he could. He was afraid to grant a divorce, but he did not want to quarrel with Henry, as he hoped that some day Henry and the king of France would release him from his dependence on the emperor. As a middle course, he agreed to appoint what was called a *Decretal Commission*, that is, he empowered a special court to find out whether the form of Julius's dispensation was, as Henry said, an irregular one, it being laid down that, if such were the case, the marriage was invalid. The court was to consist of two papal legates, who were to sit in England. One of them was Wolsey himself, and the other was Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian living at Rome, who had done so much service to Henry that he was allowed, after the evil fashion of the time, to hold the bishopric of Salisbury.

The Decretal Commission, 1528.

29. It seemed a great triumph for Henry that the decision of his suit should be handed over to two of his dependents. But Campeggio was faithful to Clement, and took care to delay

proceedings as much as he could. He wasted a very long time in travelling to England, and it was not until the summer of 1529 that the legatine court was opened in London. But it then seemed as if everything was nearly over. Catharine declared before the legates that she regarded herself as Henry's lawful wife, and refused to hide herself away in a convent, as had been suggested to her. She appealed to the pope in person, and the best of Englishmen sympathized strongly with her wrongs.

Its failure, 1529.

30. Clement grew anxious after he had appointed the commission that took the matter out of his own hands; and the emperor was alarmed lest the legates should give a decision in Henry's favour. Before very long the pope annulled the commission, and ordered the whole business to be gone over again at Rome. Henry was moved to violent anger, and made Wolsey the scapegoat of his failure. The cardinal's favour had long been declining. He had done his best to get Henry his divorce, but his desire had been that the king should marry a French princess, who would bind him more closely to the policy of Francis, and he did not like the notion of Henry wedding the giddy Anne Boleyn, who would bring him no strong continental alliance. But Henry's self-will had triumphed over his minister's opposition, though the king now trusted him so little that he kept him in the dark as to much that was going on. He knew that Wolsey was hated by nobles and people alike, and was glad to get a fresh spell of popularity by throwing him over as he had thrown over Empson and Dudley. The new duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle, hated the cardinal, and Anne herself believed Wolsey was to blame for the failure of the legatine court. All combined to attack the unpopular minister. Wolsey was driven from the chancellorship, and his property seized. His great foundations fell into Henry's hands, and the king made it a merit to refound the Oxford College on a smaller scale under the name of *Christ Church*. Wolsey abjectly yielded to his enemies, and was finally allowed to retire to the north, where he threw himself with strange energy into the hitherto neglected duties of his archbishopric. But he soon began to intrigue for his return to power, whereupon he was arrested and brought back to London, to answer the charge of treason that Henry always brought against a fallen minister. But his health, long weak, broke down under the hardships of a winter journey, and he died at Leicester Abbey in November, 1530, lamenting the instability of the favour of princes. With his fall ends the first part of his master's reign.

The fall of Wolsey, 1529.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII. AND THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION (1529–1547)

Chief Dates:

1529. Meeting of the Reformation Parliament.
1533. Act of Appeals.
1534. Act of Supremacy.
1535. Execution of Fisher and More.
1536. Dissolution of the lesser monasteries; union of England and Wales.
1539. Dissolution of the greater monasteries and Six Articles Statute.
1540. Execution of Cromwell.
1542. Battle of Solway Moss.
1544. Capture of Boulogne.
1547. Death of Henry VIII.

1. In the years that followed the disgrace of Wolsey, Henry VIII. still made it his main business to get a divorce from Catharine of Aragon. Wolsey's failure had shown that there was little use in trying to persuade the pope to annul the marriage, and Henry now sought for stronger methods of enforcing his will on Clement. He hoped great things from the alliance with France, which remained as the chief legacy of the fallen cardinal, and imagined that Francis would really give him help in winning over the pope to his side. But Francis was only playing his own game. It was not his interest to quarrel with Rome to please so uncertain an ally as Henry, and he saw that it was useless for him to attempt to drive Charles out of Italy, though it was only by expelling the emperor from the peninsula that Clement could be made a free man. Yet Henry persevered for years in this new policy, while he also strove to appeal from the pope to learned public opinion, by consulting the universities of Europe as to the validity of his marriage. However, the universities gave a divided answer, and in most cases said exactly what the rulers of the country in which they were situated told them, so that Henry got no good from this step.

Progress of the divorce question.

2. Henry was gradually forced to see that if he obtained his divorce, he must mainly rely upon himself and his own subjects.

Henry VIII. and his subjects.

His last and most effective method of bringing pressure on the pope was to show him that England was backing up his request. It was not hard for Henry to force the Church and the people of England to profess themselves in agreement with him. Men were still accustomed to look up to the king and take what he said as true. Henry had plenty of ways of dragooning his subjects into obedience, and did not scruple to use them. Convinced that he had a better chance of obtaining his own way if he made a show of consulting his people, Henry made a point for the rest of his reign of getting parliament, and in Church matters convocation, on his side. But it would be very wrong to think that this pretence of consulting the people and the Church meant anything real. Left to themselves, Englishmen would never have entered upon so bold a policy of change as that which Henry's self-will now induced him to undertake. He was already contemplating the withdrawal of English obedience from the papacy if Clement still held out.

3. Soon after Wolsey's fall, parliament and convocation were assembled.

The Reformation Parliament, 1529-1536.

Between 1529 and 1536 the same parliament continued to hold its sessions. Before it separated, it had enabled the king to break finally from the Church of the Middle Ages. Fear and self-interest made all men seek to do the king's will. The chief danger of opposition came from the Church, but Henry persuaded parliament to pass various laws against ecclesiastical abuses in order to frighten the clergy. Then came a more crushing blow. Henry told the clergy that they had all broken the *Statute of Præmunire* (see page 223) by acknowledging Wolsey as papal legate. What he said was quite true, but the statute of Præmunire had long been neglected, and Henry himself had been as guilty as anybody. However, the clergy were forced humbly to confess their error, and gladly bought their pardon of the king by paying him an enormous fine.

Henry Supreme Head of the Church.

Even this was not enough. They were also forced to acknowledge that Henry was the *Supreme Head of the English Church*. It was a vague phrase, which might mean anything or nothing. But Henry showed from the beginning that he meant to press the title to the uttermost. Before long the *Royal Supremacy*, henceforth the great doctrine of the English Reformation, was found incompatible with the papal supremacy, in which all men had hitherto firmly believed.

4. Having shown himself master of his own clergy, Henry began to pass measures through parliament against the pope's power, hoping thus to frighten him into granting a divorce. But Clement was as unable as ever to do what the king wanted, and the only result of this policy was that the pope's power in England was gradually cut away. The first step towards this was reviving the old laws against the pope, such as the statute of Præmunire. New legislation soon followed. In 1532 *Annates*, or *First Fruits*, that is, the payment of the first year's revenue of a new benefice, which the clergy had hitherto made to the pope, were transferred to the crown. In 1533 the *Act of Appeals* was passed, which forbade Englishmen to carry appeals from the English Church courts to the court of the pope. Clement answered by affirming the lawfulness of Catharine's marriage; and dying soon after, his successor, Paul III., threatened Henry with excommunication. Henry replied to these menaces by fresh laws against the papacy. In 1534 the separation from Rome was completed by the *Act of Supremacy*, which made it treason to deny that Henry was supreme head of the English Church.

The separation from Rome, 1532-1534.

5. The archbishopric of Canterbury falling vacant, Henry appointed to that great office a Cambridge scholar named Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer was a pious, learned, and well-meaning man, but he was weak and undecided, and soon proved himself a mere creature for carrying out the strong king's will. Despairing of getting a divorce from Rome, Henry now secretly married Anne Boleyn. He forced convocation to declare Catharine's marriage void; and the new archbishop held a court at Dunstable, in which he also solemnly declared the former marriage to be against God's law. As the Act of Appeals cut off the Roman jurisdiction, the archbishop's court was now the highest Church court for England. There was no longer any way of taking Catharine's case any further, and thus the great divorce suit was terminated after six years of delay. But the price Henry had paid was the breaking of the tie which had so long bound the English Church to the Churches of Christendom. Nominally, the breach with Rome left the English Church independent. Practically, it became absolutely subject to the fierce will of the king. The separation from Rome brought the Tudor despotism to its highest point.

Cranmer and the divorce.

6. England was now as completely separated from Rome as were the Protestant churches of Germany. But Henry still looked with horror on Protestantism, and professed to make no

changes in the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the English Church. He was proud of his *middle way* between the two extremes. He strove to prove his love for the old faith by seeking out and burning to death all the English Protestants on whom he could lay his hands. But whatever the king might profess, the abolition of the papal supremacy was a real revolution. It was not simply a political change, as Henry maintained. It was a religious change as well, when the English nation repudiated the authority to which it had looked up ever since it had become a Christian people. Other changes were sure to follow, and however much Henry might hate Luther, common enmity to Rome was bound sooner or later to bring all reformers together.

Henry VIII. and Protestantism.

7. The great majority of Englishmen passively accepted the king's policy; but there were murmurs against it from the beginning from a few high-minded and clear-sighted men, who realized more fully than most the true meaning of the step. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an aged prelate of great learning and piety, protested from the beginning against the king's action. Sir Thomas More, who had become chancellor after Wolsey's fall, gave up his office and retired into private life rather than acknowledge the royal supremacy. They were not allowed to remain long undisturbed. Before the end of 1533 a daughter, named Elizabeth, was born to Henry and Anne. As Catharine's child Mary was cut off from the succession when the marriage of her mother with Henry had been declared invalid, it was thought necessary to pass in 1534 an *Act of Succession*, settling the crown on the little Lady Elizabeth and any other children there might be of the marriage of Henry and Anne. Moreover, a new *Treasons Act* was hurried through parliament, which made it treason to deny to the king any of his royal titles. It was not easy for those who gainsaid the king's policy to escape the consequences of these laws.

The resistance to the supremacy.

8. More and Fisher were called before Archbishop Cranmer and asked to take the oath of succession, drawn up under the recent act. They said that they would willingly accept Anne Boleyn's children as future rulers of England, since an act of parliament was competent to alter the succession to the throne. But more than this was demanded of them. They were required to declare Anne Boleyn Henry's lawful wife, and to renounce the authority of the pope. These two things they declared they could not do with a good conscience.

More and Fisher oppose Henry.

9. Other men of less position followed or anticipated their example. Conspicuous among these latter were many of the monks of the London Charterhouse, one of the best ordered of all the English monasteries. Among other opponents of the supremacy was Reginald Pole, a young churchman, then studying in Italy, who, as the grandson of George, duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., stood near to the throne (see table on page 294). Pole gave up his prospects of high preferment in England rather than renounce his faith. Appointed cardinal in 1536, he remained in exile, constantly protesting against Henry's doings.

The Charterhouse monks and Reginald Pole.

10. Henry shut up in prison all opponents of the supremacy within his reach, and had no difficulty in procuring their condemnation as traitors. In 1535 the victims of his policy suffered on the scaffold. The obscure monks of the Charterhouse were among the first to die. Fisher's fate was soon settled by the rash kindness of the new pope, Paul III., who made him a cardinal. After this, Henry at once ordered him to be put to death. A few days later Sir Thomas More was also executed. The sacrifice of men so famous brought home to every one the relentless policy of Henry. The king had trampled on all opposition, and was more master of England than ever.

More and Fisher executed, 1535.

11. Henry now resolved to work out to the uttermost the doctrine of the royal supremacy. He created a new minister, called the king's *vicar-general in matters ecclesiastical*, and appointed to it one of Wolsey's former servants. This was Thomas Cromwell, the son of a fuller at Putney. In early life Cromwell had been driven from England for his bad conduct, and had wandered about Italy and the Netherlands, at one time serving as a soldier, but finally taking to trade, and thriving so well in it, that he came back home a wealthy and prosperous man. Wolsey took him into his service, and he was employed in suppressing the monasteries, from whose funds the cardinal hoped to endow his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. After Wolsey's fall, Cromwell behaved with such discretion that he was regarded by the cardinal's friends as showing remarkable fidelity to his disgraced master, while he was at the same time craftily winning the king's favour. Very soon Henry took him into his service, and at once found in him just the man that he wanted. Cromwell was a strong, able, and far-seeing man, who had neither doubts or scruples, but devoted all his cunning and resource to carrying out the caprices

Cromwell vicar-general.

of the despot. He was just the clever tool who could strike the bold strokes that Henry was now meditating. Between 1535 and 1539 he carried out such a revolutionary change, that the abolition of the papal power seemed but a small matter beside it.

12. The monasteries had long fallen into evil days. In the early Middle Ages they had done a great work in spreading religion and civilization (see pages 55, 154, and 243), but they had now fallen out of touch with the times. It had long been a rare thing to set up new religious houses.

State of the monasteries.

All through the fifteenth century there had been plenty of liberal foundations, but the new establishments were colleges, schools, and houses of "secular" priests. Sometimes, as Wolsey's case showed, it was thought a wise thing to abolish monasteries in order to procure the money to build such new colleges. The old fervour of devotion that had ennobled the ancient abbeys had become so rare a thing, that the heroic self-sacrifice which had led the monks of the London Charterhouse to become willing martyrs for their faith, stood in marked contrast to the timidity and selfishness of the majority of the monasteries. The greater houses were often the abodes of formalism and dull respectability. In some houses there was gross corruption; and this seems especially to have been the case in the smaller houses, which often were so poor that they could neither pay their way nor live according to their rule. Most men looked upon the monks with indifference. Few were anxious to enter the monastic life. Though the orders were too timid to oppose actively the royal supremacy, they were the least national part of the Church, being bound closely to their foreign brethren, and being at all times good friends of the papacy. Thus their principles excited suspicion, while their helplessness made them easy victims, and their wealth excited the greed of the rapacious king and his minister.

13. In 1535 Cromwell sent royal commissioners throughout the country to inquire into the state of the monasteries. The commissioners worked actively and unscrupulously to get up a case against the monks, and reported to their master that corruption and immorality were very widespread among them. In 1536 parliament was induced by their evidence to pass an Act abolishing all monasteries that had a revenue of less than £200 a year. Their goods were seized by the king; and the ordinary Englishman found out for the first time that the old religion of the country was being undermined, when hundreds of ancient houses of religion were ruthlessly broken up, their inmates scattered, their churches profaned, and their lands squandered among greedy courtiers.

The suppression of the smaller monasteries, 1536.

14. The north of England was the part of the country least affected by the new ways. There the monks were still doing good service, and were still beloved and popular. The sturdy north-country men broke into open revolt, to show their detestation of the policy that led to the suppression of the smaller monasteries. The first riots were in Lincolnshire, but the most formidable was in Yorkshire, where a great body of rebels gathered together at Doncaster under Robert

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.

Aske. The revolt was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, because the rebels resolved to march to London on pilgrimage to the king, hoping to persuade him to set back the Church in its old glory, to drive away upstarts like Cromwell from his councils, and to put the old nobles back in their natural places as his advisers. The duke of Norfolk, sent by the king to put down the revolt, persuaded the pilgrims to go home peaceably, and announced that the king would redress their grievances. This broke the back of the rebellion, but next year Henry made new riots a pretext for violating his promise, and for hunting down and putting to death the leaders of the rising. To prevent such revolts in the future, he set up at York a new court, called the *Council of the North*, which soon made the wild regions beyond the Humber as peaceable and as dependent on his will as the richer and tamer south country.

The suppression of the greater monasteries, 1536-1539.

15. The monasteries spared in 1536 soon met their fate. Cromwell's commissioners strove hard to persuade the different abbeys to surrender their property to the king; when bribes and entreaties were of no use, threats and violence were unscrupulously employed. Some of the houses held out heroically, but Henry found it easy to trump up some charge against their inmates. For example, he accused the abbot of Glastonbury of stealing the plate of the abbey, and hanged him on a high hill overlooking the whole countryside, as a warning of the fate of those who resisted the king. In three years nearly every abbey had submitted to the royal will, and in 1539 a new act was passed which finally gave the king all the abbey lands. There was much talk of employing the vast sums thus confiscated to the king for public purposes, such as for founding new bishoprics, reorganizing the navy, and defending our coasts against invasion. But about half of the abbey estates were squandered by the king on his friends and courtiers, or sold to speculators at low prices. Thus the fall of the monasteries had a great effect on the lives of the people. They not only lost their old houses of prayer, and were shocked by the king's carelessness of their most sacred beliefs; they saw their easy-going old landlords replaced by new men who, having paid for their lands, strove to get as high a rent as they could; and knowing and caring nothing for their tenants, took little interest in their welfare The doles which the monks had scattered among the poor ceased, as did the kindly spirit they had often shown to their dependents. But the king gained what the people lost. The spoils of the monasteries enabled his courtiers to become the founders of a new

nobility devoted to the king, from whom their prosperity came, and eager to help him in his schemes. The House of Lords became, by the fall of the mitred abbots, an assembly with a strong lay majority, and more dependent on the king's will and less representative of the Church. A mere trifle was kept for the Church, out of which six new bishoprics were set up at Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Westminster, and Oxford (see map on page 342). A few abbey churches were kept as the cathedrals of these new sees or to replace the chapters of the old sees that had hitherto been served by monks. A larger proportion of the spoil was spent on other public purposes, and in particular in building ships of war, erecting fortifications on the coast, and casting strong cannon to equip them.

16. Other religious changes attended the suppression of the greater monasteries: images and relics were destroyed, the shrines of English saints broken up, and some of the old Church holidays were abolished. Cranmer and Cromwell began to look upon the German Protestants as their allies, and persuaded the king to give bishoprics to lovers of new ways. The best of these Hugh Latimer, who was made bishop of Worcester, had been the friend of some of the Protestant martyrs burned a few years earlier. It was another great change when Henry allowed English Bibles to be printed and circulated, and before long ordered that every parish church should possess a copy of an edition called the *Great Bible* which was issued by Cranmer himself. These versions all showed the influence of Tyndall's earlier work. Yet at the same time that Henry allowed them to circulate, he encouraged Charles V. to seek out Tyndall in the Netherlands and execute him for heresy. Though the king was drifting towards Protestantism, Protestants were still hunted down and punished. While they were burned to death as heretics, the king still laid violent hands on all friends of the pope who denied the Royal Supremacy, and ruthlessly butchered them as traitors.

The English Bible and the growth of reforming opinions.

17. The king's rule was becoming a bloody tyranny. Nothing stood in the way of his reckless will and his fierce desires. He soon grew tired of the giddy and foolish Anne Boleyn. He was disappointed that no son had been born to them, and was irritated by her unseemly dealings with the courtiers. Moreover, he fell in love with a pretty lady about the court named Jane Seymour, and Anne now stood across his path much as the unhappy Catharine of Aragon had once been in

The king and his wives.

the way of Anne herself. In 1536 Anne was accused of adultery, tried before a court presided over by her own uncle, and, though protesting her innocence, hurried to the scaffold. The very next day Henry married Jane Seymour. In 1537 Queen Jane gave him the long-hoped-for male heir, but she herself died soon after. Queen Catharine had died before Queen Anne, so that the little Edward, prince of Wales, was the undoubted heir of his father. The Lady Elizabeth, Queen Anne's daughter, was now pushed aside like the Lady Mary. Before her mother's death, Cranmer had pronounced the marriage invalid, so that Elizabeth and Mary alike were regarded as illegitimate. Queen Jane's brothers, the Seymours, remained high in Henry's favour, and generally supported Cromwell and Cranmer in their forward religious policy.

18. The reckless changes brought about in religion excited wide and increasing discontent. None now ventured on open rebellion, for even signs of disagreement with the king's policy invariably led to condemnation as a traitor. In 1538 Henry Courtenay, marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV. and the king's first cousin (see table on page 284), was executed on a charge of conspiracy which was in no way legally proved. At the same time, the brother and some of the kinsfolk of Cardinal Pole suffered a like fate. In 1541, Pole's mother, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, also perished on the scaffold. There was no evidence that the aged lady had committed treason. But it was enough that she was a daughter of the duke of Clarence and the mother of Cardinal Pole, who had long been doing his best to excite the Continent against Henry.

Conspiracies, 1538-1549.

19. The Tudor despotism was now at its height. The parliament of 1539, which abolished the greater monasteries, passed a statute that gave the king's proclamations the force of law, and thus practically surrendered to Henry the parliamentary right of making new laws. But Henry, with all his self-will, was quick to perceive the signs of the times, and perhaps he had now grown tired of change, or was fearful of the consequences of further innovations. He induced the same parliament to pass the *Six Articles Statute*, which showed very clearly that England had still no sympathy with the doctrines of the German Protestants. This law affirmed strongly the chief doctrines of the Mediæval Church. By its first clause, all who disbelieved in the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, or the change of the bread and wine of the Eucharist into the substance of Christ's natural Body and Blood, were liable to be burned as heretics. In

The Six Articles, 1539.

the other articles, the celibacy of the clergy, the need of auricular (or private) confession to the priest, and the sufficiency for the laity of receiving the bread without the wine in the Holy Communion, were strongly affirmed. The Protestants, who had hoped for everything, gave way to despair when Henry had knotted this "whip with six strings," as they called it. The prisons were filled with them. Latimer gave up his bishopric; Cranmer, who had secretly married, sent his wife home to Germany. The reforming period of the reign was at an end.

20. Cromwell saw that his influence was on the wane, and made a desperate effort to win back the favour of his master. Henry had had little to do with foreign politics for many years. Charles and Francis alike stood aloof from him, and more than once talked of ending their jealousies by joining together to bring back England to the old faith. Henry had therefore reason to fear invasion, and had little hope of support from his old allies. Cromwell proposed that he should set off against the anger of Charles the friendship of the North German princes, who were mostly Protestants and all jealous of the emperor. Since Jane Seymour's death, Henry had remained a widower. Cromwell now proposed that he should marry Anne, sister of the duke of Cleves, a mighty prince on the Lower Rhine, who, though not a professed Lutheran, was inclined to favour the Protestants. This marriage, Cromwell believed, would bind Henry closely to the German princes, and give him powerful helpers against the emperor. The king rose eagerly to the proposal, and the marriage was agreed upon. But when Anne of Cleves came to England, the king found her dull, plain, and ignorant of any language that he knew. He accordingly turned against her from the first, and easily persuaded Cranmer to declare the marriage void on some frivolous pretext. At the same time, the North German princes would have nothing to say to his proposals of an alliance. The wrath of Henry, maddened by this double failure, fell on Cromwell with more crushing force than ever on Wolsey. Norfolk, as before, eagerly took advantage of the chance of ruining the upstart. Cromwell was arrested on a charge of treason and heresy. Parliament passed, without a murmur, an act of attainder. In 1540 the last strong minister of the reign lost his head on Tower Hill. On the very day of Cromwell's execution, Henry married for the fifth time. His new wife was Catharine Howard, Norfolk's niece.

Anne of Cleves and the fall of Cromwell, 1540.

21. The fall of Cromwell stopped almost entirely the progress

of the Reformation. Historians have called the years between 1540 and 1547 the *reactionary period* of Henry's reign, because the king, tired of the colossal changes which Cromwell and Cranmer had brought about, went back to his former love of ancient ways, and broke decisively with the new opinions toward which he had long been drifting. Norfolk, the queen's uncle, was now the chief lay noble in the king's council. Along with Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, Norfolk headed *the men of the old learning*, who, though accepting the royal supremacy and the abolition of the monasteries, steadily set their faces against all further change. The *men of the new learning*, best represented by the timid Cranmer and by the king's brothers-in law, the Seymours, were allowed to remain in the council, but were watched and suspected and excluded from all real power. One of the signs of the times was the passing of a curious law, forbidding any but gentlemen to read the Bible in English. Another was the increased number of Protestants who were burned at the stake as heretics.

The reactionary period, 1540-1547.

22. Foreign policy, like ecclesiastical policy, went back on its old lines. Scotland had long given Henry a great deal of trouble. His sister Margaret, who ruled for a time after Flodden, soon fell from power, and her son, James v., as he grew up to manhood, was gradually brought round to the French alliance that was ever popular beyond the Border. James also became as great a friend of the pope as he was of King Francis, and in both capacities gave his uncle much trouble. But James, though a brilliant and popular king, lost the love of his own nobles, who refused to fight for him. Accordingly, in 1542, the English gained an easy victory at *Solway Moss*. James, who was already broken in health, died soon after the battle, leaving the throne to his baby daughter Mary, henceforth known as Mary Queen of Scots. But the weak government of an infant queen gave Henry his opportunity. His brother-in-law, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, won a cheap reputation as a soldier by plundering and devastating the Lowlands. Henry professed now to wish for peace, and proposed to marry his son Edward to the little queen. But he took a strange way of winning his object, and Hertford's cruelties made the Scots look to France more than ever.

War with Scotland. 1542-1545.

23. Henry was soon involved in war with France as well as Scotland. This led him to patch up his old quarrel with Charles v., and, in 1544, Henry and Charles agreed upon a joint invasion of

France. But Charles threw Henry over, and made a separate peace, leaving Henry to fight single-handed against both the French and the Scots. In the course of the struggle Henry captured Boulogne. This so annoyed the French that they prepared a great fleet and army to invade England. However, this proved a failure, and after fruitless attempts to effect a landing for their army, the French were forced to retreat to their own harbours. Before the end of the reign, they were glad to make a peace which left Boulogne to Henry.

War with France, 1544.

24. The foreign war exhausted Henry's treasury. He had long ago squandered the lands of the monks, and was now so poor that he tried to set his finances straight by mixing copper with the silver which was coined into money at the royal mint. But this debasing of the coinage did him little good, as every one began to demand higher prices for their goods, now that the shilling contained less than half silver and the rest base metal. In his need for money, Henry again turned greedy eyes on ecclesiastical property, and strove to make his policy of robbery more respectable by professing once more a great desire to purify and reform the Church. In 1545 parliament gave him power to dissolve the *chantries*, foundations where priests offered masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, and those *colleges*, or corporations of clergy, which, not being monasteries, had escaped the clutches of Cromwell.

The new wave of reformation, 1545-1547.

25. Norfolk and his friends now steadily lost influence. In 1542 Norfolk's niece, Queen Catharine, was executed, like her cousin Anne, on a charge of adultery, that was proved more clearly than most of the crimes which Henry attributed to those who stood in his way. Henry now married his sixth and last wife, Catharine Parr, a bright young widow, who stood aside from politics, and showed such prudence that she managed to outlive her husband. Her brother was strongly on the reforming side, and joined with the Seymours and Cranmer in fresh efforts to oust the Howards and their friends from power.

Catharine Howard and Catharine Parr.

26. Henry's health was now breaking up, and it was clear that he would not live much longer. The two parties into which the council was divided contended fiercely for supremacy, and the suspicious old tyrant inclined more and more to the reformers. The imprudence of the Howards hastened on their downfall. Norfolk himself was bad-tempered, haughty, and incompetent. His eldest son, the earl of

The fall of the Howards, 1547.

Surrey, was a gallant young nobleman of great accomplishments, and famous as a versifier and the reformer of English poetry. But he was as overbearing as his father, and rashly provoked the old king's anger by assuming arms that had once belonged to the crown. He was accused of aiming at the throne, thrown into prison, condemned as a traitor, and beheaded early in 1547. His father was included in the same accusation, and was also sentenced to death. He was only saved by Henry's dying before the time fixed for his execution.

Henry VIII. and Ireland.

27. The reign of Henry VIII. saw important changes in the relations of England with the other parts of the British Islands. Like Edward I., Henry wished to be lord of the whole of Britain and Ireland. His greediness and impatience prevented him from doing anything to end the hostility between England and Scotland. But both in Ireland and Wales he was able to accomplish something considerable towards effecting his purpose. When he came to the throne, he found Ireland was practically independent and ruled by the Norman feudal lords of the centre and south, and by the native clan chieftains of the wilder north and west. The Fitzgeralds, earls of Kildare, were the most powerful of the Norman families, and it was only by making them viceroys that Henry was able to keep even a semblance of authority in the English pale. But at last the Fitzgeralds grew too insolent for the king to be able to endure them. In 1535 they rose in revolt, and Henry managed to break down their power. In the years that followed, he bribed the Irish lords by English titles and by dividing among them the lands of the Irish monasteries. This led them to accept, at least in name, the extension to Ireland of the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. In recognition of his increased authority, Henry gave up the simple title of Lord of Ireland, borne by all kings since Henry II. Instead of this he called himself *King of Ireland*, a name that indicated a more direct and complete sway. But his policy only started that new conquest of Ireland which his great daughter completed.

Union of England and Wales, 1536.

28. Henry's efforts had more complete success in Wales. He set up a *Council of Wales* at Ludlow, which secured good peace in the Principality and in the March alike. There was no longer any need to keep up this twofold distinction, since the king had now become direct ruler of most of the Marcher lordships through the dying out of the old feudal houses that once bore sway over them. A king, sprung

from Welsh ancestors, saw it was both a good and a popular thing to put an end to the humiliating dependence of Wales on England, that had lasted since the conquest of Edward I. Accordingly, in 1536, Henry divided all Wales into thirteen counties and incorporated the whole with England. The Welsh shires now sent members to the English parliament, and had the same system of laws as England. The county palatine of Chester was also included in this legislation, and for the first time now became represented at Westminster.

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD VI. (1547–1553)

Chief Dates:

1547. Accession of Edward VI. ; Battle of Pinkie.
1549. The first Prayer-book ; and the Devonshire and Norfolk revolts.
1552. Second Prayer-book ; Execution of Somerset.
1553. Death of Edward VI.

1. HENRY VIII.'s only son, who now became Edward VI., was a sickly boy of ten, and much too young to rule on his own behalf. The old king, foreseeing a long minority, had drawn up a scheme for a carefully balanced *council of regency*, in which the old and the new learning should be so equally represented that things would not be likely to be altered until his son became a man and could decide for himself. The triumph of the new learning over the old learning just before Henry's death had, however, given such a strong position to the reformers that they were no longer content to bide their time. Anxious for the immediate possession of office, the reformers upset all Henry's plans, and made their leader Hertford, duke of Somerset and *Lord Protector*, with almost royal power, and with a council on which the reformers had the complete mastery.

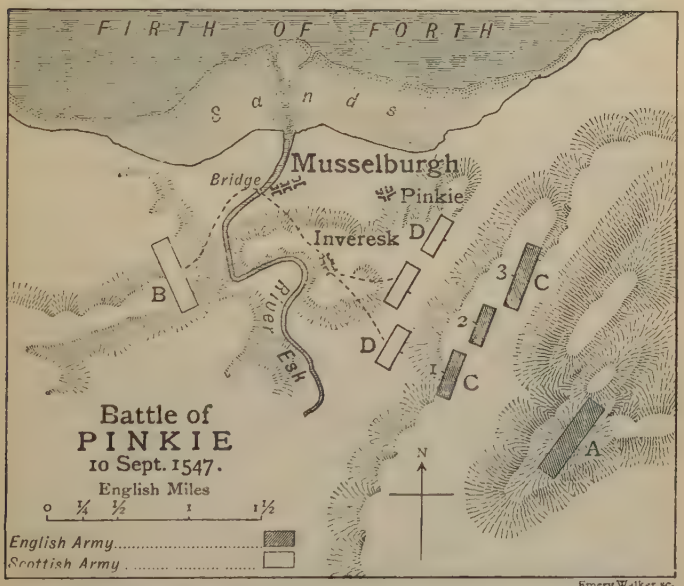
Somerset becomes Protector, 1547.

2. As the little king's nearest kinsman, Somerset seemed the most natural guardian of his nephew's throne. He had won popularity by reason of his gracious manners, sympathy for the poor, and skill as a soldier. Though he did not scruple to enrich himself with Church property, he was more kindly and honest than most of the statesmen of his day. His chief objects as a ruler were to carry to completion the reforming movement that had already begun in the last years of Henry VIII.'s reign, and to continue as well as he could the old king's foreign policy. But Somerset was not strong enough to accomplish this double task. Weak, obstinate, and unpractical, he never realized the necessity of doing one thing at the time. Within three years he had failed so utterly that he was driven from power in disgrace.

His character and policy.

3. Henry VIII. had made peace with the French and Scots before his death, and common prudence should have induced Somerset to keep on good terms with both countries. Two circumstances, however, strongly impelled the Protector to take up a strong line as regards Scotland. One was that the regency, which ruled Scotland in the name of the little queen Mary, had persecuted the Scottish Protestants with such vigour that they had risen in revolt against the government, and, being overpowered, had appealed to England for

The invasion of Scotland, 1547.



A. First position of English army.
B. First position of Scottish army.
--- Forward march of the Scots.
D. Scottish position before the battle.
C. English position before the battle.
1. Grey.
2. Warwick.
3. Somerset.

assistance. The other was that Somerset was anxious to carry out Henry VIII.'s policy of uniting the two realms by the marriage of Edward with the queen of Scots. Somerset was so eager in helping the Scottish Protestants that he did not see that he could not combine this course of action with the peaceful negotiations with the regency for the marriage of Edward and Mary. Before long his want of tact again involved the two countries in a war,

which long postponed both the Scottish Reformation and the reconciliation of the two British kingdoms. In September, 1547, Somerset invaded the Lothians, and on September 10 fought a battle against the Scots who had assembled an army to defend Edinburgh. Somerset held the high land on the right bank of the Esk, while the Scots, posted on rising ground on the left bank, waited for his attack. After two days' inaction the Scots grew weary, and, crossing the Esk, advanced against the English position. The battle was fought near the village of *Pinkie*. At first the Scottish pikemen withstood and broke the shock of Lord Grey's cavalry, who rode down the hill to meet them. But the presence of mind of John Dudley, earl of Warwick, saved the situation. He charged the victorious Scots with fresh troops, and soon put them into confusion. Complete victory attended the English arms, but the first use Somerset made of it was to desolate all south-eastern Scotland with fire and sword. His military triumph counted for little as compared with the complete political failure which attended it. The Scots, angry at the invasion, saved their queen from the danger of becoming the bride of the English king, by despatching her to France, where she was educated to be a Frenchwoman, a Catholic, and a bitter enemy of England. For another ten years Scotland remained Catholic because the Reformation was identified with England.

Battle of Pinkie.

Postponement of the Scottish Reformation.

4. France, as usual, took up the Scottish cause, and continental war soon followed war within Britain. The French now threatened Boulogne, Henry VIII.'s conquest, but the English garrison just held its own. Desultory war continued until after Somerset's fall, when peace was made both with France and Scotland on terms that undid the work of Henry VIII. By it Boulogne was restored to the French.

Loss of Boulogne.

5. At home Somerset threw his chief energy into bringing about a further reformation of the Church. Cranmer, his chief adviser, had by this time drifted far away from Henry VIII.'s *via media*, and had become a disciple of the German Lutherans. Royal visitors of the Church were sent throughout the land and instructed to break down images of saints, stone altars, and emblems that savoured of the ancient faith. Bishops of the old learning, like Bonner and Gardiner, struggled in vain against the visitors, and, before long, were imprisoned and deprived of all power. A new standard of doctrine

Progress of the Reformation.

was set forth in a *Book of Homilies*, written in English, which the more ignorant clergy, who could not preach sermons of their own, were instructed to read to their flocks as the official teaching of the Church. Soon parliament met, and by repealing the Six Articles statute and other laws of Henry VIII., made further changes easier. Priests were allowed to marry, and fresh confiscations of Church property were ordered. Such colleges and chantries as Henry VIII. had not time to suppress were abolished, and most of the money thus procured from the Church was squandered among Somerset's friends and councillors. The protector himself did not scruple to appropriate a good share of the spoil. A few hospitals and schools in connection with suppressed churches were suffered to remain, and Edward VI. has won the reputation, which is very little deserved, of being a liberal founder of hospitals and schools. He deserves little more credit for giving his name to such old schools as he allowed to survive the general ruin, than Henry VIII. merited by continuing Wolsey's college at Oxford as a foundation of his own.

6. The most important of the religious changes now brought about was the abolition of the Latin services of the Church and the setting up of an English Prayer-book. Under Henry VIII. some progress had been made in that direction, and Cranmer had been engaged since 1543 in drafting a form of common prayer in English. His labours culminated in the *Act of Uniformity* of 1549, which enjoined that all churches should henceforward use the English services contained in the *First Prayer-book of Edward VI.* This was a very careful and reverent translation of the mediæval Latin services into the vulgar tongue, with certain omissions and alterations and the combination of the numerous short forms of the older worship into the order for Morning and Evening Prayer. Cranmer, at his worst when his weakness made him the puppet of contending politicians, was at his best when engaged in this work. Though he had lost his faith in much of the ancient creed, his timid, scholarly, and sensitive mind clung to the old forms even when they had ceased to have their old meaning to him, while his exquisite literary sense made the new prayers models of pure and dignified English. In the Communion Service which was to replace the Latin mass, great care was taken to maintain ancient ceremonies and deal tenderly with conservative sentiment.

The First Prayer-book of Edward VI., 1549.

7. Englishmen were no lovers of novelties, and the pains bestowed on making the new service seem like the old were

thrown away on those who still cherished the ancient rites. When the Prayer-book was first read in a Devonshire village church, the congregation forced the priest to go back to his Latin mass, declaring that the new service was like a Christmas game. Then they rose in revolt after the fashion of the Pilgrims of Grace. They demanded the restoration of the mass and the Six Articles, and found the south-west overwhelmingly on their side.

The Devonshire rebellion of 1549.

8. The Devonshire revolt against the Prayer-book was only one of Somerset's difficulties. He was much troubled by opposition within the council, where he was soon found out to be too weak to play the part which Henry VIII. himself had found was all that he could do to fulfil. His own brother, Thomas Seymour, now Lord Seymour of Sudeley, an ambitious, rash, and foolish person, had intrigued against him, and early in 1549 the protector found it necessary to put him to death by an act of attainder. But the discontent among the people was even more formidable to him than the cabals of his rivals. While the conservative south-west was in arms against novelties, the reformers in the eastern counties, who had no complaints against Somerset's religious policy, set up another rebellion which had its centre round Norwich. The enclosure of commons, the turning of plough-land into pasture, and the greediness of the new landlords who had taken the place of the easy-going monastic proprietors, had borne hardly upon the Norfolk peasantry. Things were worse now than they had been thirty-five years before when More wrote his *Utopia*, and the new gospel had done nothing to better the position of the poor man. A quarrel between Robert Ket, lord of the manor of Wymondham, and a neighbouring landlord now set the whole countryside in a blaze. Before long Ket put himself at the head of a mob which pulled down fences round enclosures, and demanded that all villeins should be set free. An army soon collected under the popular leader, who held a sort of court under an oak tree called by him the *Oak of Reformation* on Mousehold Heath, near Norwich. He kept wonderful order among his followers, and sent up moderate demands to the council. Getting no answer, he took possession of Norwich, and defeated the king's troops.

Execution of Thomas Seymour, 1549.

The Norfolk rebellion of 1549.

9. Somerset was eager to put down the Devonshire rebels, but he sympathized with the Norfolk men, though he was too weak to remedy their wrongs. Both revolts soon rose to a great head, and the protector was helpless to put them down. Public order

had to be restored, and stronger men now pushed him aside. John Russell, afterwards earl of Bedford, crushed the Devonshire revolt, while Warwick put down the eastern rebellion with fierce ruthlessness. A little later the council deprived Somerset of the protectorate, and imprisoned him in the Tower. So impotent did the fallen ruler seem that his enemies, with unusual leniency, soon released him from prison, and restored him to the council.

Fall of Somerset, 1549.

10. Henceforth the council resolved to keep authority in its own hands. But if it were hard for Somerset to wield the power of a Henry, it was quite impossible for the greedy and self-seeking councillors to maintain that strong rule which alone could save the state from confusion. Gradually John Dudley, the earl of Warwick, son of the minister of Henry VII., executed in 1510, worked his way into the first place. A successful soldier of overweening ambition, he professed a great zeal for reforming the Church, and made himself the head of the resolute little party which looked upon the changes effected by Somerset as only small instalments of that complete reformation which they now desired to bring about. The misfortunes of continental Protestantism now played into their hands. Luther and Francis I. were both dead, and Charles V., who was trying hard to put down the German Reformation, seemed on the very point of success. A swarm of exiles fled from his tyranny to England, whose leaders, Martin Bucer of Strassburg and Peter Martyr an Italian, were made professors of theology at Oxford and Cambridge. They became the chief teachers of the forward school in England, and soon had plenty of disciples. Cranmer himself was now drifting away from Luther, and was inclining towards the more revolutionary teaching of the Swiss reformer Zwingle, who denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. His chaplain, the learned Nicholas Ridley, an avowed Zwinglian, was made bishop of London in succession to Bonner, who was at last deprived of his see for resisting the Prayer-book, and kept, like Gardiner, in prison for the rest of the reign. Another new bishop was John Hooper of Gloucester, the first English Puritan, who long refused to wear the old episcopal vestments, regarding them as rags of popery. All these men looked up to Warwick to bring about innovations in the Church, and Warwick gladly furthered their wishes, since each fresh change meant new distributions of Church property among himself and his allies.

The ascendency of Warwick, 1549-1553.

The influence of the foreign reformers.

THE DUDLEYS

Edmund Dudley,
extortioner,
executed 1510.

John Dudley,
earl of Warwick, 1547,
duke of Northumberland, 1551,
executed 1553.

Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. | Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, d. 1588. | Guildford Dudley, m. Lady Jane Grey, executed 1554.

11. The scramble for Church property soon grew worse and worse. Many bishoprics were suppressed, including Henry VIII.'s new see of Westminster, and the revenues of those suffered to remain were cut down. Laymen appointed themselves to ecclesiastical offices, and pocketed the revenues without performing the duties. The colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were threatened, and it looked as if all the lands of the Church would be filched from her.

The scramble for the spoils of the Church.

12. There was much discontent, but few ventured to speak. The best and bravest of the Protestants, Hugh Latimer, said that things were worse than in the old days of popery. Deprived of his bishopric of Worcester in 1533, he refused to accept another see, and devoted himself to preaching the new gospel with absolute honesty and rare freedom of speech. The young king gladly listened to his sermons, but he told the truth so fully that the council bade him preach no more before the court. In their despair the people turned to the fallen Somerset as a deliverer. But he was far too deeply discredited to be able to stem the tide. His feeble efforts to win back power only led to the completion of his ruin. Early in 1552 he was beheaded as a felon, and Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, secured complete ascendency. He alone had the ear of the young king, and could carry everything as he would.

Execution of Somerset, 1552.

13. Sweeping religious changes were now brought about. The Prayer-book of 1549 seemed to be too old-fashioned; it was revised in a more Protestant sense, and in 1552 a new *Act of Uniformity* required the use in churches of this *Second Prayer-book of Edward VI.* The changes in the Communion Office showed the great advance of Zwinglian doctrine, and tended to set aside the dogma of the Real Presence which had been fully recognized in the earlier

The Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., 1552.

book. But Cranmer was still able to keep up no small measure of the spirit of the earlier office, and of all the reforms of Edward's reign, his Prayer-book is among the most enduring and valuable. In most essentials the book of 1552 is the same as the present service-book of the English Church.

14. Other great changes followed. The most important of these was the new Protestant form of doctrine embodied in the *Forty-two Articles of Religion* of 1553. Derived largely from the Lutheran confession of faith, these articles show much more than the Prayer-book how the English Church had fallen in with the views of the continental reformers. They are the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles, which under Elizabeth became the permanent standards of dogma in the English Church.

The Forty-two Articles, 1553.

15. All seemed going well with Northumberland and the reformers. Edward, now sixteen years of age, was strongly on their side, and, young as he was, had already made it clear that he had inherited some of the strong will and royal imperiousness of his father. A grave, precocious, and solitary boy, he had been overworked from his tenderest years, and had worried himself over problems of Church and State when other children were at their play. His delicate frame was unable to bear the strain put upon it, and he soon lay dying with consumption. He was much troubled by the dangers that he foresaw would assail Protestantism after his death. By law the next heir was his half-sister, the Lady Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Aragon. Though Mary had been, like her sister Elizabeth, declared illegitimate after her mother's divorce, she had been restored to her place in the succession. Parliament, foreseeing disaster if the succession were disputed, had passed an act empowering Henry VIII. to settle the future devolution of the crown by his testament. Henry had drawn up such a will whereby he had arranged that his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, might both succeed in order of birth if Edward, the undoubted heir, died without children. Moreover, he provided that if these also died without heirs, the throne should next be settled upon the descendants of his younger sister Mary, duchess of Suffolk, passing thus over his elder sister Margaret, queen of Scots, whose representatives, being rulers of Scotland, Henry regarded as disqualified from being kings of England. But these problems were as yet far in the future.

The failure of Edward VI.'s health.

The testament of Henry VIII.

16. Edward VI.'s zealous Protestantism was very uneasy at the

prospect of being succeeded by his sister. Mary was a bitter enemy of the Reformation, and had clung to the mass despite Acts of Uniformity and English Prayer-books. Under her the light of the Gospel would be extinguished, and Edward was accordingly well pleased when Northumberland suggested an illegal plan for changing the succession in the interests of Protestantism. Northumberland easily persuaded the masterful young king that, like his father, he also could assign the throne by testament. He induced him to set aside not only Mary, but Elizabeth, who had not shown hostility to the new system. In their stead, Edward bequeathed the throne to the Lady Jane Grey, the eldest child of Frances, duchess of Suffolk, the daughter of his aunt, Mary Tudor, and Charles Brandon, her second husband. Lady Jane was a girl of about Edward's age, with something of her cousin's seriousness, and all his zeal for the Reformation. But the chief reason for her advancement was that she had been married to Lord Guildford Dudley, one of Northumberland's sons. It is clear that the real motive of the duke was to reign through his daughter-in-law.

Edward's device for the succession.

17. Edward had hardly drawn up his will before he became worse, and died on July 6, 1553. For two days his death was kept secret, while Northumberland won over the councillors to give their support to the scheme. Then Lady Jane was proclaimed queen of England. But no one, save the zealous Protestants and Northumberland's greedy council, wished to have her as queen. All felt that Mary had the better title, and no one wished to continue the selfish Northumberland in power. Mary fled to the eastern counties, where the people, Protestants though they were, warmly supported her cause. Northumberland started from London to oppose her, but when he reached Cambridge his troops mutinied, and he was forced to give up the attempt. After a ten days' nominal reign, the unfortunate Lady Jane gave place to King Henry's daughter, amidst universal rejoicings.

Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 1553.

CHAPTER V

MARY (1553–1558)

Chief Dates:

1553. Accession of Mary.
1554. Restoration of papal supremacy.
1555. Execution of Ridley and Latimer.
1556. Execution of Cranmer.
1558. Loss of Calais; death of Mary.

1. MARY, the first queen regnant in England, was thirty-seven years old when she ascended the throne. She was brave, honourable, and religious, but her health was broken and her temper soured by the miserable life of self-suppression which she had led. She had her full share of the fierce Tudor will and character, and had ever remained true to her mother's memory and to the ancient faith. She had consistently opposed the acts of her brother's ministers, and her accession was the more welcome since it involved the reversal of their policy.

Accession of Mary, 1553.

2. Mary's first business was to undo the religious changes of her brother's reign. Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, and the other victims of Edward's ministers, were released from prison, and became her chief advisers. She showed no great vindictiveness against the friends of Lady Jane, and only Northumberland, with two of his subordinate agents, atoned for their treason on the scaffold. Lady Jane and her husband were condemned to death, but were suffered to remain in prison. The Protestant bishops were driven from their sees, and foreign Protestants were ordered out of the realm. As Cranmer and the leading Protestants had become accomplices of Northumberland, it was easy to attack them as traitors as well as heretics. When parliament met, it declared Mary to be Henry's legitimate daughter, repealed Edward VI.'s acts concerning religion, and restored the Six Articles, the mass, and the celibacy of the clergy.

The work of Edward's reign undone.

The effect of this was to bring back the Church to the state in which it had been at the death of Henry VIII. So completely did the queen restore her father's legislation that she even assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church. For more than a year no further religious changes were effected. Yet the daughter of Catharine of Aragon had not much more love for the system of her father than for that of her brother. Her real wish was to make England as it had been before Henry questioned her mother's marriage. Politically, she wished to restore the imperial alliance; ecclesiastically, she was eager to bring back the pope and the monks. But Gardiner and her ministers had been so long identified with Henry VIII.'s policy that they thought the reaction had gone far enough. It required all the fierce persistency of the new queen to realize these objects.

The Spanish marriage, 1554.

3. Parliament wished the queen to marry an English nobleman. But Charles V., who had always been her good friend, proposed to her as a husband his eldest son, Philip, prince of Spain. Mary eagerly fell in with the suggestion, though Philip was eleven years her junior, and there was a grave danger to English independence in the queen becoming the wife of the heir of Charles V. But Philip represented her mother's family, and was already famous for his uncompromising zeal for the Roman Catholic Church. Thinking that her marriage with him would realize all her ambitions by one stroke, she disregarded the advice of council and parliament, and signed the marriage-treaty in January, 1554. The people's dislike of the Spanish marriage took shape in a series of revolts such as always attended an unpopular step on the part of a Tudor monarch. The most formidable of these was that led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the gallant young son of Wyatt the poet, who raised Kent and Sussex against the Spanish match. At the head of a great following of disorderly Kentishmen, he marched to London, and occupied Southwark. There was a panic in the city, which was only appeased when the queen went down to the Guildhall and inspired the Londoners with some of her own courage. Before long, Wyatt was overpowered and captured. This second rising was dealt with more sternly than the attempt of Northumberland. Wyatt and other leading rebels were executed, and Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley were put to death under their former sentence. The Lady Elizabeth, whose claims the rebels had upheld, was for a time imprisoned in the Tower. But Wyatt on the scaffold declared that she had no knowledge of the conspiracy, and Elizabeth was soon set free. Henceforward the

daughter of Anne Boleyn scrupulously kept on good terms with her sister, and attended mass with a great show of devotion. Now that the revolt was suppressed, Philip came to England, and was married to Mary by Gardiner in Winchester Cathedral.

4. Mary strove her utmost to bring about a reconciliation between England and the papacy. Though Gardiner had first made his name by defending the royal supremacy under Henry VIII., his experience under Edward VI. seems to have convinced him that his old master's "middle way" led in practice to the Protestantism which he had always opposed. He was, therefore, willing to fall in with his mistress' plans. The chief opposition to Mary came from the lay nobles who had been enriched with the spoils of the monasteries. Knowing that the queen wished to bring back the monks as well as the pope, they trembled for their new estates, and refused to accept a papal restoration until they were assured that the abbey-lands would not be given back to the Church. When the pope had promised not to insist upon the restoration of the monasteries, all difficulties were removed. A new parliament, which met in November, 1554, repealed Henry VIII.'s laws against Rome, declared unlawful the title of Supreme Head of the Church which Mary had borne since her accession, and restored the old laws against heresy. One of the acts of this parliament was the reversal of the attainder which in Henry VIII.'s time had been passed against Cardinal Pole. Pole, now one of the leading advisers of the pope, had some time before been appointed papal legate, but had long been impatiently waiting beyond the Channel until matters were ripe for his return. He was at last suffered to land in England, where Mary gave him the warmest of welcomes. A few days later, he solemnly pronounced the restoration of England to communion with the Roman Church. Thus the resolute purpose of the queen destroyed the work of her father as well as that of her brother. It is significant that there was no such popular revolt against the restoration of the papacy as there had been against the Spanish marriage.

The restoration of the papal supremacy, 1554.

5. There remained the punishment of those who refused to change their religion to please the queen. Many of the Protestant leaders under Edward VI. had escaped to the Continent. But the most prominent of the Edwardian bishops were awaiting in prison the moment of the queen's vengeance. The revival of the heresy laws by the last parliament enabled them to be dealt with. Early in 1555 Pole as

The Marian persecution, 1555-1558.

legate set up a commission to try heretics, and on February 2, John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had taken a prominent part in translating the Bible into English, was the first to lay down his life for his faith. His martyrdom was rapidly followed by that of the Puritan Bishop Hooper of Gloucester. Alone among the Protestant leaders, Hooper had refused to take part in Northumberland's effort to deprive Mary of her throne, but his loyalty availed him nothing. He was condemned as a heretic, deprived of his bishopric, and burnt at Gloucester under the shadow of his own cathedral. A little later Bishop Ferrar of St. David's was burnt at Carmarthen, the chief town of his diocese. He was one of the most obscure and harmless of the bishops, but this did not prevent his being singled out as an example.

Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley.

6. More prominent Protestant martyrs followed in Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer. Like Hooper, Latimer had had no share in Northumberland's treason, and was so generally respected that he was long allowed to remain at large, and every chance was given him to escape to the continent. But he scorned to flee, and cheerfully journeyed to London to answer a charge of heresy. Ridley and Cranmer had been deeply implicated in Northumberland's conspiracy, but the queen preferred to keep them in prison until they might be punished as heretics rather than execute them earlier as traitors. In March, 1555, all three were sent to Oxford to dispute with Catholic divines on the doctrine of the mass. After many disputations and delays, a commission of bishops on October 1 sentenced Ridley and Latimer. A fortnight later they met their end with splendid courage.

The fate of Cranmer, 1556.

7. Cranmer still lingered for five months in his Oxford prison. He had been consecrated before the breach with Rome, and had duly received his *pallium* from the pope. He could not, therefore, be condemned so swiftly as the schismatic bishops whose power the Church had never recognized. An archbishop could only be tried and deprived by the pope himself, and the papal court moved slowly. At last his condemnation and degradation were effected, whereupon the pope appointed Pole his successor as archbishop. In February, 1556, Cranmer's priestly gown was torn from him, and, clad as a layman, he was handed over to the sheriff for execution. He was an old man, and his character had always been feeble. At the last moment he was persuaded to recant, and his cruel enemies forced him to sign no less than seven forms of abjuration. But there was no mercy for the man who

had divorced Catharine of Aragon, and, despite his submission, he was ordered to execution. On March 21, before the sentence was effected, he was taken to the university church to hear a sermon on the enormity of his offences. At its end he was called upon to read his recantation to the people. The timid scholar found his courage in the presence of death. "I renounce," he said, "and refuse all such papers as I have written and signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue, and as my hand offended, my hand therefore shall be first burnt." He was at once hurried from the church to the stake. When the fire was lighted, he plunged his right hand into the flame, exclaiming, "This hand has offended." The courage of his end did something to redeem the weakness of his life.

8. The five episcopal victims were the most conspicuous of the Marian martyrs. Though nearly three hundred other persons perished for their religion between 1555 and 1558, the great majority of them were obscure clergymen, tradesmen, and workmen. Nearly all the martyrs came from London and its neighbourhood. This was partly because Bonner, who was again bishop of London, and Pole, whose diocese included most of Kent, were the most active of the persecuting prelates. But the truth was that outside the home counties there were few Protestants to burn. The only other dioceses where victims were numerous were those of Norwich and Chichester (see map on page 342). Thus the limitation of the persecution to so short a time and so small an area made it the more severe. Sympathy with the brave deaths of the sufferers did more to set up a Protestant party in England than all the laws of King Edward or all the preaching of his divines.

The lesser victims of persecution.

9. The fierce persecution of the Protestants has given Mary and her advisers an evil reputation in history which they do not altogether deserve. In the sixteenth century, as in the Middle Ages, it was still thought the business of the state to uphold religious truth and to put down false teaching by the severest means. To tolerate error was regarded as a sin, and it was looked upon as something like rebellion for a subject to reject the religion of his sovereign. Protestant and Catholic kings alike had sent those who disagreed with their doctrines to the scaffold. We have seen how many were the victims of Henry VIII.'s ecclesiastical policy. Edward VI. had burnt the extreme Protestants called *Anabaptists*,

The want of toleration in the sixteenth century.

and Calvin himself had condemned to death the Unitarian Servetus. The faults of Mary and Pole were those of fanatics and enthusiasts, and not those of cruel or unscrupulous persons. Even Bonner was coarse and callous rather than vindictive or ill-natured. The real punishment of Mary and her friends was in their complete failure to stamp out their enemies by force. Fortunately for his reputation, Gardiner died in 1555, at the very beginning of the persecution.

10. It was not only by repression that Mary strove to secure the triumph of her Church. She forced her parliament to restore firstfruits to the pope, and spent what money she could in reviving a few of the monasteries, including Westminster Abbey. Grave troubles at home and abroad soon distracted her energies into other channels. She had disputes with her House of Commons, which, for the first time under the Tudors, showed a disposition to oppose the government. There were several popular revolts, and some of the bolder Protestant refugees procured ships from France with which they practised piracy on the English coasts. The queen's health became wretched, and her domestic life was most unhappy. Pole was her only real friend, and Philip of Spain neglected her utterly until he wished to secure her help in the war which he was waging against France.

Isolation of Mary.

11. Between 1552 and 1559 the last of the great struggles between France and the Empire was being fought. Henry II., king of France since his father Francis's death in 1547, proved himself as formidable to Charles and Philip as ever his father had been. After successfully saving the German Protestants from Charles's designs against them, Henry allied himself with Pope Paul IV. to upset imperial domination in Italy. He succeeded so far that Charles V., crippled with gout and weary with his misfortunes, abdicated his dominions in 1556. His German possessions and the name of emperor went to his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, who became the founder of the junior or Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg. Spain and the Indies, Italy, the Netherlands, and the county of Burgundy went to Mary's husband.

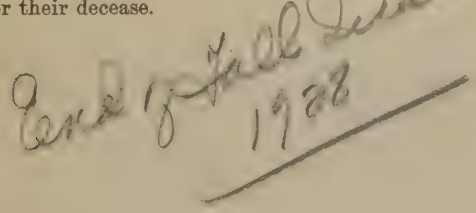
The war between France and the Empire, 1552-1559.

12. Philip II. of Spain made a great effort to secure victory over France. In 1557 he persuaded Mary to take part in the struggle, and broke the back of the French resistance by his famous victory of *St. Quentin*. He restored the Hapsburg power in

Italy by crushing Paul IV. as completely as his father had defeated Clement VII. Henceforth the papacy was reduced, like the other Italian states, to obey the will of Philip, who completely dominated Italy. Deprived of temporal power, the popes were thrown back upon their ecclesiastical position, in the strengthening of which they could count on Philip's support. It was, however, a strange irony that Mary was forced by her Catholic husband to be a party to war against the pope, whom she had restored to the headship of the English Church. Beaten on the battlefield, Paul IV. revenged his defeat by accusing Cardinal Pole of heresy and depriving him of his position as papal legate. The French also revenged themselves for Philip's triumphs at St. Quentin at the expense of his weak ally. In January, 1558, they stormed Calais, the last remnant of the triumphs of the Hundred Years' War. The loss of Calais was the final blow to the unhappy Mary. She died November 17, 1558, and twelve hours later Cardinal Pole followed her to the tomb. Both died conscious of failure. The work to which they had devoted their lives was forthwith to be undone after their decease.

England at war with France, 1557-1559.

Death of Mary, 1558.



CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1558–1587)

Chief Dates:

1558. Accession of Elizabeth.
1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
1561. Mary Stewart returns to Scotland.
1565. Parker's *Advertisements*.
1568. Mary Stewart escapes to England.
1569. Revolt of the Northern Catholics.
1570. The pope excommunicates Elizabeth.
1572. The revolt of the Dutch from Spain.
1576. Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury.
1577–1580. Drake's voyage round the world.
1579. The Union of Utrecht and the Desmond rebellion.
1583. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury.
1584. The Bond of Association and the breach with Spain.
1586. Babington's plot and the battle of Zutphen.
1587. Execution of Mary Stewart.

1. ELIZABETH was just five and twenty when she became queen. She was tall and good-looking, with strong features, a great hooked nose, fair complexion, and light auburn hair. Possessed of a magnificent constitution, she worked as hard at amusing herself as on business of state. She inherited many of her father's kingly qualities, and made herself popular by her hearty friendly ways and by going on progress throughout the country and receiving the hospitality of the gentry. With Henry's love of power and instinct for command, she also inherited some of her father's coarseness and insensibility. She was unscrupulous, regardless of the truth, and even in small matters there was little that was womanly or sensitive about her. Selfish as she was, she had a full share of that fine Tudor instinct which identified itself with the country which she ruled, and she watched over the interests of England as she looked after her own personal affairs. Though carefully educated, like all Henry's children, she was little influenced by the literary movements of her age, and, though forced as Anne Boleyn's daughter to take

Character and policy of Elizabeth.

up the reforming side in religion, she was to a very small extent affected by religious feeling. Clear-headed, far-seeing, and competent, strong, courageous, and persistent, her great delight was in exercising power, and she loved to rule so well that she would not share her authority even with a husband. To her father's strength and statecraft Elizabeth also added a large share of her mother's light and frivolous character. She was extremely vain, and enjoyed the grossest flattery. She loved gorgeous dresses, and as she grew old delighted to hide the ravages of time by false hair, paint, monstrous ruffs, and stiff farthingales. She found it hard to make up her mind in little matters, and found it politic seldom to show her full purpose in great ones. But she showed a rare consistency of purpose in carrying out for the forty-five years of her reign the same general policy which she had marked out for herself at the moment of her accession. Amidst the many trials of a period of revolution, she safely steered the ship of state through the breakers, and was able to enjoy during her declining years the calms that succeeded the storms of her middle life. Never a very attractive or amiable woman, she was one of the greatest of our rulers, and in the worst trials of her reign she did not lose faith either in England or in herself.

2. Like Henry VIII., Elizabeth was her own chief minister, but few rulers have had more able statesmen to assist her in carrying out her ideas. To these she clave with such persistence that her servants grew old in her service, and were unswervingly loyal to her, though she was niggardly in rewarding them, and callous in the extreme when policy made it expedient for her to shift the blame of an unpopular or risky act from herself to her helpers. The chief of her advisers was Sir William Cecil, who, first as the queen's secretary and then as treasurer, served her with unostentatious fidelity from her accession to his death in 1598, though his efforts to make her policy more Protestant and more uncompromising were constantly discouraged by her, and he received no higher reward than the barony of Burghley, which made him, as he said, "the poorest lord in England." With him worked his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the keeper of the Great Seal, whose long service was not even rewarded by the title of chancellor. Office was almost hereditary, and Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's second son, was as prominent as the secretary of the queen's declining years as his father had been in the earlier part of her reign, while the lord

The queen's ministers.

The Cecils and the Bacons.

keeper's brilliant and ambitious son, Sir Francis Bacon, was bitterly disappointed that his cousin's jealousy excluded him from following in the same way in his father's footsteps.

Walsingham.

Perhaps the ablest of Elizabeth's advisers was Sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's secretary from 1573 to 1590, whose sincere but unscrupulous devotion to his mistress's interests enabled him to worm out the secrets of her enemies and confound the plotters who were constantly striving to deprive her of her life and throne.

3. Beside the plain and hard-working statesmen was the crowd of worthless courtiers, who amused the queen's leisure and glorified her beauty and wisdom. It was only in favour of these giddy pleasure-seekers that she broke through her general rule of parsimony, by lavishing grants and titles upon them. The chief among them was her old playfellow, Lord Robert Dudley, the younger son of the duke of Northumberland, whom she loved for old association's sake as well as for his good looks, fine dress, and skill as a courtier. She made him earl of Leicester, and would have married him but for her resolve to live and rule alone. Down to his death in 1588 she never lost her devotion to him, and spoilt some of her boldest enterprises by entrusting them to his incompetent direction.

Leicester and the courtiers.

4. The first task that lay before the queen was the settlement of the Church. She had seen how both Edward VI. and Mary had failed in their ecclesiastical policy because each had, though in different ways, taken up too extreme a line. She had unbounded faith in her father, and experience clearly brought home to her the excellence of the middle way that Henry VIII. had pursued. Great difficulties, however, beset her on both sides. The Protestant exiles hurried back to England and clamoured for a reformation even more thorough-going than that of Edward VI. But the ministers and bishops of Mary were still in power, and the Catholic party was strongly backed up from abroad. Moreover, since Gardiner and Bonner abandoned the system of Henry VIII., there were few prominent men left who believed in his particular policy. Elizabeth was forced, therefore, to ally herself with the Protestants in order to defeat the Catholics, and their support could only be gained by reverting mainly to the system of Edward VI. Finding convocation opposed to all change, she fell back on parliament, where, in January, 1559, she carried through new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, despite the opposition of the bishops.

The Elizabethan settlement of the Church.

5. The *Act of Supremacy* of 1559 followed the general lines of Henry VIII.'s Act of 1534, and completely renounced all papal jurisdiction over England. But Elizabeth cautiously dropped the title of Supreme Head of the Church, and was content to be described as "the only *supreme Governor* of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." After this fashion the queen sought to prevent men thinking that she, like her father, claimed to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, as though she were its chief bishop. The new *Act of Uniformity* showed the same spirit of compromise. Roughly speaking, it restored the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. as the future service-book of the English Church. Several significant changes were, however, made in it. The Communion Office was so drawn up that both the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist and the opposing doctrine of the Real Presence might seem to be allowed, while the famous *Ornaments Rubric* was added, ordering that all ornaments of the Church should be retained as they were in the second year of Edward VI.

The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559.

6. So careful was Elizabeth to avoid committing herself that it was not until 1563 that she allowed a new statement of doctrine to be drawn up. This was contained in the *Thirty-nine Articles*, based on the Forty-two Articles of 1553, but these articles had been carefully revised with the view of making them less offensive to the friends of the old faith. Such were the main outlines of the Elizabethan settlement of the Church. Though clothed for the most part in the forms of Edward VI., it was inspired by the spirit of Henry VIII. rather than that of Somerset or Northumberland. Its defects were that it was a settlement of a politician rather than that of an ecclesiastic, and, that while hated by the Roman Catholics, it was only accepted as a first instalment of change by the thorough-going Protestants.

The Thirty-nine Articles, 1563.

7. Elizabeth had made up her mind that no further alterations should be made, and having fixed the form of her Church, she now strove to enforce obedience to it. Only one of the Marian bishops would accept her policy, and all the rest were deprived of their sees. The majority, including Bishop Bonner, spent the rest of their lives in prison. In their place, Elizabeth appointed as many bishops of her own way of thinking as she could find. She was especially lucky in procuring a man after her own heart as Pole's successor at Canterbury. This

Archbishop Parker, 1559–1575.

was Matthew Parker, a wise and learned man, who, when deprived of his deanery of Lincoln under Mary, had preferred to live quietly in England rather than escape to the continent with the advanced reformers. Like Elizabeth, he looked on things from a purely English standpoint, and, after the queen, was the only prominent upholder of her middle way. In 1559 Elizabeth set up a permanent *Court of Ecclesiastical Commission*, called also the *High Commission Court*, of which Parker was the chief commissioner. Its object was to exercise the royal supremacy over the Church, and enforce the Elizabethan settlement on all the clergy.

Elizabeth and the Roman Catholics.

8. Elizabeth insisted that all her subjects should accept her creed and attend her Church, and gradually imposed fines and other penalties on those who refused to do so. The friends of the pope who could not in conscience be present at Protestant services, were branded as *Popish Recusants*, and their lot constantly became harder. At first, however, Elizabeth and Parker did not experience much trouble from the Roman Catholics. Most of the parish clergy accepted the new settlement, though many were so disloyal to it that it was gradually found necessary to deprive a large number of their benefices. The majority of the friends of old ways were, however, too sluggish and inert to oppose the government effectively. The real trouble was not with the passive resistance of the old-fashioned clergy as much as with the unwillingness of the more ardent Protestants to accept the Elizabethan compromise.

Geneva and the Calvinists.

9. The leaders of the disaffected Protestants were the returned Marian exiles. Many of these had, during their banishment, become the disciples of the great French Protestant John Calvin, who, up to his death in 1564, reigned like a despot over Church and state in the free city of Geneva, the chief stronghold of advanced Protestantism on the continent. There they had become enthusiasts for the rigid dogmatic system called *Calvinism*, which taught that God was a stern taskmaster, dealing out salvation and reprobation in accordance with His predestined decrees. The Church of Geneva had, moreover, abandoned the rule of bishops, and was governed by little councils of ministers, all equal in rank, and named *presbyters*, so that this system was called *Presbyterianism*. Moreover, it rejected fixed forms of prayer like those of the English service-books, and worshipped God with the utmost simplicity of ritual, while enforcing a rigid system of moral discipline over the whole congregation. From their profession of purity in doctrine,

worship, and life, the English followers of Calvin were generally described as *Puritans*.

10. To Calvin's followers in England, Elizabeth's Church seemed far removed from the apostolic purity of the Church of Geneva. If at first they supported it, in the hope that Elizabeth, like Edward VI., would soon bring about more changes, they became very discontented when they found that the queen had set her face against further innovations. They had no love of bishops, disliked set forms of prayer and elaborate ceremonies, and thought the special dress worn by the English clergy a relic of Roman Catholic times. Many of the Puritan clergy obstinately refused to wear surplices when conducting divine worship, and neglected such forms as the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling to receive the communion. Their opposition was the more important since they included the majority of the active and high-minded Protestants, and it was only with their help that Elizabeth could fight the battle against Rome. For this reason the queen was forced for the first few years of her reign to let them have their own way. As she grew stronger, she resolved to enforce the law. The repression of Puritanism began in 1565, when the archbishop issued a series of directions to the clergy, called *Parker's Advertisements*, which ordered that the minister in all churches should wear a surplice, and conform to the other directions of the Prayer-book. Though the advertisements rather relaxed than changed the law, a storm of protest from the Puritans burst out against them. Nevertheless, Elizabeth and Parker persevered, and in 1566 about thirty clergymen, mainly in London, were deprived of their benefices for their obstinate refusal to wear the vestments enjoined by law. Embittered by the queen's action, the Puritans soon broadened the ground of their attack on the Church. Not content with simply rejecting ceremonies, they denounced the government of the Church by bishops, and demanded that the English Church should be made Presbyterian like the Church of Geneva. The leader of this party was Thomas Cartwright, a professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a book called *An Admonition to Parliament*, written by two of his friends, explained his objections to the Prayer-book and episcopacy.

The Puritans and the Elizabethan settlement.

The Advertisements, 1565.

11. Some of the clergy ejected for refusing to wear surplices were not content to abandon their teaching, and formed separate congregations of their own. These were called *Sectaries*, because

they formed new sects, or *Separatists*, because they separated from the Church altogether. One of their leaders was Robert Brown, who taught that there should be no national organization of religion, but that each congregation was a self-governing Christian Church. From him the Separatists were called *Brownists*, and from his teaching they got the name of *Independents*. They were the first *Protestant Dissenters* in England, though for a long time they were few in number and bitterly persecuted. The mass of Puritans had, however, no sympathy with the Separatists. They remained in the Church, and many of them held livings in it. Though always liable to be deprived of their benefices, many contrived to evade compliance with the hated ceremonies. For this reason they were called *Nonconformists*. But these early Nonconformists were discontented and disobedient Churchmen, not Dissenters. Separatists denounced them as "hypocrites, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

The Separatists.

12. Parker died in 1575, and the new archbishop, Edmund Grindal, was much more friendly to the Puritans. After a few years he provoked the queen's wrath by refusing to put down meetings of the Puritan clergy called *Prophesyings*, which Elizabeth disliked, because they encouraged the Zealots to resist her authority. In great anger, she suspended Grindal from his office, and soon afterwards he died in disgrace. In 1583 Elizabeth put into Grindal's post John Whitgift, an old enemy of Cartwright at Cambridge and a bitter enemy of the Puritans, though, like most of the Elizabethan bishops, he was a Calvinist in theology. Whitgift's strenuous enforcement of conformity infuriated the Puritans, and increased the number of Separatists, who revenged themselves for their persecution by attacking the bishops in scurrilous pamphlets, called the *Martin Marprelate Tracts*. Though the attitude of Puritans and Separatists showed that Elizabeth's ideal of a united and submissive Protestant Church was but a dream, the latter years of her reign saw a distinct strengthening of the Church and a weakening of extreme Puritanism. The close of the century was marked by the rise of a school of divines, whose teaching tended to draw a deeper line between the Church and the Puritans. The greatest of these was Richard Hooker, whose famous book on the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, published in 1593, showed that beautiful and seemly practices sanctioned by tradition were not to be rejected

Archbishops Grindal, 1576, and Whitgift, 1583.

Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," 1593.

because not enjoined in the Scriptures. Before long others went further than Hooker, and taught that a Church without bishops, such as the Puritans preferred, was no Church at all. Thus the system which had begun as a politic compromise began to have defenders on grounds higher than expediency. Yet the Puritans remained a strong party in the Church, though it became increasingly difficult for them and their rivals to live side by side within the same communion.

13. The period which saw Calvinism checked and limited in England witnessed the establishment of its absolute ascendancy in Scotland. For ten years after her daughter had been sent to France, Mary of Guise had upheld a French and Catholic policy in Scotland as successfully as Mary Tudor had upheld the Spanish and Catholic policy in England. The few pioneers of Scottish Protestantism were driven into exile. Among these was a priest named John Knox, whose fiery eloquence had made him a popular preacher of extreme Protestantism in England under Edward VI., though his stern Puritan principles led him to refuse the bishopric which was offered to him. On Edward VI.'s death he fled to Geneva, and strengthened his Puritanism at the feet of Calvin. When Elizabeth became queen he wished to return to England, but she would not admit him because he had written a wild book called *The Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, in which he denounced the rule of queens as contrary to the Scriptures. Thereupon Knox boldly returned to Scotland, where, despite Mary of Guise's efforts, Protestantism was beginning to make some headway. A league of Scots nobles, called the *Lords of the Congregation*, had been recently formed against the regent and the bishops. Knox now threw all his masterful energy and unconquerable will on the reforming side. A fierce fight between Mary of Guise and the lords of the congregation ensued. Though the people were strongly Protestant, the regent obtained troops from France, and pressed the rebels so hard that they were forced to appeal to Elizabeth for help.

John Knox.

14. Elizabeth hated rebels and John Knox, but she saw the obvious advantange in winning over the Scots from France and the papacy, and, while professing not to approve of the Scottish revolt, she sent, in 1560, sufficient forces to Scotland to besiege the French in Leith. Mary of Guise now died, and before long the defenders of Leith signed the *treaty of Edinburgh*, by which both the English and French troops were to quit Scotland. As soon as foreign influence was

The Reformation in Scotland.

removed, the Scottish Parliament abolished the power of the pope and accepted Knox's scheme for making the Church of Scotland correspond in all important points with the Church of Geneva. Popular tumults completed the destruction of the old Scottish Church. Churches and monasteries were burnt and pillaged, the mass violently suppressed, and the lands of the Church were seized by the victorious nobles. The only thing that Knox could not do was to persuade the Protestant lords to set aside a large share of Church property for the relief of the poor and the setting up of a school in every parish. The barons even grudged the scanty endowments left to the Protestant ministers. But however poor they were, Knox and his brother clergy henceforth exercised wonderful power over Scotland. The chief council of the Presbyterian Church, called the *General Assembly*, had more influence and better expressed the wishes of the people than the Scottish parliament. From the adoption of Presbyterianism the modern history of Scotland begins, for in welcoming the new faith the Scots nation first began to grow conscious of itself. Never were movements more strongly contrasted than the short, swift, logical, destructive Reformation in Scotland and the political, compromising, half-hearted English Reformation, imposed on a doubtful and hesitating people by the authority of the crown. But the movements had this in common, that in making Rome the common danger to both countries, it brought England and Scotland together in a fashion that had never been possible since Edward I.'s attacks on Scottish independence. Soon the old hostility began to abate between English and Scots, so that what had seemed to Henry VIII. a quite impossible thing—the acceptance by England of the king of Scots as their ruler—was peacefully accomplished after Elizabeth's death.

15. While Scotland thus became Presbyterian, her queen was growing up to womanhood as a Catholic and a Frenchwoman.

Mary Queen of Scots.

Beautiful, accomplished, tactful, and fascinating, she had rare capacity for commanding the sympathy and affection of those who were brought into close relations with her. Different as she was from Elizabeth, there were yet as many points of comparison as of contrast between them. More straightforward and simple than her English rival, loving boldness, directness, and plain speaking, she rose superior to the petty vanities of Elizabeth, though she could not compete with her in persistency, hard work, and statecraft. Ambition and love of power were the guiding motives of both queens, though Mary was

liable to be turned from her purpose by gusts of passion to which the colder nature of Elizabeth was almost a stranger. Both were born to be leaders of religious parties, and Mary, though almost as destitute of deep religious feeling as her rival, had the loyalty to the old Church which a good soldier has to his general, and strove with all her might to uphold its interests. It was her misfortune always to be the champion of the losing side, and thus to sacrifice her life in fighting impossible battles. In the cause of her Church and people she struggled with extraordinary courage and resource, and often with but little regard to honour or principle. She was no national queen like Elizabeth. When she came to Scotland her people were already hopelessly alienated from her creed and her French friends, and she was perforce compelled to play a more personal game than that of her rival. Yet the long struggle between them was not only the contest of rival queens; it involved the last great struggle between the old and the new faiths of which circumstances had made them the champions.

16. Even more than the preceding generation the age of Elizabeth is pre-eminently a period of religious conflict. Though Lutheranism had lost its early energy, Calvinism was still in its full career of conquest. It had overwhelmed Scotland and threatened England. It was making great strides in France, and becoming increasingly powerful in the Netherlands. But side by side with the growth of Calvinism the forces of Catholicism had revived. The laxity and corruption of the old Church, which had made easy the preaching of Luther, were swept aside by a great religious revival in Catholic lands, called the *Counter-Reformation*, or the *Catholic Reaction*. The papacy had reformed itself, and the popes were no longer politicians or patrons of art, but zealots and religious leaders. New religious orders had been set up to teach the old faith to the heathen, the heretic, or the indifferent. Conspicuous among these was the *Order of Jesus*, set up in 1540 by the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, and already conspicuous all over Europe for its zeal, tact, and devotion, its iron discipline, its influence on the education of the youth, and its willingness to sacrifice everything to further the service of the Church. Jesuit missionaries soon became the most ardent and successful champions of the Counter-Reformation, while for those whom no argument would reach there was still the *Inquisition*, revived and reorganized, a Church court which sought out and tried heretics and handed them over to the state to burn them. The worst abuses of the Church had been

The Counter-Reformation.

removed, its faith defined, and its discipline improved by the *Council of Trent*, which held its final sessions in 1563. Thus the reform of Catholicism and the counter growth of Calvinism had the result of dividing Europe into two religious camps, bitterly opposed to each other, and ready to plunge into mortal conflict. The consequence was that the next forty years saw religious strife taking the place of the old struggle of the nations for supremacy. National hatreds were almost forgotten in the fierce sectarian animosities that divided every nation in middle Europe into two factions, and soon was to bring about warfare in nearly every land. We shall never rightly understand the policy of Elizabeth if we do not realize that all her action, at home and abroad, was determined by her relation to the great struggle which was convulsing Europe.

17. The point of European history in which the Counter-Reformation began to complicate the general course of politics coincided roughly with Elizabeth's accession. The war which Philip II. had waged with English help against France still lingered on, but Philip had so fully secured victory that, in April, 1559. France was compelled to make peace. This was done in the treaty of *Le Cateau-Cambrésis*, by which Spain finally obtained the chief control of Italy, but allowed the French to keep Calais, so that England had to pay the price of her ally's success. This peace marks the end of the long struggle for supremacy in Europe which had begun with the war of Louis XII. against Maximilian and Ferdinand, and had culminated in the rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V. Though the dominions of Charles V. were divided, his son, Philip of Spain, the lord of the most important of his possessions, was incontestably the first power in Europe. The death of Henry II. of France soon after the conclusion of the treaty added still further to Philip's predominance. There were no more strong kings of France for more than thirty years, during which period the three worthless sons of Henry II. successively ruled.

The treaty of Le Cateau-Cambrésis.

18. Among the motives for the conclusion of the treaty of Le Cateau was the recognition by both the French and Spanish kings that it was inexpedient for the two chief Catholic monarchs to continue fighting when neither of them was able to stop the growth of Protestantism in his own dominions. Philip now set himself to work with a will to stamp out Calvinism in his Netherlandish possessions, while Francis II. of France was, through his wife Mary Stewart, induced by her mother's kinsfolk, the house of Guise,

Philip II. and the Counter-Reformation.

the most strenuous upholders of Catholicism in France, to take vigorous measures to suppress the Calvinists of France, who were more generally called *Huguenots*. National animosities, however, could not die down in a day, and Spain and France long remained so exceedingly jealous of each other that they found it impossible to work together for a common purpose. This was particularly fortunate for England since French illwill had by no means ceased at the peace. Not content with her position as queen of France and Scotland, Mary Stewart assumed the title of queen of England, and strict Catholics were reminded that the pope had never sanctioned the marriage of Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII., and that their daughter could never be therefore the legitimate queen of England. In the face of such a challenge Elizabeth can hardly be blamed for helping the Scottish Protestants to establish their supremacy. The result of the triumph of the Scottish Reformation was the practical destruction of Mary Stewart's power in her native land, since the Scots had effected their revolution without seeking for or obtaining her good will, and the effect of their action was to set up a Calvinistic republic in Scotland.

Francis II. and his queen.

Rivalry of Mary and Elizabeth.

19. Before many months, however, the sickly Francis II. died, and his brother and successor Charles IX. was controlled by their mother, Catharine de' Medici, a cunning Italian, who feared the Guises, and sought to maintain the royal power by balancing the Protestants against the Catholics. Religious war broke out as the result of this in France, and the Huguenots, who were but a minority of Frenchmen, were so soon beaten that they called upon Elizabeth for help. Elizabeth, though professing a great reluctance to help rebels, soon succumbed, as in Scotland, to the temptation of making her profit out of the divisions of her enemies. She sent some help to the Protestants, who in return put her in possession of Le Havre, which she hoped to hold as an equivalent for Calais. Unluckily for her the French factions made peace, and in 1563 united to expel the English from their new foothold beyond the Channel. But the weak rule of Charles IX. and the continuance of religious struggles prevented France from inflicting harm on England. Moreover, French hostility to England made Philip II. anxious to keep up his alliance with her, despite his disgust at the religious changes brought about after Elizabeth's succession. Thus Elizabeth was able to steer between the rivalries of the chief continental

The loss of Le Havre, 1563.

powers. The continuation of the old national animosities saved England from the greatest danger that she could encounter—the danger, namely, of a combination of Catholic powers against her. With great skill and cunning Elizabeth kept England as free as she could from the intrigues of the continent, and sought to work out her country's destinies after her own fashion.

20. In 1561 Mary Stewart returned to Scotland. She had no prospects of power in France after her husband's death, and her bold spirit preferred to abandon the comfort and repose that the land of her adoption still offered the queen dowager for the risks and excitement of attempting to play the royal part in the country that hated her religion and rejected her authority. She was coldly received in Scotland, but she showed marvellous tact and self-restraint, and gradually won over many of the nobles to her side. She was content to let the country be ruled in her name by her brother, James Stewart, earl of Moray, an illegitimate son of James v. She accepted the establishment of Calvinism, and only required liberty to hear mass. The only person unmoved by her blandishments was Knox. He bitterly denounced the services of the queen's private chapel. "One mass," he declared, "is more fearful to me than ten thousand armed enemies."

Mary Queen of Scots restored to Scotland, 1561.

21. Four years of inaction taught Mary that she had not much to hope for in Scotland. She was too ambitious to endure for ever the position of a nominal queen, and as she could not get real power in Scotland, she once more began to make England the chief centre of her efforts. The English Roman Catholics were getting more and more disgusted with the rule of Elizabeth, and were hoping that Mary would some day become their queen and restore their faith. Mary was delighted to become their champion, and preferred to see Elizabeth driven from the throne by force to the remote chance of waiting for her death. In 1565 she declared to the world her interest in English affairs by choosing as her second husband her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, the son of the earl of Lennox, and near to the succession of the English throne, since his mother was the daughter of Margaret Tudor, the widow of James IV., by her second husband the earl of Angus. Darnley, who had been brought up in England, was a sort of leader of the English Catholics, and Elizabeth was so disgusted with the marriage, that she incited Moray and the Scots nobles to rise in revolt against it. Mary now felt strong enough to act for herself.

The Darnley marriage, 1565.

She completed her marriage with Darnley, defeated Moray, and drove him out of Scotland.

22. Mary soon found that her husband was so foolish and treacherous that he was useless to help her to carry out her plans. She gradually gave her chief confidence to an Italian named David Riccio, whom she raised from the position of one of the singing-men of her chapel to be her secretary. Darnley grew furiously jealous of the Italian upstart, and joined with some of the Scottish nobles in an intrigue against him. On March 9, 1566, while Riccio was supping with the queen at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh, the conspirators suddenly burst into the room, dragged the shrieking secretary from her presence, and stabbed him to death in an ante-chamber. Stung to profound indignation by her favourite's murder, Mary kept her presence of mind with remarkable fortitude. She soon persuaded her weak husband to give up his associates and return to her side. Then she fell upon the murderers and drove them out of the country. Like Moray, they fled to England, where Elizabeth readily sheltered them. Three months after Riccio's murder, Mary's only child was born, the future James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

Murder of Riccio, 1566.

23. Mary and Darnley soon began to quarrel again. The queen now found a stronger and more capable instrument of her ambition in James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a ruffianly border noble of rare courage, energy, and cleverness. Mary became his absolute slave, and scandal became busy with their names. Bothwell made it his object to get Darnley out of the way so that Mary might be free to marry him. Accordingly he met some of the discontented nobles at Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh, where they signed what was called the *Bond of Craigmillar*, by which the conspirators pledged themselves to Darnley's death. Darnley, who was just recovering from a dangerous illness, now took up his quarters at a lonely house called the *Kirk o' Field*, a little to the south of Edinburgh. On the night of February 9, 1567, the Kirk o' Field was blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley's body was found not far from the ruined house. There can be no doubt that Bothwell had accomplished the murder. What share Mary had in it is not easy to determine; but it is probable that she both knew and approved of what Bothwell was doing, and it is certain that he in no wise forfeited her favour.

Murder of Darnley, 1567.

24. Lennox, Darnley's father, accused Bothwell of his son's

murder, and Mary, who was forced to seem anxious to avenge her husband's death, fixed a day for his trial. But good care was taken to make the proceedings a mere farce. Lennox himself was

afraid to appear, and no man ventured to give evidence against the queen's favourite. The court therefore acquitted Bothwell, and Mary made its action the excuse for once more giving him her open support. Even now she was afraid to wed herself to the man whom all suspected as her husband's assassin. It was accordingly arranged that Bothwell should fall upon her as she was riding from Stirling to Edinburgh and make a show of forcing her to become his wife. But the pretence was too transparent to deceive any one. All Scotland rose in revolt against the queen and her ruffianly husband. Even the nobles who had helped Bothwell were delighted to have an excuse in his crime for attacking the royal power. It was to no purpose that Mary, for the first and last time in her life, showed a disposition to abandon her religion rather than give up the fierce noble who had won her heart. She attended Protestant sermons, and sought to put herself at the head of the Protestant party. But the very soldiers she called upon to protect her from the rebels refused to strike a blow in her favour. At *Carberry Hill*, outside Edinburgh, her partisans deserted her, and she was taken prisoner by the rebel lords. Bothwell fled from Scotland, and died a few years later. Mary was deprived of her throne, and her infant son proclaimed James VI. Moray and the Protestant exiles returned and assumed the government in his name.

Deposition of the queen of Scots, 1567.

25. For nearly a year the deposed queen was kept a captive in the island-castle of *Lochleven* in Kinross-shire. But the victorious nobles soon began to quarrel among themselves, and in 1568 the great Clydesdale house of Hamilton raised a revolt in her favour. Mary escaped from Lochleven, and was once more at the head of an army. On May 13, however, she was defeated by Moray at *Langside*, near Glasgow. Unable to bear up any longer against her enemies in Scotland, Mary took the bold step of throwing herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth. She rode from the field of Langside to the Solway, crossed its waters in a fishing-boat, and landed in England, imploring her cousin's protection. From this moment a new stage in their rivalry began. The fugitive was henceforth to be a greater source of trouble to Elizabeth than ever she had been when mounted on the thrones of France and Scotland.

Mary's flight to England, 1568.

26. Elizabeth was immensely embarrassed by Mary's appeal. She dared not offend her allies, the Scottish Protestants, by restoring the exiled queen, and she was equally afraid to let her escape to France, where her claims on England might once more

be taken up. Yet she was almost equally alarmed at the prospect of keeping Mary in England, where she would be at hand to be the centre of every Catholic conspiracy, and might at any moment be raised from her prison to the throne. Under such circumstances Elizabeth found it easy to adopt the policy of hesitation and delay on which she was always willing to fall back. Her strongest reason for not helping Mary was the fatal business of the murder of Darnley. Accordingly, she announced that before taking any decided steps in the matter she must investigate the charges brought against the queen of Scots, and for that purpose she appointed a commission, at the head of which was the duke of Norfolk. Moray and the Protestant lords laid before this body all the evidence they could find as to Mary's guilt. Chief amongst it was a series of letters and love-poems, called the *Casket Letters*, because it was said that they had been found in a casket at Carberry Hill, at the time immediately before Mary's deposition. If genuine, the casket letters were convincing proofs of Mary's guilt, but her friends have always declared them to have been forged by Moray and his friends. Anyhow, the commissioners never came to any decision in the matter. Elizabeth preferred that Mary should be neither condemned nor acquitted, but rather remain in captivity under a cloud, so that she might be used or condemned accordingly as future events might determine. Mary was therefore retained in honourable imprisonment in England, while Moray and the Scots lords went back home, secure of Elizabeth's support.

Mary's imprisonment.

27. Eighteen years of plots and rebellions were Elizabeth's punishment for lacking courage to take a decided course. The next year (1569) the Catholics of the north rose in revolt under the leadership of the two chief representatives of the ancient noble houses that had so long been their natural leaders. These were Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland. It was another Pilgrimage of Grace, and showed that the north country was still strongly in favour of the old religion. An unsuccessful effort was made to free the queen of Scots, which was defeated by Mary being moved to the midlands far beyond the northerners' reach. Then the earl of Sussex put down the insurrection, and soon drove the two earls to find a refuge in exile. The collapse of the rebellion immensely strengthened Elizabeth's position. For the rest of her reign none of her enemies succeeded in exciting an open rising.

The revolt of the northern earls, 1569.

28. Other resources were still, however, open to the foes of Elizabeth. In 1570 the regent Moray was assassinated in Scotland, and three years of civil war and confusion ensued. These did nothing, however, to help Mary's cause, and in 1573 another strong regent was found in the earl of Morton, who successfully upheld Protestant ascendancy and good order in the name of the little James VI. Of more value to Mary than her brother's death was the intervention of the pope in her favour. The pope was now Pius V., an old Inquisitor, and a bitter, if high-minded, zealot for the Counter-Reformation. In February, 1570, Pius issued a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and deposing her from the throne. Parliament answered him by passing acts that made it treason to introduce papal bulls into the country or to become a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. Henceforward there was, as long as Elizabeth lived, war to the knife between England and Rome. It was almost impossible for an Englishman to remain a good Catholic and a faithful subject of Queen Elizabeth, and a series of Catholic plots to depose Elizabeth and put Mary in her place, showed the result of the pope's action on the minds of the more zealous of his disciples.

The bull of excommunication, 1570.

29. In 1571 a Florentine banker named Ridolfi, who had long resided in England, and was a secret agent of the pope and Philip of Spain, persuaded the duke of Norfolk to put himself at the head of a rebellion to release Mary Stewart and restore Catholicism. Norfolk, a son of the poet earl of Surrey, was the only duke left in England, and, though he had always conformed to Elizabeth's Church, he was very lukewarm in his support of the Reformation, and was indignant that a man of his high rank should have so little power at court. He was tempted by the proposal that he should be married to Mary, who might then be restored to the Scottish throne and recognized as Elizabeth's successor. After trying for a time to reconcile loyalty to Elizabeth with the acceptance of this glittering prospect, the duke was talked over by Ridolfi into overt treason. But Cecil and his spies had discovered all about the plot, and in 1572 Norfolk was convicted of treason and executed. For the next few years England enjoyed comparative peace. Despite the papal excommunication, Elizabeth seemed stronger than ever.

The Ridolfi plot, 1571.

30. France, distracted by civil war, had now dropped into a secondary position in politics. In 1572 Protestant Europe was horrified by the cold-blooded massacre of the French Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, at the instigation of Charles IX. This

was but an isolated act of cruel policy, and the French monarchy, floating helplessly between the Catholic and Protestant parties, was powerless to hurt England. Philip of Spain, as the avowed leader of Catholicism, was gradually becoming the supporter of the English Catholics and the chief hope of the captive queen of Scots. But Philip's attention was much taken up with other matters, and he was still so jealous of France that he tried to keep on good terms with England. Philip had had to contend since 1572 with a formidable revolt in the Netherlands, where his attempts to make himself a despot and to crush out Protestantism had completely failed. For five years his ruthless general Alva had ruled the *seventeen provinces of the Spanish Netherlands* with an iron hand. But it was impossible by persecution to change the faith of a whole nation, and the only result of Alva's repression was that Holland and Zealand, the most Protestant and energetic of the provinces, rose in revolt, and heroically defied the whole resources of the Spanish monarchy. Not only did Philip fail to put down the Hollanders; in 1576 all the other provinces followed their example, and united in the *Pacification of Ghent*, by which the Catholic and Protestant districts alike agreed to protect their ancient political liberties from Philip. This comprehensive union did not last long, and Philip's illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, who was now governor of the Netherlands, soon persuaded some of the southern provinces, which were mostly Catholic, to recognize Philip's rule on condition that he gave up his attacks on their political liberties. Thereupon the seven northern provinces, headed by Holland, formed in 1579 the *union of Utrecht*, by which they became a federal Calvinistic commonwealth under William, prince of Orange, as their *stadtholder*, or governor. Such was the origin of the *Dutch Republic* of the *Seven Provinces of the United Netherlands*. As England sympathized strongly with the rebels, there was fresh reason for ill-will between Elizabeth and Philip. But neither dared attack the other yet.

Philip II. and the revolt of the Netherlands.

31. Elizabeth found compensation for these troubles in the increasing loyalty of her subjects, and their increasing willingness to accept her ecclesiastical policy. So feeble was the position of Catholicism in England that the leaders of the Church took the alarm, and made a determined effort to rekindle the zeal of the English Romanists. A Lancashire priest named William Allen, who had forsaken his

The seminary priests.

country rather than recognize the royal supremacy, set up at *Douai*, within Philip's Netherlandish dominions, a college or *seminary*, to train young Englishmen for the priesthood, that they might return to their homes as missionaries of the old faith. The

college at Douai, soon transferred to *Reims*, in French territory, became very flourishing, and sent forth a stream of missionary clergy to England, where their energy gave new life to the Catholic cause. Up to this time many Roman Catholics had been content to attend the services of their parish churches, and

to take little part in politics. The *seminary priests*, as the pupils of the college were called, soon put an end to such laxity, and excited the alarm of the government. The severe laws passed in a panic in 1571 were employed against them, and in 1577 Cuthbert Mayne, executed at Launceston for denying the royal supremacy and having a papal bull in his possession, was the first Catholic martyr which Douai sent forth.

32. Three years later even greater fear was excited among the Protestants by the first appearance of the *Jesuits* in England (1580). Their leaders were Robert Parsons, a subtle and dexterous intriguer, and Edmund Campion, a high-souled enthusiast, who was careless about politics, and thought only of winning souls over to his Church. In great alarm fresh laws were passed against popish recusants, and a keen search made for the Jesuits, who wandered in disguise throughout the land, stirring up the zeal of their partisans. Parsons escaped to the continent in safety, but Campion was captured. He could not be proved to be disloyal to Elizabeth, and was cruelly tortured in the hope of extracting some sort of confession from him. In due course he was convicted and hung as a traitor at Tyburn. He was as much a martyr as any of the Protestants who suffered under Mary. During the rest of Elizabeth's reign scores of Catholic priests and laymen incurred the fate of Mayne and Campion.

The Jesuit invasion, 1580.

33. The sanguinary persecution of the missionaries had a sort of justification in the fact that many of them, like Parsons, were steeped to the lips in treason. Plot after plot was framed to compass Elizabeth's death and bring Mary to the throne. Philip of Spain gave help to the conspirators, and in 1584, on the failure of a scheme to murder Elizabeth, the Spanish ambassador was ordered to quit London. Burghley and Walsingham drew up a document called the *Bond of Association*, which all classes of Englishmen eagerly signed. The members of the bond pledged themselves to defend Elizabeth against her enemies, and bound themselves, in the event of her murder, to put to death any person on whose behalf the deed was committed. This meant that if Elizabeth were slain, the queen of Scots would be at once executed. In 1585 parliament legalised the association and passed fresh laws against the Catholics. It banished all Jesuits and seminary priests, and made the return of any one of them an act of treason.

The Bond of Association, 1584.

34. In 1586 a new plot was formed to murder Elizabeth. Its instigator was the seminary priest, John Ballard, and its instrument

a foolish and vain young Catholic gentleman, named Anthony Babington. Babington was so proud of his boldness that he rashly boasted of what he was going to do, and soon enabled Walsingham's spies to find out all about the conspiracy. At last Walsingham got into his hands letters of Mary written to Babington, in which she expressed her approval of the attempt to murder Elizabeth. Then he fell on Babington, and put him and his accomplices to death.

The Babington conspiracy, 1586.

35. The chief importance of the Babington conspiracy is that it supplied Walsingham with evidence of Mary's complicity in an assassination plot, and frightened Elizabeth, who had hitherto been afraid to proceed to extremities against Mary, into allowing the queen of Scots to be tried for treason. A court for the trial of Mary was held at *Fotheringhay Castle*, near Peterborough. Mary refused to answer before the court on the ground that as a crowned queen she was no subject of Elizabeth, and could not, therefore, commit treason against her. Nevertheless, she was, in October, 1586, sentenced to the block as a traitor, though Elizabeth long delayed the execution of the sentence. Parliament urged her in strong terms to put Mary to death at once, but Elizabeth delayed until February, 1587, before she would allow anything to be done. Even after signing the order for her rival's death, she would not allow it to be sent down to Fotheringhay, till at last the council, which fully shared the opinions of parliament, ordered Davison, the queen's second secretary, to despatch the warrant. On February 8, 1587, Mary was beheaded in the great hall of Fotheringhay Castle, meeting her end with rare courage and dignity. Elizabeth loudly protested that the deed was not of her ordering, and ruined the unlucky Davison for breaking her commands. This she did partly to evade responsibility, and partly so as to give some specious excuse to her ally, James VI., for his mother's execution. But Elizabeth was the chief gainer by her rival's death. There was no longer any use in murdering the queen of England when her successor would be the Protestant king of Scots. The worst of Elizabeth's troubles was over after the tragic fate of Mary Queen of Scots.

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 1587.

CHAPTER VII

THE LATTER YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (1587-1603)

Chief Dates:

1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1591. The fight of the *Revenge*.
1596. The capture of Cadiz.
1597. First Monopolies contest.
1598. The Irish rebellion.
1601. Second Monopolies contest.
1603. Death of Elizabeth.

1. During the years of Mary's imprisonment England and Spain were slowly drifting into war. Philip was the instigator of every plot for the release of the captive queen, and England retaliated by giving as much help to the Netherlandish rebels as Elizabeth would allow. Moreover, Philip sent, as we shall see, troops and priests to Ireland to stir up the Irish against England and Protestantism, while he kept up active intrigues in Scotland, and strove, though but to little purpose, to persuade James VI., who was now growing up to manhood, to take up the Catholic cause, and make efforts on behalf of his mother. There was even more friction between England and Spain by sea than by land, and each power had done so much harm to the other that in any ordinary times open war would certainly have ensued between them. Yet after nearly twenty years of ceaseless friction nominal peace still prevailed. This was partly due to the fact that both Elizabeth and Philip were somewhat irresolute in temperament and too timid to run the risks which war involved. But the chief reason of the hesitation of Philip was the general political condition of Europe. Though nearly thirty years had elapsed since the outbreak of a national war like those which had been waged before 1559, yet the old jealousy between France and Spain was by no means dead. Philip was still afraid that if he attacked England, France would take advantage of his plight and fall upon him with all her might.

The relations between England and Spain.

Thus it was that, though as the champion of Catholicism he would have dearly loved to conquer England, as the chief monarch of Europe he was so conscious of the risk to his authority that a fight with Elizabeth implied, that he still preferred to let things drift, and still professed to value English friendship after the feeling between the two countries had become very bitter.

2. Philip had a special motive for hesitation in the revolt of the Netherlands. Thanks to Don John of Austria, he was making slow but steady progress in winning back his position over the southern and central provinces, though the north still defied his efforts. Don John of Austria soon died, but a worthy successor to him was found in Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, one of the best generals of that age. His advance soon frightened both Elizabeth and Henry III. of France, and dread of the imminent triumph of Spain brought about for the moment that alliance between England and France which Philip dreaded more than anything else. It was proposed in 1581 to cement this friendship by a marriage between Elizabeth and Francis, duke of Anjou, the younger brother of Henry III., who in 1574 had succeeded his brother Charles IX. as king of France. The scheme was the more formidable to Philip since it was hoped that Anjou would be accepted by both the Protestant and Catholic Netherlanders as their ruler. Thus the result of the Anglo-French alliance was to be the establishment of a French prince on the ruins of the Spanish power in the Low Countries. It was as severe a blow as could be directed against Philip II.

Anglo-French intervention in the Netherlands.

3. There had been constant talk of the marriage of Elizabeth ever since her accession. Her people, anxious that she should have a direct heir, had long urged her to choose a husband, and Elizabeth had so far gratified them that she entered into numerous negotiations with a view to her marriage, though she had made up her mind never to share her throne with a husband. Now, when the queen was nearly fifty years of age, the most serious of her marriage projects was started. Anjou, an ugly, contemptible fellow, more than twenty years her junior, came to England, and Elizabeth received him as her future husband. Before long, however, realizing the folly of her position, she was glad to send off Anjou to the Netherlands, and showed an unwonted liberality in supplying him with men and money for carrying out his projects. Anjou's incompetence, however, soon wrecked all the fine schemes formed by England and

The Anjou marriage scheme, 1581.

France to lay low the power of Philip. In a short time he was driven away by the Netherlanders themselves, and went back to France, where he soon died. Long before this, the fantastic notion of wedding him to Elizabeth had been quite forgotten.

4. The chief importance of the Anjou marriage scheme was that it induced Elizabeth to take an active part in supporting the revolted Netherlanders against the king of Spain. After Anjou's failure, Parma renewed his advance, and soon the provinces were reduced to the greatest straits. In 1584 their heroic leader, William of Orange, was murdered by a Catholic fanatic. It was the same year in which Elizabeth expelled the Spanish ambassador for complicity in an assassination plot. In 1585 Parma captured *Antwerp*, and thus broke the back of the resistance of the southern provinces. In their despair the Netherlanders offered to make Elizabeth their ruler if she would protect them from Philip's assaults. Too prudent to accept this sovereignty, Elizabeth sent an army to help them, at the head of which she placed her favourite, the earl of Leicester. But Leicester was almost as incompetent as Anjou, and his arrival brought little relief. The most famous episode in his campaign was a fight against the Spaniards near *Zutphen*, in which his accomplished nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the pattern Elizabethan gentleman, poet, romance-writer, courtier, and soldier, received his death-wound. Before the end of 1586 Leicester quarrelled with the Dutch and went back to England. Then came the Babington conspiracy and the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. At last even the sluggish Philip felt that the cup of English offences was full to the brim, and prepared to wreak a signal vengeance upon the English heretics.

Leicester in the Netherlands, 1586.

5. A generation of conflict between Englishmen and Spaniards on the ocean made the long-delayed rupture more complete and more bitter. The discovery of America by Columbus had opened up for Spain a mighty empire in Southern and Central America, and had forced a nation of soldiers and priests to produce, almost in its own despite, navigators, colonisers, and traders. The commercial position of Spain was made much stronger when, in 1580, Philip conquered Portugal and its colonies, and so extended his power to Brazil and over the remnants of the great Eastern Empire which the Portuguese had set up, following on the tracks of Vasco da Gama, who had first discovered the sea-road to India and the East. At first the Spaniards and Portuguese had no rivals in their quest of wealth, conquest,

Spain and the Indies.

and adventure in strange lands. Least of all was competition to be expected from England, whose people, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, were distinguished neither for their seamanship, commerce, nor love of adventure. Englishmen remained what they had been in the Middle Ages, an easy-going, stay-at-home people, loving hard fighting and good living, but so indifferent to trade and money-making, that they were still content that the larger share of the external trade of their island should remain in the hands of foreigners.

6. Signs of a new spirit of activity were dimly discernible in early Tudor times. The marvellous discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama stirred the sluggish fancy of Henry VII., who sent John Cabot, a Venetian settled in Bristol, on a voyage to America, which resulted in the discovery of the coast of Labrador. Nothing practical came of this, however, until the private enterprise of the merchants of Bristol, the adopted home of Cabot, sent out expeditions of discovery that won for England a small share in the Newfoundland fisheries and the trade with West Africa. Plymouth adventurers, conspicuous among whom was William Hawkins, opened out commerce between England and South America. In London, the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, which, as the chief society of English traders, had long competed for the Baltic and Scandinavian markets with the German merchants of the Steelyard, showed, under the guidance of Sebastian Cabot, the son of the discoverer of Labrador, an enterprise foreign to earlier generations. In 1553, at Cabot's suggestion, the first native English voyage of discovery was undertaken by Sir Hugh Willoughby and his pilot, Richard Chancellor, who strove to open up new trading centres in northern and eastern lands, and to discover, if possible, a north-east passage to China through the Arctic seas. Ill luck attended this pioneer expedition, and only Chancellor with a few of the ships made any discovery of importance. He found his way into the White Sea, and opened up trading relations with Russia of such importance that a Muscovy or *Russia Company* was started to work it.

The beginnings of English maritime enterprise.

Chancellor's voyage, 1553.

7. Though Chancellor's voyage was undertaken under Mary, the new impulse which drove Englishmen to adventure and discovery was the direct result of the great stirring of men's minds that followed the Reformation. Though no theologians, and greedy, cruel, and reckless in their lives, most of the English

seamen were sound Protestants and great haters of the pope. Already in Mary's reign some of the Protestant refugees took to the sea and robbed their Catholic fellow-countrymen with special zest. A few years later the struggling Protestants of France and the Netherlands followed their example, and the *water-beggars*, as the Calvinist shipmen of Holland and Zealand were called, found an easy prey in the richly freighted galleons of Spain. Thus the Protestant sailors of England and Holland alike found that to plunder Spaniards was a shorter way to get rich than to trade honestly on their own account. Religious zeal made it a pious work to despoil the papist subjects of Philip II. Moreover, the Spaniards kept their American colonies under strict control, and claimed an absolute monopoly of trade with them. The dearness which followed monopoly made the Spanish colonists themselves welcome any merchants daring enough to disregard the navigation laws and sell them the goods of which they had urgent need. Hence smuggling commodities into Spanish colonies became another way of making money easily. The impulse to adventure had begun.

Protestantism and maritime adventure.

8. The special want of the Spaniards in America was that of labourers to work their mines and till their plantations. They were too few and too proud to work themselves in a tropical climate, and the native Americans of the West India islands died off like flies when forced to labour for their new masters. John Hawkins, son of the William Hawkins of the reign of Henry VIII., made voyages in his father's track, and soon learnt that an easy way to win riches was to kidnap or buy shiploads of strong and hardy negroes in West Africa, and sell them to the Spaniards in America and the West Indies. In 1562 and in 1564 Hawkins made two slaving voyages to the Guinea coast, and sold his human cargo to such profit in Hispaniola and Mexico that he came home a wealthy and a famous man. Philip II. was much incensed at the daring heretic. When, in 1567, Hawkins attempted a third voyage on a larger scale, the Spanish officials would not allow him to transact business. Hawkins tried to force his wares upon the colonists, but was entrapped into the narrow harbour of *Vera Cruz* in Mexico, and overborne by numbers. He lost most of his ships and profits, but returned safely to England, and showed the way to other adventurers. He was the founder of the negro slave-trade which made possible the colonization of tropical America by a planter aristocracy cultivating its lands by black labour, and which for more

Hawkins and the slave-trade, 1562-1567.

Voyages & Settlements of the 16th. Century
Spanish Settlements
Portuguese
Dutch
(after 1602)
Emery Walker sc.
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
(Unknown)
(Unknown)
White Sea
WILLOUGHBY & CHANCELLOR 1553
FROBISHER 1576
CABOT 1497
Labrador
Newfound-land
Plymouth
Azores
Cadiz
DRAKE 1580
Columbus 1492
Virginia
Mexico
DRAKE 1579
DRAKE 1578
DRAKE 1580
C. of Good Hope
INDIA
VASCO DA GAMA 1497
DRAKE 1579
Str. of Magellan
C. Horn

than two hundred years was to be a source of immense gain to English merchants. Neither English nor Spaniards had the least care of the cruelty and wickedness of this traffic in human flesh.

9. Hawkins was a mere man of business, though terribly efficient at his work. His example was soon followed by others, in some of whom his greedy commercial spirit was in somewise ennobled by romantic love of adventure and a sort of crusading enthusiasm against the Spanish papists. Conspicuous among the higher sort of explorers was Martin Frobisher, a Yorkshireman who made three voyages to the frozen coasts of Labrador in the hope of finding a north-west passage to China, and Francis Drake, a Devonshire man and a kinsman of Hawkins, who, after having on a voyage to Panama climbed a hill from which he could look down on the Pacific, formed a resolution to sail an English ship upon that strange ocean which had hitherto been navigated by the Spaniards alone. With this object Drake set forth in 1577 with a fleet of five small vessels, hoping to redeem his vow. He was away from England for three years, and met with countless perils from storms, mutinies, and the hostility of the Spaniards. He lost all his ships save his own vessel, the *Pelican*, which he rechristened the *Golden Hind*. He crossed the South Atlantic, sailed through the dangerous straits of Magellan to the open Pacific, where he plundered the Spaniards at his will, and at last, loaded with precious booty, sailed westwards over the Indian Ocean, and safely got home in 1580 by way of the Cape of Good Hope, being the first captain who had sailed round the world and returned alive to port. His success made him the hero of the moment, and Elizabeth, visiting the *Golden Hind* as it lay in the Thames at Deptford, dubbed him a knight on his own quarter-deck.

Drake's voyage round the world, 1577-1580.

10. The Spaniards rightly denounced Drake as a pirate, and demanded his surrender and the restitution of the property he had stolen. It was the time of the Jesuit invasion and the Anjou marriage scheme, and Elizabeth was of no mind to give up the adventurer to his enemies. She put off the Spaniards with fair words, and encouraged Drake as much as she could. New sources of offence now arose daily between the two countries. After the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador in 1584, Philip retaliated by confiscating all English ships and property found in his dominions. Drake and Frobisher were for the first time commissioned in the queen's service to make reprisals on Spanish ports. In 1585 they plundered

The breach between England and Spain, 1584.

Vigo, and led a fresh expedition to the West Indies. In 1587 the execution of Mary Queen of Scots at length goaded Spain into open war, and in great indignation Philip prepared a fleet that would avenge English insults to his coasts and his religion by pouring an army into their island. When his plans were still but half ready, Drake sailed into *Cadiz* harbour and sank or burnt his ships. Philip was more than ever bent upon revenge, and fitted out another fleet which was to invade England in 1588.

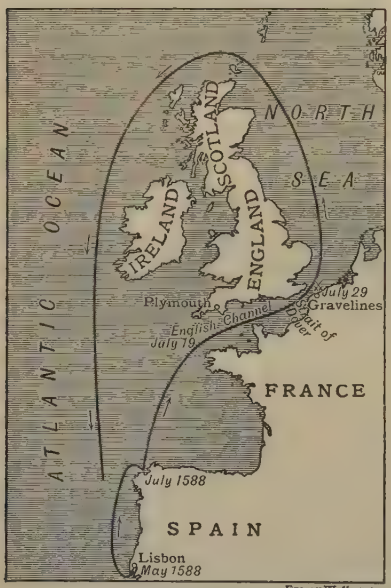
11. Philip's plan was to send his fleet to Flanders, whence it was to carry the duke of Parma's army over the narrow seas to England. It was hoped that on the landing of the Spaniards the English Catholics would gladly join with them in throwing off the yoke of the heretic queen, and William Allen, now made a cardinal, wrote an exhortation to the English to accept Philip as the executor of Pius V.'s sentence of deposition. Philip's hands were set free by the death of Mary, whom he had always suspected by reason of her French connections. He claimed the English throne himself, as a nearer descendant of John of Gaunt than the Tudors.

Philip's plans for invading England.

12. England had no regular troops to oppose the Spanish veterans, and her best chance was to meet her enemies at sea, where the English had so often beaten the Spaniards in recent years that they had no great reason to fear them now. Since Henry VIII.'s time the royal navy of England had been an efficient and growing force, and Hawkins, of late years *Treasurer to the Navy*, had built a large number of new ships, on better lines than any of the Spanish vessels. Lying lower in the water than the Spaniards, and with fewer "castles," or decks, piled up high fore and aft, the English vessels looked smaller than the Spanish, even when they were much of the same size. But they were easier to manage, more seaworthy, quicker, and better equipped than those of the enemy. Moreover, they were built to fight, and were not, like many of the Spaniards, mere transports crowded with soldiers, and ill found for a long voyage. Even the armed merchantmen which swelled the scanty numbers of the royal vessels were trained by a long career of privateering or piracy, and the crews, accustomed to the boisterous seas of the Atlantic fishing-grounds, were much better sailors than their opponents. Both fleets alike were commanded by great noblemen, the Spaniards by the duke of Medina Sidonia, a young grandee with no great knowledge of the sea, and the English by Lord Howard of Effingham, a cousin of the Norfolk beheaded in 1572. However, while the

The Spanish Armada, 1588.

subordinate commanders on the Spanish side were also noblemen whose experience was on land and whose skill that of the soldier, Lord Howard's immediate subordinates were practical seamen, who had already had long acquaintance with Spanish warfare. Sir Francis Drake was second and John Hawkins third in command, while the largest ship in the fleet had as its captain Martin Frobisher, who, with Hawkins, was knighted during the struggle. A land army was hastily levied, the command over which Elizabeth insisted on giving to Leicester, whose last months of life were devoted to this supreme service to his mistress. Despite the efforts of Allen, Catholics joined with Protestants in resisting the invaders. It was no longer a war of religions, but a struggle between two nations.



THE COURSE OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

13. The Spaniards were impressed by the magnitude of Philip's preparations, and proudly styled their fleet the *Invincible Armada*. Misfortune dogged its path from the beginning. Starting in May from Lisbon, it was driven back by rough weather and insufficient equipment into the ports of northern Spain, whence it did not finally sail until July. On July 19 the Armada entered the Channel, and was rapidly blown by a favourable south-wester towards the straits of Dover. The English admiral, who had waited for it in Plymouth Sound, allowed the enemy to pass his anchorage, whereupon he sailed out and closely hung upon the Spaniards' rear. A running fight ensued for the best part of a week. The English had the advantage of attacking on the windward side, and their greater power of sailing close to the wind enabled them to escape action at near

The Armada in the Channel.

quarters, which was what the Spaniards wanted. Ship after ship of the Armada was cut off and captured by the English. The long artillery fight used up the ammunition of both fleets. The English, however, could get fresh supplies from the shore, while the Spaniards had no such resource open to them. From the very beginning the Spaniards had the worst of the encounter, and at last cast anchor in Calais roads, fully conscious of failure.

14. Lord Howard now began to adopt bolder tactics. He drove the enemy from their anchorage by sending fireships among them, which forced them to cut their cables to avoid being burnt to pieces. Then, on July 29, the English bore down on the Spaniards off *Gravelines*, where the decisive battle was waged for nine hours without intermission. The Spaniards were likely to do better in a regular engagement than in the preliminary skirmishing. They now fought with great courage, and though beaten in the end, were able to retreat in good order. But as the wind still blew from the south, Sidonia's only way of retreat was to sail northwards, and finally make his way home by doubling the north of Scotland. High gales proved fatal to many of the war-worn and storm-tried ships, and many wrecks strewed the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland. It showed rare tenacity among the Spaniards that Sidonia was able to bring back nearly half his fleet to Spain.

The battle off Gravelines.

15. Thus the attack on England utterly failed. The defeat of the Armada left England free to settle her own destinies for herself, and saved English Protestantism. By making England a great naval power, it prepared the way for our commerce and colonies. It made easy the union with Scotland and the conquest of Ireland, which were soon to come. Nor were its effects limited to England. It inflicted the greatest check ever encountered on the triumphant forces of the Catholic reaction. It secured the freedom of the Seven United Provinces, which, like the fate of England, had hitherto been trembling in the balance. It thus limited the Spanish Netherlands to the Catholic provinces of the south.

Results of the Protestant victory.

16. Even in France the results of the Protestant victory were strongly felt. There the strife between Calvinists and Catholics had just reached its crisis. The weak Henry III. had been repudiated by the extreme Catholics, who looked upon Philip of Spain as their leader, and hoped with his help to make France as strenuous in its devotion to the old faith as was Spain itself. Henry was therefore forced

Henry IV., king of France, 1589.

to go over to the Protestants, and was soon afterwards murdered by a Catholic zealot. His death made his distant cousin, Henry, duke of Bourbon and king of Navarre, Henry IV. of France. Thus the house of Valois, which had reigned in France since 1328, gave place to the *house of Bourbon*, which was henceforth to rule France as long as France was to be governed by kings. Henry IV., though the Protestant leader, was no bigot, but a clear-headed, selfish, and capable politician, who looked on religion much in the same way as Elizabeth did. He saw that as a Protestant he had no chance of ruling France, so he turned Catholic, and soon the French, weary of religious warfare, rallied round him. His conversion meant that France remained a Catholic country, but it was a liberal, tolerant Catholicism, very different from the bigoted faith of Spain. Henry gave the Protestants toleration by the *edict of Nantes*, showed that, like Elizabeth, he wished to be king over all his people, restored the declining fortunes of France, and gradually won back for it the first place in Europe. With this object he formed a close alliance with the English queen against Spain, and for ten more years both powers were at war against Philip. In 1598 Philip made peace with France, and died shortly afterwards. With him ended the greatness of Spain.

17. England and Spain continued fighting until after the death of Elizabeth. The main struggle was still at sea, where the efforts of England were not so successful as they had been earlier. Thus, in 1589, Drake failed in an attack on Lisbon; and in 1591 an expedition sent to the Azores under Lord Thomas Howard was compelled to retreat before a stronger Spanish fleet. One of Howard's ships, the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, was so slow in withdrawing that it was cut off from its fellows by the Spanish fleet. Thereupon Grenville formed the rash resolve to cut his way through the whole of the enemies' squadron. He was soon assailed on every side, and, mortally wounded after a long resistance, was forced to surrender. He showed such heroism that the fight of the *Revenge* was long remembered among the most brilliant deeds of English seamen.

The war with Spain, 1589-1603.

The fight of the "Revenge," 1591.

18. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins led a last expedition to the West Indies. The Spaniards were now used to the English way of fighting, and better prepared to meet it. Accordingly the fleet captured no treasure and won few successes. Both Drake and Hawkins died at sea, and altogether the voyage was a failure. Next year Philip fitted out

The capture of Cadiz, 1596.

a new Armada at Cadiz, whereupon Lord Howard of Effingham and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, sailed to the Spanish port, destroyed the ships in harbour after a fierce fight, and took Cadiz itself by storm. This rude lesson kept the Spaniards quiet for some years, and, after Philip II.'s death in 1598, the war languished for the rest of the reign.

19. The last years of Elizabeth's reign saw the first attempts to found English colonies in America. As early as 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert strove to plant an English settlement on the dreary coast of *Newfoundland*, but failed utterly, and perished at sea on his way home. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, the most brilliant and many-sided of the Devonshire heroes of the reign, took up Gilbert's ideas, and between 1585 and 1590 made three attempts to set up an English colony in a part of the mainland of North America, which he called *Virginia*, in honour of the virgin queen. But Raleigh was too busy pushing his fortunes at court to go himself to Virginia, and, without his guidance, the effort came to nothing. When the queen died there was not a single English settlement on the American continent.

The first attempts at English colonies.

20. Englishmen who wished to find a new home beyond sea obtained what they sought in Ireland rather than over the Atlantic. We have seen how, under Henry VIII., the first English king of Ireland, vigorous efforts had been made to make the rule of the English monarchs a reality, and the limited amount of success that had attended them. They were continued under his two daughters, and the first great extension of the English power occurred under Mary, when the districts called *Leix* and *Offaly*, hitherto governed by Irish clan chieftains, were conquered by the queen's *deputy*, or governor, the earl of Sussex, and were made, as the phrase went, *shire-ground*. By that it was meant that, as in Wales, the setting up of English law followed the establishment of new counties. The newly conquered Irish districts were called *King's County* and *Queen's County*, and their county towns *Philipstown* and *Maryborough*, in honour of Philip and Mary. This was the last advance of the English power in Ireland during the days when English and Irish, though divided by race and language, still agreed about religion.

Ireland under Mary Tudor.

21. Elizabeth extended to Ireland her English ecclesiastical policy, though there were few Protestants there, either among the native Irish or the Norman lords. She was so thrifty, and had so

much to do at home, that she was very anxious not to incur expense by pursuing an energetic policy in Ireland, and was willing to rule the island through the local chieftains, as her father had done. Quarrels among the O'Neills, the chief native Irish sept, or family, in Ulster, soon made this idea impracticable. The head of the O'Neills had been made earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII. in the hope of winning him over to the English side. Shane O'Neill, the ablest and fiercest of his sons, was disgusted to find his father obtain from the English permission to make another of his children his successor as earl. He therefore rose in revolt, murdered his brother, and drove his father out of the country. The O'Neills elected the victorious Shane as chief of the sept, or, as he was called, The O'Neill, and the successful rebel made himself absolute master of Ulster. Elizabeth strove in vain to treat with him, but Shane was so strong that he openly defied her; and in 1567, the deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, the father of Sir Philip, was compelled to wage war against him. Before long Shane was murdered by a rival clan which envied the power of the O'Neills.

Shane O'Neill and Elizabeth, 1558-1567.

22. Sidney made Ulster shire-ground, and Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex, tried to establish a settlement of Protestant colonists in Antrim, which was soon an utter failure. Before long Ulster fell back into its old lawless freedom, and Sidney's work seemed to be altogether in vain. A great change was now beginning to bring Irish politics into closer relations with the great world. Up to now Ireland had been quite separated from all European movements. But the constant trouble which Ireland gave Elizabeth tempted the queen's Catholic enemies to avail themselves of the Irish hatred of England and the English religion, and make their land a centre of the Counter-Reformation. The pope sent priests and the king of Spain sent soldiers to Ireland, and these kindled a new rebellion in 1579. This was not, like the revolt of Shane O'Neill, the work of a native clan. Its centre was the Munster branch of the great Norman house of Fitzgerald, whose head was the earl of Desmond. Elizabeth put down the revolt with great cruelty, and reduced the Desmond country to a desert. The rebels' lands were forfeited to the crown, and in 1584 a systematic attempt was made to establish English colonists in Munster. This was called the *Plantation of Munster*. The forfeited estates were divided among gentlemen adventurers, who were to let out their

Ireland and the Counter-Reformation.

The Desmond rebellion, 1579, and the Plantation of Munster.

lands to English farmers. But most of the grantees remained in England, and sought to make profit out of their estates by hiring them out for as much rent as they could get. Few Englishmen would pay high rents for land in Ireland, where they stood a good chance of being murdered by the natives, and were certain to live rough and uncomfortable lives. The result was that the Plantation of Munster proved a failure. A few poor gentlemen, one of whom was the poet Edmund Spenser, settled down in the old homes of

IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS.

the Desmonds, but the mass of the forfeited lands were granted to Irishmen, who alone would offer the impossible terms demanded by their landlords. Before long rebellion made short work of the scattered English settlers, and the only real result of the movement was the establishment of some great English landlords in the estates once held by the Desmond family.

23. The suppression of the Desmond revolt left Ireland in comparative peace for twenty years. During this period bitter hatred of

the English and the new zeal of the Irish for Catholicism were rapidly breaking down the barriers which separated clan from clan and the old Irish from the descendants of the Normans. When revolt again broke out in 1598, it was not confined to a single family, race, or district. When the head of the O'Neills, Shane's nephew Hugh, earl of Tyrone, raised Ulster, he had among his supporters the rival clan of the O'Donnells, because he was not like Shane fighting simply for his own clan, but for the pope and all Ireland. Moreover, the rising spread to Munster, where the return of the exiled earl of Desmond gave the signal for a general revolt, which soon swept away the English colonists. Soon all Ireland was ablaze with rebellion. It was the first combined national and Catholic movement against English supremacy.

The Irish revolt of 1598.

24. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the son of the would-be colonizer of Antrim, and the hero of the Cadiz expedition of 1596, was a gallant and showy young nobleman, and the chief favourite of the old queen. Though his waywardness had already irritated his sovereign, she entrusted him, in 1599, with the difficult task of suppressing the Irish rising. Essex, however, managed matters very incompetently, and soon gave up the task in disgust. In 1600 a stronger ruler was found in Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, under whom the Irish resistance was gradually broken down. Though a large Spanish force come to their help, Mountjoy's energy and ruthlessness finally prevailed over all opposition. The O'Neills held out longest, but about the time of Elizabeth's death, Mountjoy pressed them so hard that Tyrone was forced to make his submission. Thus Ireland was at last conquered; but the cruelty of the process, largely the result of the queen's over-thriftiness, left the bitterest memories behind it. The Irish loathed the foreign yoke, and were only kept down by sheer force.

Essex in Ireland, 1598.

Mountjoy suppresses the rebellion, 1600-1603.

25. While Ireland was thus conquered by Elizabeth, important steps were being taken to bring about the union of Britain. Wales, united to England on equal terms by Henry VIII., was under Elizabeth for the first time won over to Protestantism by native bishops, of whom the most important was William Morgan, bishop of St. Asaph, whose single-minded zeal procured the publication of a translation of the whole Bible into Welsh, so that it became easy to preach Protestantism with effect to the Welsh people in their own tongue. Moreover, the new friendship which common Protestantism had

Steps towards British unity.

brought about between England and Scotland was working out its natural results. Though the will of Henry VIII. had provided that the succession to the English throne should go to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, duchess of Suffolk, no one paid any serious regard to the children of Lady Catharine Grey, Lady Jane's sister. It was generally agreed that when the old queen died, the next monarch would be the king of Scots, though Elizabeth herself was so jealous of power that she could never bear to have mentioned the question of the succession.

26. The last years of the reign of Elizabeth were a period of wonderful prosperity. Britain was at peace; Ireland was being conquered; the Spaniards were beaten, and the pope and the Jesuits were no longer dangerous. The newly found restlessness and energy which had disputed with Spain the sovereignty of the seas, and won for England the beginnings of her commerce and maritime greatness, found other outlets in the most wondrous outburst of literature that England was ever to witness. Hardly moved by these new glories, Elizabeth grew old in increasing loneliness as her old favourites and ministers were taken away by death. Burghley, the last of the band, died in 1598, and was lucky in handing on his power to his son, Sir Robert Cecil. While Robert Cecil upheld the cautious views of his father, Essex and Raleigh represented the party that wished to prosecute the war with Spain with more activity than the prudent Cecils would allow. Essex, the favourite of the queen's old age, finally lost her favour by his incompetence in Ireland. On his return without leave from his Irish government, Elizabeth put him into prison. He was soon released, but ordered not to show himself at court. Like a spoilt child he fretted under his sovereign's displeasure. As he could not persuade Elizabeth to receive him again, he strove, in 1601, to excite a revolt among the Londoners, hoping thereby to drive the Cecils from power and compel the old queen to readmit him to his former position. Essex's attempt utterly failed, and he was convicted and executed as a traitor. The result of his folly was to establish Robert Cecil more firmly than ever as chief minister until the old queen's death.

The Cecils, Essex, and Raleigh.

27. As troubles from abroad lessened, Elizabeth had increased difficulties with her own subjects. Some of this was perhaps due to that arbitrary temper which resented all opposition as disloyalty, and continued measures barely justifiable in a time of great crisis when the crisis was almost over. Thus Whitgift continued to harry the Puritans as if their excesses were still a danger to

Protestantism. Long after England had ceased to have any real need to fear the pope, the Roman Catholics were still persecuted almost as cruelly as in the days of the life-and-death struggle of the two faiths in the years immediately succeeding the bull of Pius V. The prisons remained crowded with popish recusants, and the ghastly executions of Catholic priests as traitors were still numerous. But, in addition to her old troubles, Elizabeth now had to face difficulties in dealing with her parliaments.

Continued persecution of Puritans and Catholics.

28. Like Henry VIII., Elizabeth had striven to base her government on the support of parliament. Even under Mary the House of Commons had begun to show signs of restiveness, and Elizabeth was soon to discover that the days of her father were over, and that neither Lords nor Commons would submissively ratify all her commands. Her early parliaments gave her general support, and were liberal in making grants, but they irritated her by urging her to marry, to conciliate the Puritans, and take up a more Protestant foreign policy. She therefore resolved to have as little to do with parliaments as she could, and practised great parsimony so as to avoid frequent occasion for calling them together, so that there were only thirteen sessions of parliament during the forty-five years of her reign. Moreover, she showed much skill in keeping the House of Commons in good humour whenever she had occasion to assemble it. She increased her influence over it by creating a large number of new boroughs, mostly small places, which were sure to return any members that she selected. Sir Robert Cecil also, though her chief minister, remained a commoner, and sat in every parliament, being perhaps the first English statesman who took great pains to manage the House of Commons and persuade it to uphold his policy. If parliament got out of hand, Elizabeth did not scruple to rebuke it, to silence it, or to send the leading commoners to the Tower. Such arbitrary action only increased the Commons' irritation, and made them excessively jealous of their rights.

Elizabeth and her Parliaments.

29. Elizabeth's tact and insight, and the Commons' confidence in her general policy, postponed serious conflict until the concluding years of her reign. At last, in 1597, the Commons sent up a grave remonstrance against the queen's overlavish grants of monopolies. A *monopoly* was the exclusive right to sell a certain article, so that the holder of the privilege could enrich himself by raising its price without fear of competition. Such an exclusive right given to an

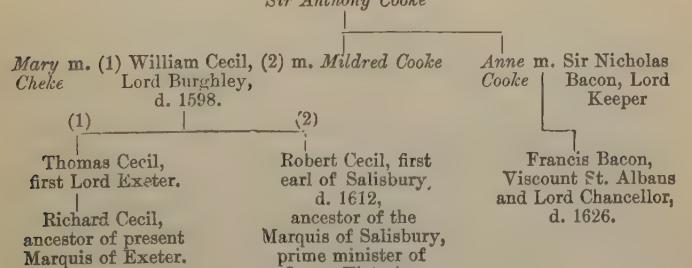
The Monopolies contest, 1597 and 1601.

inventor or discoverer is common enough nowadays, and does more good than harm. But Elizabeth found that the grant of a monopoly was the cheapest way in which she could reward her favourites and courtiers, and she soon created so many monopolies in common articles of necessity that they became a serious burden to her people. Even the remonstrances of the parliament of 1597 bore little fruit, and in 1601 a new parliament met and renewed the complaints of its predecessor. When the list of monopolies was read before the Commons, a member exclaimed, "Is not bread among the number? Nay, but it will be if no remedy be found before the next parliament." So loud was the outcry that Elizabeth gave way. She promised to revoke all monopolies that weighed heavily upon her people, and graciously thanked the Commons for calling her attention to grievances of which otherwise she would have had no knowledge. Thus her tact triumphed over the arbitrary temper of her family, and though England had outgrown the Tudor despotism, men bore willingly the rule of so popular a queen and so good an Englishwoman.

30. Elizabeth's health was now breaking up, but she still refused to nominate her successor, though all her ministers wished to have the king of Scots. As she lay dying, they urged her to declare her wishes. When her statesmen spoke of the king of Scots, she gave no sign; but when they mentioned Lord Beauchamp, the son of Catharine Grey, she fired up, and cried, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat!" At last she died on March 24, 1603, when nearly seventy years old

Death of Elizabeth, 1603.

THE CECIL AND BACON FAMILIES


Sir Anthony Cooke
Mary Cheke m. (1) William Cecil, Lord Burghley, d. 1598.
(2) m. Mildred Cooke
Anne Cooke m. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper
(1)
(2)
Thomas Cecil, first Lord Exeter.
Richard Cecil, ancestor of present Marquis of Exeter.
Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, d. 1638.
Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, d. 1612, ancestor of the Marquis of Salisbury, prime minister of Queen Victoria.
Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans and Lord Chancellor, d. 1626.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS

1. The Tudor period saw the end of the Middle Ages, and the beginnings of modern times. It was a season of great revolutionary changes. It was the age of the Renascence, or the new birth of thought, and learning, and of the Reformation which saw the break up of the unity of the Church of the Middle Ages. Though the Counter-Reformation threatened both Renascence and Reformation, it was, so far as England went, powerless to change the direction of our national life. Elizabeth saved the Reformation which Henry VIII. had begun, and restored the greatness of the English state. Under her the Renascence first took a firm hold of her people, and manifested itself in the great outburst of many-sided energy that marked the last five and twenty years of her reign.

The beginnings of modern times.

2. Such a time of revolutionary storms needed strong pilots to steer the ship of state, and the veiled despotism of the Tudors gave England a form of government which carried it successfully through the age of crisis. Yet the vigorous power exercised by these sovereigns was not due to any formal change in the constitution so much as to the confidence of the people, the ability of the monarchs, the needs of the times, and the decay of the two great checks that had curbed the power of mediæval monarchs. The Church had fallen, and the nobility had lost its old independence. Prelate and noble, the rivals of earlier kings, were now the chief supports of the throne. The independent Commons had not yet arisen.

The Tudor monarchy.

3. Parliament continued to hold its ancient position, and it was a part of Tudor statecraft to obtain parliamentary sanction for its most arbitrary acts. Up to the end of Elizabeth's reign the Commons could always be trusted to endorse the royal policy. Changes in the constitution of parliament tended to increase its subservience on the crown. Thus the House of Lords became quite different from the House of Lords of

Parliament under the Tudors.

the Middle Ages. It had been an independent body, mainly ecclesiastical in character. It became a preponderatingly lay assembly, and strictly submissive to the crown. Even before the mitred abbots were removed by Henry VIII. there was a small lay majority. After 1539 the ecclesiastical element, only represented by the bishops, became insignificant. Even a more important change was brought about by the dying away of the ancient baronial houses, and the rise in their place of new families, enriched by the spoils of the monasteries, and owing their importance to the service of the crown. Few old families like the Howards, Nevilles, and Percies still stood out among the Russells, Cavendishes, Cecils, and other ministerial houses of recent date. Though the number of lay peers was still very small, the majority was well under the control of the crown. Not many Tudor bishops were bold enough to disobey the orders of their supreme governor. While the Lords on the whole declined in number, the number of the Commons was added to by Henry VIII.'s new members from Wales and Cheshire, and by frequent creations of boroughs. Many of these latter were places of no importance, and were called upon to return members only in order to increase the influence of the crown.

4. There was little friction between crown and parliament, since the province of the two authorities were recognized as distinct. Parliament raised taxes, passed laws, and sent up complaints if anything went amiss. The spending of money, and the execution of the laws were entirely in the hands of the crown. The great feature of the constitutional history of the time is the strengthening of the executive power of the monarchy, both in its central and local organs.

Harmony between Crown and Parliament.

5. The king was his own chief minister, and held in his own hands all the strings of policy. But the task of ruling a great country was so laborious that he was forced to share the burden with his ministers. These ministers were partly great noblemen, who held as of prescriptive right the ancient high offices of state, such as those of treasurer, admiral, or chancellor. But a great noble was not always clever or hard-working, and could not always be trusted to play the king's game. The result was that important and confidential business was increasingly left to the king's secretaries, who were beginning to be called under Elizabeth the *secretaries of state*. The Tudor secretaries were men of humbler rank than the high officials. They were professional statesmen, and quite devoted to their master. From their staff of clerks and subordinates we have

The king and his ministers.

the beginning of the elaborate civil service and the complicated machinery of government of the modern state.

6. When the king wanted advice he went to his council, now sometimes called the *privy council*. This was a smaller and more confidential body than the *Concilium ordinarium* of earlier times, which was now practically extinct. The Tudor council was a small board of less than twenty members, and including as a rule men of different ways of thinking, so that the king could hear all sorts of opinions in it. It was so active and powerful that the Tudor period has well been described as the age of government by council. Yet it was the king or queen that acted: the council only advised. When the crown had decided, it was the business of the council to carry out the royal will. Besides its main consultative and administrative function, the council issued *ordinances* or *proclamations*, which were not very different from new laws, and which encroached on the powers of Parliament. In the same way the council encroached upon the law courts by its ever-increasing judicial activity.

The Council.

7. The jurisdiction of the council was an inheritance from the Middle Ages, but was largely added to in Tudor times. Its judicial functions were largely handed over to a standing committee, which sat permanently at Westminster, while the king's council still followed the court. This body, which acquired the name of the *Star Chamber* from holding its sessions in a room whose ceiling was painted with stars, became in substance the council in its judicial aspect, including such of his councillors as the king chose to summon to it and some of the chief judges. It did good work all through Tudor times, partly by making great offenders obey the law, and partly by taking a quicker, wider, and more equitable view of cases than was possible for the common law courts with their stiff traditions of what the law should be. A feature of Tudor times was the establishment of local courts of the same type as the Star Chamber, such as the *Council of the North* at York, and the *Council of Wales* at Ludlow. The *Court of High Commission*, set up at Elizabeth's accession, did for the Church what the other prerogative courts did for the state. This last body always provoked much opposition, but it was hardly until Stewart times that the lay courts became oppressive. All, however, owed their authority to the crown, and worked without a jury and without the traditional regard to fixed legal principles which were both the glory and the limitation of the common law courts.

The Star Chamber and the local councils.

8. Local administration was in the hands of the country gentry. The shire moot was now obsolete except for parliamentary elections, having been superseded by the *justices of the peace*, who acted under royal commissions, yet were not state officials, but the independent and unpaid gentry of the district. The justices as individuals tried petty offenders, and all the justices of the county met from time to time in *quarter sessions*, which discharged the whole functions of local government. It is characteristic of the popular character of the Tudor monarchy that it felt itself strong enough to hand over such important work to the local gentry. The schooling in law and administration which his work as justice gave every country squire was of immense importance in preparing the way for the time when a new generation of the landed gentry led in the House of Commons the revolt against the Stewarts.

Local government.

9. Another aspect of the popular Tudor despotism was its power to govern without the aid of a strong military force. There were no regular soldiers in Tudor England, save a corps of *yeomen* to guard the king's person, and the permanent garrisons of Calais, Berwick, and a few fortresses. Henry VIII. hired foreign mercenaries in the latter years of his reign, but they soon disappeared after his death. The main defence of the country still fell upon the local *militia*, to serve in which was one of the duties of a citizen. It was commanded by a *lord lieutenant*, appointed for every county since the days of Edward VI. and Mary. Under him were *deputy-lieutenants*, who belonged, like the justices of the peace, to the local gentry. Thus even military commands were entrusted by the Tudors to the country squires. More was done by the state for the navy than the army, but even in a crisis like the Armada, the forces of the crown had to be supplemented by armed merchantmen.

Military weakness of the Crown.

10. Competition became fiercer, and careers were more readily opened to talent as the modern spirit became stronger. The suppression of the monasteries did much to uproot the old social and economic order, and the annals of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. show how the spirit of unrest was abroad, and how much suffering was involved in the displacement of the ancient landmarks. Yet class distinctions remained strong, even when it was easier to rise from one class to another. The gentry were still a class apart from the rest of the community; but the professional and merchant classes were attaining increased

Social and economic changes.

importance. The one great mediæval profession, that of the clergy, lost power, wealth, and social estimation. A married clergy found it hard to live on the scanty remnants of the old endowments, and a large proportion of the parish priests were ill educated as well as poor. But lawyers made great fortunes, and the medical profession begins to have a status when Henry VIII. set up the *Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons*. Trade grew, and with it the wealth and importance of the merchants, until the highest classes in the land became infected with the commercial spirit. Elizabeth herself took shares, and made her profit out of Drake's piratical attacks on Spain. Landholders regarded their estates as a commercial investment which must return them a high rate of interest for their outlay. The permanent result of this spirit was by no means all evil. As the century grew old, new ways of employment were opened up, which got rid of the sturdy beggar more effectively than the cruel laws of an earlier time. Corn-growing again became profitable as population increased and markets were developed. Fresh crops, such as hops and many new fruits and vegetables, were introduced from the continent, and before the great queen's death the cultivation of the potato was brought in from America. There were more manufactures, and emigration, especially to Ireland, afforded careers for those without occupation at home. Thus both the yeomen and the craftsmen flourished. Many yeomen were able to buy up the lands of the unthrifty gentry, and the successful trader from the towns was constantly becoming absorbed in the landed classes. Anxiety to keep up the supply of skilled workmen took the shape of Elizabeth's famous *Act of Apprentices* of 1563, which declared that no one should exercise a trade until he had served a seven years' apprenticeship in it. The same year saw the first attempt of the state to set up a systematic and compulsory system of poor relief. This culminated in the most famous of the Elizabethan *poor laws*, passed in 1601. By it the justices were empowered to nominate *overseers* in every parish, and these had authority to tax every inhabitant, so as to provide the sums necessary to support the poor of the parish. Thus grew up our system of poor relief, which remained much the same until the new poor law of 1834.

The Poor Laws.

11. One sign of the growth of English resources was the wonderful raising of the material standards of comfort and civilization. The gross abundance of earlier times had given Englishmen plenty to eat and drink, and the upper classes lived in great

outward state and magnificence. Now the ordinary man's house was built more solidly and comfortably, and lovers of old ways denounced the effeminate luxury that rejected round logs for pillows and bolsters, clean straw or rushes for carpets and tapestry, and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke for a chimney. Forks came into general use instead of fingers. Food also became more varied and wholesome. The introduction of hops improved the quality of beer, and towards the end of the period American explorers introduced a new luxury in tobacco. Men ate so much flesh meat that the state, not so much for religious reasons as for the sake of encouraging the fisheries, strove to keep up the old habit of fasting on Fridays. Dress became exceedingly rich and gorgeous, and the clothes both for men and women became less tasteful and more barbaric in Elizabeth's days. Conspicuous articles of ladies' attire were the *ruff*, an exaggerated collar, towering high above the neck, and the *farthingale*, or hoop, which assumed a ridiculous stiffness and enormous dimensions.

Increase of refinement and luxury.

12. Education became wider, and affected larger classes of society. Though the changes in religion resulted in much unnecessary havoc among the schools and colleges that had come down from the Middle Ages, some effort was made to set up new ones in their place, and education was no longer regarded as simply a training for scholars and professional men. A certain amount of culture was demanded from every gentleman and lady. A gentleman was expected to be well read, fond of poetry and music, an expert in fencing and horsemanship, polished in his manner, and elegant in his garb. For an education so comprehensive as this, travel was one of the best schools, and the educated scholar and gentleman made a point of going abroad, particularly to Italy, which was still the traditional centre of European intellectual life. Lovers of old ways complained that many Englishmen got more harm than good from their foreign experience, and denounced the profligacy and irreligion that too often made the "Italianate Englishman a devil incarnate." Travel was facilitated by the better police of the seas that kept down piracy, and within England by the introduction of coaches, which, however heavy and cumbrous they seem to us, were denounced as dangerous luxuries, only permissible to the aged and infirm. Men still mainly made their journeys on horseback, and gentlemen carried arms, partly as a sign of their gentility, but partly as a means of protection against the robbers that infested every highway.

Education and travel.

13. Another sign of modern times was the dying out of Gothic architecture, though this took place very slowly. Under Henry VIII. so stately a Gothic building as Bath Abbey could still be erected, while the methods of mediæval construction lingered on, notably at Oxford and Cambridge, until the middle of the seventeenth century. The age of the Reformation did not build churches, but pulled them down, so that it is to domestic and civil rather than to ecclesiastical architecture that we must look if we would study the change of fashion that now came in. Italian influence made itself felt about the middle of the century, though few great houses were erected in the pure Renascence or Italian style. The gorgeous palaces of Elizabethan nobles were still Gothic in their general outline, but the details and the ornamentation were those which the classic revival had borrowed from Italy. As good examples of this mixed *Elizabethan* or *Jacobean* style, as it is called, we may mention the two great houses of Burghley, near Stamford, and Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, which were erected by William and Robert Cecil. Though the style may easily be criticized as a confused medley of different types, it is picturesque, appropriate, and dignified. The mansions erected in it were much more comfortable to live in than the castles of the Middle Ages.

Renascence architecture.

14. Other arts were less flourishing than architecture. There was a real English school of Church musicians, and the Elizabethan composers could set appropriate music to the delicate lyrics of the best age of English song-writing. English painting and sculpture were, however, at a low ebb, as many a bad picture in old houses, and still more numerous stiff and clumsy sculptured tombs of Elizabethan worthies show. Henry VIII., who loved art and splendour, gave pensions to foreign artists, though many of them were not much more skilled in their craft than their English rivals. Some of Henry's foreign artists, however, were men of real distinction. The Italian sculptor, Torrigiano, wrought for him the beautiful effigies of Henry VII. and the Lady Margaret Beaufort, his mother, in the new Henry VII.'s chapel of Westminster Abbey, which is itself one of the glories of sixteenth-century Gothic architecture. The German Hans Holbein spent nearly twenty years in England in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., and has painted and drawn the men of that age with uncompromising truthfulness and consummate technical skill. Very inferior to this great artist were the commonplace painters who came from Italy and Flanders to portray the worthies of the age of Elizabeth.

Other arts.

15. For the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century the output of good literature in England was not great. But the activity of the numerous printing-presses showed how love of learning and a taste for reading had spread. Poets still followed the fashion set by Chaucer, but it was in Scotland rather than in England that the Chaucerian tradition was most fruitful of good work. The real literary importance of the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign is not so much the actual literature produced as the impulse which men like Colet and More set towards the humanism of the Renascence. The most notable book produced by this circle of reformers was More's *Utopia*. Though written in Latin, it was, as we have seen, very definitely English in its unsparing analysis of the evils from which our country was then suffering. The next generation saw the effects of the Reformation in such work as Latimer's homely and outspoken *Sermons*, while the habitual use of the various English translations of the *Bible* and of the Edwardian *Book of Common Prayer* did much to set up a high standard of dignified English prose. The fashion of writing became less cumbrous and more direct in the straightforward English, written much after the fashion of homely speech, which came from the pen of the schoolmaster and reformer, Roger Ascham, whose works mark the beginnings of a more modern style of English prose.

Early Tudor literature.

16. Towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign a new school of poets arose, which derived its chief impulse from Italy. At its head were Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the headstrong lord beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1547, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, the father of the rebel against Queen Mary. This school brought in Italian metres such as the *sonnet* and *blank verse*, and their occasional poems became widely read in manuscript in courtly circles, though they were first printed in Tottel's *Miscellany*, a collection of verses published by a bookseller named Tottel in the reign of Queen Mary. From the issue of this epoch-making collection the new inspiration to poetry began. It was, however, but very slowly that the new spirit made itself generally felt. The first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth were not much more productive than the generation that preceded them. Then the true Elizabethan literature burst forth with strange suddenness and overwhelming glory, in those days of fierce struggle when England was fighting for her existence against the Jesuits and the Spaniards, when Drake was sailing round the world, and when Gilbert and Raleigh were first dreaming of

The beginnings of Elizabethan literature.

an English colonial empire. A wonderful output of the noblest works illustrated the last five and twenty years of the queen's reign, and continued well into the next century. Much of what is most distinctly regarded as Elizabethan was written under James I.

Spenser and the poets.

17. The publication of Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* in 1579 begins the flowering time of Elizabethan poetry, and revealed to the world the greatest poet of the new era. Spenser was soon called away from literary work to take part in the plantation of Munster, whence, after twenty years of prosperity, he was driven out by the last Desmond rebellion, to die ere long in London, poor and disappointed, but never neglected. His great unfinished epic, the *Faerie Queen*, written in Ireland, and published in 1589 and 1598, sets forth in the richest and most musical of verse all that was best in the spirit of the English Renascence—imagination, chivalry, love of beauty, enthusiasm for knowledge, delight in allegory, mystery, adventure, and fairy tales, burning devotion to England and her queen, earnest moral purpose, and fierce hatred of the pope and Spain. Spenser's work stands alone, but some share of his poetic spirit was reflected in a crowd of lesser writers. His love-sonnets increased the fashion for long *sonnet cycles*, which had already obtained much vogue through the following of foreign examples, and through the sonnets wherein Spenser's friend and patron, Sir Philip Sidney, described his unhappy love for Stella. This tendency reached its supreme height in the wonderful sonnets of Shakespeare. Nothing, however, better shows how the spirit of poetry was in the air than the grace and spontaneity of many a nameless lyric that can be found in the song-books and plays of this great age.

The first public theatres and their performances.

18. Most of all is the spirit of the Elizabethan period reflected in the development of the dramatic literature, which is its special glory. The mediæval taste for mysteries and moralities had spread among the people a great taste for shows and theatrical entertainments, which, inspired by the classic spirit of the Renascence, found a new outlet in representations of Latin plays by scholars at the universities and Inns of Court, and finally led to their imitation in English. At last the rude beginnings of a more national English drama began to appear, and as the taste for their representation grew, regular theatres were opened in which plays could be acted. In 1576, James Burbage, the first famous Elizabethan actor, opened the first building set apart for dramatic performances at Shoreditch, just outside the city of London. It soon had many rivals

and successors, of which the best known was the *Globe* theatre in Southwark. These Elizabethan playhouses were but rude structures, built of wood and roofed with thatch at the sides. They were exposed in the centre to the weather, except on the side of the stage, where the wealthy patrons of the drama sat on stools among the actors, while the ordinary spectators stood in the exposed pit, and the few ladies who ventured to be present, hid themselves away masked, in boxes ranged round the covered sides of the house. Performances took place in the afternoon, and Sunday was the favourite day for them, though the Puritans looked askance on this violation of the sabbath as well as at the reckless profligacy of many of the actors, and the lax morality of many of the pieces. There was hardly any scenery and properties, though the actors often wore rich dresses. Boys acted women's parts, which were, however, but few as compared with the number of male characters. Though there was little money to be got by writing plays, successful managers and actors were able, with prudence, to make a fortune.

19. The opening of public theatres soon brought about a wonderful change in the quality of the pieces performed in them. A group of young men who had acquired a taste for the drama at the universities, settled down in London, where they lived riotous lives and wrote plays which, with much bombast and crudity, revealed real fire and action and a vein of true poetry. The great age of the drama began when Christopher Marlowe, the most gifted of the band, produced his *Tamburlaine the Great* in 1587. In Marlowe's short, riotous, and tragic career the first stage of Elizabethan tragedy reached its height. Cut off in a tavern brawl before he was thirty, he had left work behind him whose force and passion gave him a permanent rank among the great poets of the world.

Marlowe and the early dramatists.

20. About the time that Marlowe wrote *Tamburlaine*, William Shakespeare, a youth of two or three and twenty, left his home and family at Stratford-on-Avon and went to London to push his fortunes. He soon found profitable employment in working up old plays for representation, and before long, inspired largely by Marlowe's genius, began to attempt original flights of his own. After essays at fantastic and boisterous comedy, his fervid love tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, and his stirring patriotic dramas from English history, secured for him a foremost position in his craft, while the *Merchant of Venice*, produced in 1594, a few months after Marlowe's success, first demonstrated the full extent of his powers. Shrewd, businesslike, and

Shakespeare and his school.

thrifty, he had attained before Elizabeth's death a competent fortune, a high social position, and a reputation quite unique among his contemporaries. His profound knowledge of the human heart, his breadth, naturalness, and self-restraint, his deep passion, abundant humour, ripeness of judgment, and wonderful command of the mother tongue, stand by themselves in all literature. Round him gathered a great school of dramatists, whose work, attaining its climax under James I., slowly decayed under his successor, until the great civil war brought it to an end.

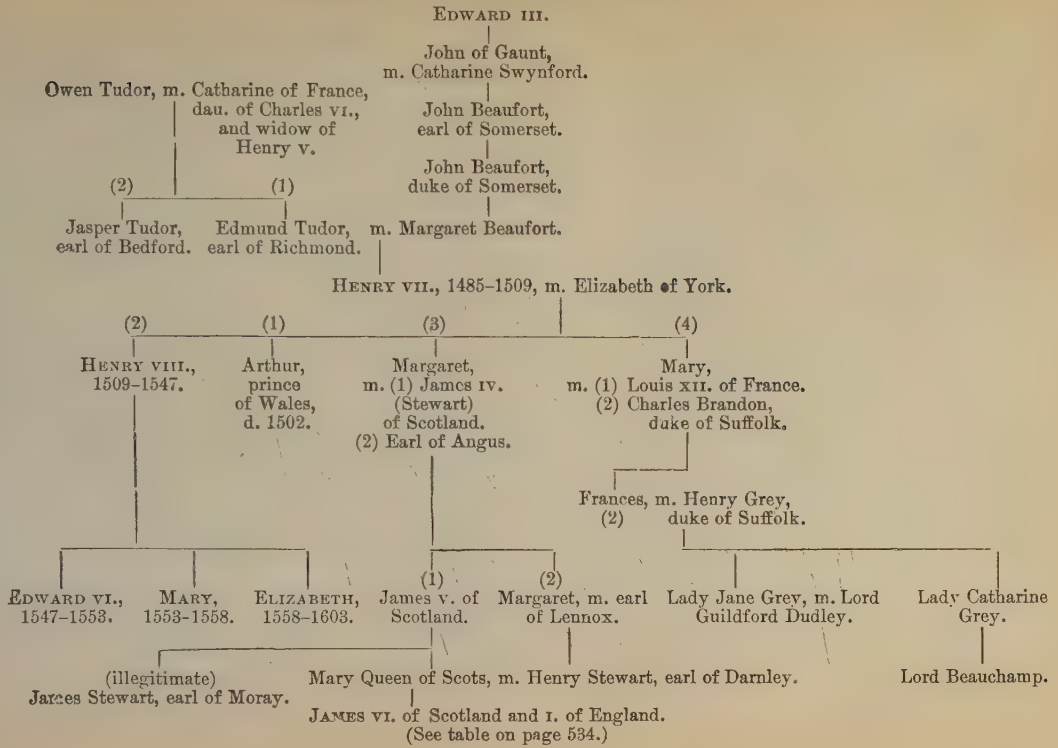
21. Elizabethan prose did not attain the level of Elizabethan poetry or the drama. There were few received standards of prose composition, and the force and spirit of the age were half hidden away by the quaint conceits and tangled and inartistic periods of many able writers. Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which raised ecclesiastical pamphleteering into sound and dignified literature, and Sir Francis Bacon's famous *Essays*, first published in 1597, were the greatest masterpieces of Elizabethan prose. The patriotic impulse of the age was reflected in the large output of historical work, of which Holinshead's *Chronicles*, from which Shakespeare derived so much of his history, are a conspicuous example. A feature of the time was the extensive literature of travel and adventure, foremost among which was Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1587), wherein the simple narration of the great deeds of the Elizabethan seamen brings home vividly to us the close connection between the life and the literature of the time. It was the richest, fullest, and most heroic period of English history.

Elizabethan prose.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF THE PERIOD 1485–1603

Gairdner's *Henry VII.*; Creighton's *Wolsey* (both in *Macmillan's Twelve English Statesmen*); Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.* (to the fall of Wolsey); Pollard's *Henry VIII.* and the *Protector Somerset*; Froude's *History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the death of the Armada* (12 vols.), brilliant, prejudiced and inaccurate, but of value for the reign of Elizabeth; Creighton's *Queen Elizabeth*; Seebohm's *Protestant Revolution* (*Epochs of Modern History*), useful for foreign relations in the early sixteenth century. For ecclesiastical history, Gairdner's *History of the English Church from Henry VIII. to Mary*; W. H. Frere's *History of the English Church under Elizabeth and James I.*, and Perry's *Reformation in England* (Epochs of Church History). More's *Utopia*, R. Robinson's translation, Harrison's *Description of England*, and Payne's *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen* illustrate important aspects of this period. The chapters on England in the *Cambridge Modern History* present in a succinct form the facts of our history from 1485 onwards; more details are in *Pol. Hist. of England*, vol. v., 1485–1547, by H. Fisher, and vol. vi., 1547–1603, by A. F. Pollard.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR


Edward III.
John of Gaunt, m. Catharine Swynford.
John Beaufort, earl of Somerset.
John Beaufort, duke of Somerset.
m. Margaret Beaufort.
Owen Tudor, m. Catharine of France, dau. of Charles VI., and widow of Henry V.
(2)
(1)
Jasper Tudor, earl of Bedford.
Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond.
Henry VII., 1485–1509, m. Elizabeth of York.
(2)
(1)
(3)
(4)
Henry VIII., 1509–1547.
Arthur, prince of Wales, d. 1502.
Margaret, m. (1) James IV. (Stewart) of Scotland. (2) Earl of Angus.
Mary, m. (1) Louis XII. of France. (2) Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.
Frances, m. Henry Grey, (2) duke of Suffolk.
Edward VI., 1547–1553.
Mary, 1553–1558.
Elizabeth, 1558–1603.
(1)
(2)
James V. of Scotland.
Margaret, m. earl of Lennox.
Lady Jane Grey, m. Lord Guildford Dudley.
Lady Catharine Grey.
(illegitimate) James Stewart, earl of Moray.
Mary Queen of Scots, m. Henry Stewart, earl of Darnley.
Lord Beauchamp.
James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

(See table on page 534.)

BOOK VI

THE STEWARTS (1603–1714)

CHAPTER I

JAMES I. (1603–1625)

Chief Dates:

1603. Accession of James I.
1605. Gunpowder Plot.
1607. Plantation of Virginia.
1610. Plantation of Ulster and Dissolution of James' First Parliament.
1614. The Addled Parliament.
1618. Execution of Raleigh and Beginning of Thirty Years' War.
1620. Voyage of the *Mayflower*.
1621. Fall of Bacon.
1624. War with Spain.
1625. Death of James I.

1. The house of Stewart, which had been reigning over Scotland for more than two hundred years, mounted the English throne at the death of Queen Elizabeth. Its accession to the throne meant much more than is ordinarily involved in the change of one dynasty for another. The peaceful union of the rival monarchies of England and Scotland was a great thing in itself; and it became more important since James I., the new king, was very anxious to make the union as complete as he could. He saw that the personal union of the two crowns under the same king was not enough. As long as England and Scotland remained two countries with different laws, institutions, and traditions, and even with different customs as to the succession, the feeble tie of a common monarch might be snapped at any moment. He therefore assumed the title of *King of Great Britain*, and strove to build up a single state out of the two very different lands over which he ruled. Though he had grown up to middle life as king of Scots, and in most ways never

The union of the English and Scottish crowns.

ceased to be a thorough Scotchman, James's long experience made him realize how much better off was the powerful English monarch than the weak king of Scots, the puppet of his nobles and the Puritan clergy. His idea of union was, therefore, to make Scotland as much like England as possible, and his old subjects soon resented the way in which he preferred English to Scottish fashions. He set this policy to his successors, and all the Stewart kings more or less embroiled themselves with their own country in their efforts to bring English fashions into the northern realm. For this reason the Scots disliked further attempts at union. But the English were little better pleased with them. They were quite contented with things as they were, and had no love for change. Moreover, they were suspicious lest a race of Scottish kings should upset the good old English constitution in favour of their northern fellow-countrymen and to the loss of the native-born English subjects. While, therefore, James, inspired by his solicitor-general, Sir Francis Bacon, hopefully anticipated the time when the two lands should have one parliament, one law, one Church, and one nation, his parliament looked with distrust on his plans. The result was that James only ventured to ask his parliament for a very little. He was content to demand that Englishmen and Scotchmen should no longer be treated as foreigners in each other's country, and that there should be freedom of trade between the two nations.

2. In 1607 the House of Commons rejected both these proposals. The only step towards union which James could secure from the English side was a decision of the judges that all Scotsmen born after his accession to the English throne possessed the full rights of English citizens. He had more success in assimilating Scottish institutions to those of England. In 1610 he restored bishops to the Scots Church, though they had little power. In 1618 he imposed on the Scots the *Five Articles of Perth*, which introduced into Scotland some of the ecclesiastical ceremonies and Church holidays which prevailed south of the Tweed. These measures excited deep antagonism among the fiercely Presbyterian Scots. With such strong suspicions on both sides of the border, it was easy to understand why a full union of England and Scotland was still a hundred years off.

Failure of James's projects for more complete union.

3. The moment of James's accession had witnessed the completion of the Tudor conquest of Ireland, so that James ruled Ireland as fully as Great Britain, and was thus the first monarch

of the three kingdoms. The Irish remained bitterly discontented with English and Protestant rule, and were only kept down by main force. In 1607 the earl of Tyrone strove once more to attack the English power, and, failing utterly, fled from Ireland. His estates and those of his friends were declared forfeited for treason, and in 1610 Sir Arthur Chichester, James's deputy, divided the forfeited lands among English and Scottish settlers, and thus carried out the famous *plantation of Ulster*. This had more permanent success than the Elizabethan plantation of Munster. Though the wild west of Ulster still remained fully Irish, eastern Ulster became the home of a vigorous and energetic English-speaking and

The completion of the conquest of Ireland.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1610.

The shaded part shows the Protestant districts in Ireland, which resulted from James I's. Plantations.

IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Protestant population. Henceforth the Ulster settlers remained as a Protestant garrison in Ireland. Though this immensely

strengthened the English power, it brought new difficulties with it. The Irish problem became more complicated, since side by side with the old Catholic and Celtic Ireland a new Protestant and Saxon Ireland was created. Bitterly hating the aliens who persecuted their religion and robbed them of their lands, Celtic Ireland sullenly waited for the hour of vengeance.

4. James I.'s reign saw the first establishment of new Englands beyond the sea, as well as extension of English influence over the three kingdoms of Britain. The impulse towards expansion which had inspired both the Irish plantations, and the failures of Gilbert and Raleigh in America, now led to the first successful establishment of English colonies beyond the Atlantic. In 1607 *Virginia* was settled by a small band of emigrants, who named their first settlement *Jamestown* in honour of the English king. At first they suffered terribly from disease, famine, and the constant attacks of the Indian tribes, but these were successfully overcome, and as the colony grew in numbers and strength it received a free constitution with a *House of Burgesses* like the House of Commons at home. A few years later Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman, established *Maryland* immediately to the north of Virginia, receiving in 1632 a charter from Charles I., which made him supreme lord of the whole settlement. Maryland was the first *proprietary colony*, controlled by a great landlord. In 1625 the settlement of *Barbados* was the first step towards the establishment of English plantations in the West India islands. The settlers were not willing to do hard work themselves. The land was divided into great estates and plantations, whose proprietors cultivated tobacco, sugar, and other products of warm climates. For long they had much difficulty in obtaining labour, but at last fell back upon the labour of negro slaves, imported from Africa and compelled to work for their masters.

Beginnings of English colonies.

Plantation of Virginia, 1607,

and Maryland, 1632.

5. Other colonies arose in the colder regions to the north of Virginia, which received the name of *New England*. The first of these settlements owed its origin to a little band of English separatists, who, finding it impossible to worship God after their own fashion in England, resolved to seek freedom in the wilderness beyond the Atlantic. In 1620 a little band, afterwards called the *Pilgrim Fathers*, sailed in a small ship called the *Mayflower* from Southampton. They settled near Cape Cod, and called their new

The plantation of New England, 1620-1629.

home *Plymouth*. Soon larger settlements arose round them, the first and chief of which was *Massachusetts*, established in 1629, with Boston as its capital. Many other small colonies were planted in New England under Charles I. The New England colonies formed a class by themselves, and were soon clearly marked off from the southern plantations. They became a land of yeoman proprietors, farmers, fishermen, and traders, with neither a wealthy planter aristocracy nor a large population of slaves. They lived a free and strenuous but somewhat hard and narrow life, prizing their democratic institutions and their Puritan faith, and persecuting those who did not hold their religion. In Massachusetts no one could be a citizen who was not a member of an Independent church; but another of the colonies, Rhode Island, practised from the beginning complete religious toleration. Virginia and the West India Islands generally accepted the doctrines and worship of the English Church. Their planter-aristocracies were quite as jealous of freedom as was the Puritan democracy of New England. Both types of colonies soon began to thrive exceedingly. By the middle of the seventeenth century their success ensured the extension of the English race and tongue over the greater part of the eastern seaboard of North America. It is through these first pioneers that the foundations of a world-wide "Greater Britain" were laid.

6. James I.'s reign witnessed an expansion of English trade corresponding with the growth of English colonization. Here, as with the plantations, the Elizabethan impulse achieved its greatest results after the queen's death. After the conquest of Portugal by Philip II., the Dutch robbed the Spaniards of much that remained of Portuguese commerce and empire in the East. Their success inspired English adventurers to follow in their footsteps, and in 1600 Elizabeth gave a charter to the English *East India Company*, which at once entered into rivalry with the Dutch merchants. Soon commercial antagonism sharply divided two nations which common religion and common hostility to Spain had hitherto closely united. The struggle was sharpest in the archipelago of further India, then called the *Spice Islands*, because the centre of the lucrative spice trade. Its most striking incident was the massacre by the Dutch, in 1623, of the English settlers in the little island of *Amboyna*. In India itself the English merchants soon obtained a stronger position than the Dutch. They obtained grants of factories or

The beginnings of the East India Company, 1600.

The Amboyna massacre, 1623.

trading settlements from the *Mogul* or Mohammedan emperors who in those days ruled over the greater part of India. The first of these to become important were *Surat*, set up in 1612, and *Madras*, established in 1639. Other English trading settlements were made on the west coast of Africa, where also Dutch competition was keen. After the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope as a good halfway house to India, the English East India Company founded an intermediate station of its own in the island of *St. Helena* in 1651. Thus the same generation which saw the origin of our colonies saw the rise of our commerce with remote lands, and the faint beginnings of our modern empire in the East. For all these reasons, our history can no longer be limited to the story of the British Islands after the accession of the Stewart kings.

7. England itself saw great changes under Stewart rule. The land had outgrown the need for the Tudor despotism. The parliament of the active and energetic England of these days was no longer content to follow the lead of the kings, and thus the great event of the Stewart period is the century of struggle between the king and the House of Commons, which only terminated when parliament had secured its control over the crown. The accession of a foreign race of kings with narrower sympathies, less knowledge of English ways, and less broad intelligence than the Tudors, precipitated and intensified the contest. Yet even if rulers as strong as Elizabeth had been given to England, the contest would have been inevitable.

The Stewarts and Parliament.

8. James I. was ill adapted to deal with the situation that he had to face in his new kingdom. He was able, well-educated, and the most scholarly king of his time. He was good tempered, kindly, and honestly loved peace and moderation. But he had formed all his habits before he came to England, and never really understood English ways. He was very conceited and obstinate, and was destitute of the royal bearing of his predecessor. Lazy, vacillating, and procrastinating, he preferred to live in retirement in the country, amusing himself with hunting and study, and loving to shift the hard work of government on to his favourites and ministers. Yet he was proud of his statecraft, and delighted to dogmatize on the divine right of kings and the sin of opposing the Lord's anointed. He was shrewd enough, however to take broader views of many questions than the majority of his subjects. Yet even when his policy was right he was unable to carry it out effectively.

Character of James I.

His worst fault was his incurable habit of distinguishing between his own interests and those of his subjects.

9. James's general idea was to follow as closely as he could the policy of Elizabeth. But he neither fully understood his predecessor's aims, nor was he able to give effect to his intentions. He was wise enough, however, to continue the ministers of Elizabeth in office, and Sir Robert Cecil, made earl of Salisbury in 1605, remained chief adviser to the crown, and carried on, until his death in 1612, the traditions of Elizabethan statecraft. Cecil's continuance in power drove his enemies into a series of plots to overthrow him. Chief among these was the *Main Plot* as it was called, whose instigator was Lord Cobham. Another conspiracy was the *Bye Plot*, a foolish scheme of a Roman Catholic priest named Watson, to keep James a prisoner until he gave freedom to the Catholics and made the plotters his chief advisers. Both designs were easily discovered, and the chief conspirators were punished. Among them was Sir Walter Raleigh, a known enemy of Cecil, whose condemnation was only secured by very doubtful measures. Raleigh was not, however, executed, but kept a close prisoner in the Tower with the death sentence still hanging over his head.

Robert Cecil and his enemies.

10. James's continuation of Elizabeth's policy provoked bitter discontent among both Puritans and Roman Catholics. The Puritans who had long suffered severely from Whitgift's persecution, had hoped great things from a Presbyterian king. On his way to London, a large number of Puritan clergy presented to him what they called the *Millenary Petition*, which begged for a relaxation of the ceremonies so much disliked by the Puritans. James fell in with their wishes so far as to hold a conference between the two parties in the church at Hampton Court, in 1604. Proud of his theological learning, the king took a leading part in the debates and showed bitter hostility to the Puritans when he realized that they wanted to introduce the Scottish system into England. "Scottish Presbytery," he declared, "agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil." Under such circumstances, nothing important came of the Hampton Court conference. A few changes were made in the Prayer-book, but they gave no satisfaction to the Puritans. The only solid result was the ordering of a new translation of the Bible. This led to the *Authorized Version of 1611*, which soon, through its merits, became the single translation used by English-speaking Protestants.

The Hampton Court conference, 1604.

11. When Whitgift died in 1604, Bancroft, who was bishop of London, and had taken the chief part in opposing the Puritans at Hampton Court, became his successor. He was one of the first Protestant divines to teach that a Church without bishops was no Church at all, and he dealt as severely with the Puritans as Whitgift had done. His successor, Archbishop Abbot (1610 to 1633), inclined to Puritan views, but he gradually lost all influence at court, and the main current of Church opinion was setting steadily against him. A new school of churchmanship now arose, whose leader was the saintly Bishop Andrewes of Winchester, and whose most active partisan was William Laud, who became bishop of London. They were called *Arminians*, because they followed the Dutch professor Arminius in rejecting the Calvinistic doctrine of *predestination*. They also believed in the necessity for bishops, held the doctrine of the Real Presence, loved elaborate ritual in divine worship, and claimed continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages. The rise of this school further embittered the lot of the Puritans.

Archbishops Bancroft and Abbot.

12. The Roman Catholics expected great things from the son of Mary Stewart, and James, who was more tolerant than most rulers of his time, made himself unpopular with rigid Protestants by his unwillingness to send priests to the scaffold. He made no attempt, however, to alter the severe laws against the Catholics, and many still suffered for their faith. In despair of lightening their lot by peaceful means, a band of Catholic enthusiasts turned to treason. Headed by Robert Catesby, a Warwickshire gentleman, a knot of recusants formed a plot to blow up the king and parliament with gunpowder on the occasion of the meeting of parliament on November 5, 1605. Guy Fawkes, an old soldier in the Spanish service, became the chief instrument of the conspirators. Some cellars were hired under the House of Lords; there explosives were hidden, which Fawkes was to fire when the king opened the Houses on November 5. At the same moment the Catholic gentry of the Midlands were to be collected at Dunchurch, near Rugby, on the pretext of a hunt, in the hope that on the news of the London catastrophe they would seize the king's daughter Elizabeth, who was living in the neighbourhood, make her queen, and bring her up as a Catholic. Cecil's spies unearthed the plot before the meeting of parliament. On November 4 the cellars were searched, the powder discovered, and Fawkes was taken prisoner and severely tortured. Catesby escaped to Warwickshire, hoping still to induce the huntsmen of Dunchurch

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

to rise in rebellion. Failing altogether in this object, Catesby and a few friends fled further, to Holbeach in Staffordshire, where they were soon surrounded, and, after a hard fight in which Catesby was killed, captured. Besides Fawkes, and the actual conspirators, the persons executed for complicity included Henry Garnett, the *provincial* or head of the English Jesuits. The chief evidence against him was that he had been told of the conspiracy under the seal of confession. The main result of the *Gunpowder Plot*, as it was called, was to frighten the king into carrying out the recusancy laws with more severity than ever.

13. James found great difficulties in dealing with his parliaments. Never practising the severe economy of Elizabeth, he was much more frequently compelled to ask parliament for money, and showed a disposition to bargain with the Commons, which was fatal to his dignity and authority. The Commons severely criticized his harshness to the Puritans, and complained that his foreign policy was not sufficiently Protestant. They distrusted his great plans for change, such as the proposed union with Scotland, and resented his habit of lecturing them on his own dignity and their insignificance. The result was that he was constantly involved in petty disputes with the Commons.

James and his Parliaments.

14. James' first parliament met in 1604, and continued its sessions till 1611. In the very first session there were hot disputes about privilege of parliament, and the Commons, instead of giving James a subsidy, offered him plenty of unpalatable advice. There were worse troubles when James, encouraged by a decision of the judges that he might alter taxes on exports and imports without recourse to parliament by virtue of his right to regulate trade, issued what was called the *Book of Rates*, whereby, of his own mere motion, he largely added to the customs-duties. In 1610 parliament denounced the *New Impositions*, as the taxes were called, as a violation of its rights. James and Salisbury chose this moment for submitting to the Commons an elaborate scheme called the *Great Contract*, which proposed to resign the feudal revenue if the king's debts were paid and his income increased by £200,000 a year. After much time consumed in haggling about details, James dismissed Parliament in 1611 without having obtained its consent to his proposals.

The New Impositions and the Great Contract, 1610.

15. For three years James managed to get on without parliamentary grants. He was so poor that he was forced to offer the new hereditary title of *baronet* to any gentleman of position who

would lend him a thousand pounds, and in 1614 was again compelled to face the estates. Before parliament met James negotiated with some prominent members of the last House of Commons, who promised that if he would make concessions and take their advice, they would keep the Commons in a good temper and persuade it to make grants. Those who made this bargain with the king were called the *Undertakers*. They found, however, that parliament, when it met, regarded them as traitors and repudiated their guidance, and took up so fierce an attitude that James dissolved the House before it had passed an act or made a grant. For this reason the parliament of 1614 was called in derision the *Addled Parliament*. After this James did not venture to summon another parliament for seven years.

The Addled Parliament, 1614.

16. During this period many great changes happened. Salisbury died in 1612, and the same year saw the death of the king's eldest son, Henry, prince of Wales, a youth of promise, whose younger brother Charles became prince of Wales in his place. James was so jealous of yielding up authority, and so conceited with himself, that he thought there was no need for him to have a chief minister to replace Cecil. But he was not hard working enough to control the state as Elizabeth had done, and was so easy-going and good-natured that he soon felt the need of a confidential adviser, who, without having a policy of his own, would save the king trouble by looking after details and taking unpleasant burdens on his shoulders. The result was that royal favourites soon began to wield a dangerous and discreditable influence.

James's family and favourites.

17. The first of James's personal favourites to win much favour was Robert Ker, a good-looking Scot from a fierce Border stock, who, after Salisbury's death, became Viscount Rochester, and wielded an immense influence over his master. Ker was a sulky, obstinate, and ignorant fellow, so dull that he was obliged to depend upon the advice of a clever, arrogant man-of-letters named Sir Thomas Overbury. Rochester's wife was, however, an enemy of Overbury, and contrived to get him shut up in prison, where her agents put him to death by poison. Now made Earl of Somerset, the favourite remained at the height of his power for two years more, though he grew so insolent and ill tempered that even James became tired of him. At last the confession of one of Lady Somerset's accomplices revealed to the world the true story of Overbury's death. Both

Robert Ker.

earl and countess were tried before the House of Lords, and condemned to death, the countess as a murderess, and her husband as an accessory to her crime. James pardoned the guilty pair their lives, but their fall from power was complete and final. The hideous revelations at the trial did James himself much harm, though he was guiltless of anything worse than weakness and credulity.

George Villiers.

18. James soon found a new favourite in George Villiers, the son of a Leicestershire knight, a proud, quick-witted, handsome man, rather shallow and vain, whose head was turned by his success, and who soon became unpopular through his ostentation and overbearing pride. The king's favour made him lord high admiral, and first earl and then duke of Buckingham. All seekers after court favour found it necessary to procure his support, and the gravest and wisest of the king's counsellors owed their advancement to Buckingham's goodwill rather than to their own merits. Laud drove Abbot from James' favour, and with Buckingham's help won the old king over to the Arminians. The great lawyer and brilliant writer and thinker, Francis Bacon, tardily attained the position of chancellor through the patronage of the favourite.

James's foreign policy.

19. Foreign policy, always important, now became the chief concern of James and his ministers. James's general ideas as to English foreign policy were sound and wise, but, as usual, he was not able to carry them out in practice. Like Elizabeth, he loved peace, and thought that each nation ought to settle its religion for itself, so that he was adverse to the popular idea that it was the business of good Protestants like the English to wage war against Spain as the chief enemy of the faith. In 1604 James made peace with Spain, and even sought an alliance with her, though he also strove to continue his predecessor's friendly relations with Henry IV. of France. In 1610 Henry IV. was murdered by a Catholic fanatic, and during the minority of his son and successor, Louis XIII., Henry's widow ruled France in the interests of Spain and the strict Catholic party. Thus Spain got back something of the position she had lost.

20. Spain wished for English support, and James thought it would be an excellent way of proving the real friendship that existed between the two peoples if his son Charles, prince of Wales, were married to the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip III. and the sister of his successor, Philip IV. Negotiations for this match were begun in 1616, but almost at the same time

James's eager desire for money led him to listen to a proposal quite incompatible with any real Spanish alliance. Sir Walter Raleigh had in his early years made a voyage to *Guiana*, and brooded in his weary imprisonment over the fancied splendours of that land, where he believed there existed gold-mines of unheard-of richness. He now offered, if released from the Tower, to lead an expedition to gold-mines in Guiana, whose produce would make James the wealthiest prince in Europe. The glittering bait was easily swallowed by the king, and in 1617 Raleigh was allowed to sail to South America in quest of the promised mine. He was told, however, that he must on no account molest the Spaniards, the king's allies, and must prosecute his quest entirely by peaceful means. Raleigh readily agreed to all this; but it was quite impossible to him to fulfil his promise, since the Spaniards claimed the whole of the region that he sought to explore, and looked upon his expedition as piracy. Moreover, when South America was reached, the old spirit of lawless adventure made light of Spanish opposition. Raleigh sent his ships up the river *Orinoco*, and when a Spanish settlement blocked the way, his captains attacked and burnt it as Drake or Hawkins would have done. But the Spaniards, soon proved stronger than Raleigh's cowardly and mutinous followers, who, in their fear of the Spaniards, forced their leader to sail home to England. Long before that the loud complaints of the Spaniards had reached James's ears. Gondomar, their ambassador, demanded that Raleigh should be surrendered to Spain to be tried as a pirate, and James was so afraid of provoking the wrath of his ally that he thought the easiest way out of the difficulty was to put Raleigh to death under the old sentence of 1603. This satisfied the Spanish complaints, but English opinion lamented the death of the high-souled adventurer as that of a hero sacrificed by his cowardly king to gratify the bitter hatred of the Spaniards.

Raleigh's last voyage and execution, 1617-1618.

21. In 1618 a great religious war broke out in Germany, and soon spread over all Central Europe. Lasting until 1648, it was called the *Thirty Years' War*. It had its roots in the quarrels between the Catholics and Calvinists in Germany, which had long threatened the peace of that country. Its immediate origin was the revolt of the Bohemian Protestants from their new king, the emperor Ferdinand II., the head of the house of Austria, and a bigoted Roman Catholic. Thereupon the Bohemians chose as their king Frederick, the *Elector Palatine of the Rhine*, the leader

The beginning of the Thirty Years' War, 1618.

of the German Calvinists, and closely connected with England by reason of his marriage to the Lady Elizabeth, James's only daughter. It was hoped that James, who was devoted to his child, would assist his son-in-law against Ferdinand; but James hated war, and above all religious war, and gave Frederick no help. Under these circumstances, Frederick could not long maintain himself. He was first driven from Bohemia, and then from his own hereditary dominions. Though the more strenuous German Protestants supported him, the only result of this was to make the war more general. Bit by bit he lost the Palatinate as well as Bohemia, and his expulsion meant the subjection of Germany to the triumphant Catholics.

James's efforts to restore the Elector Palatine, 1622-1623.

22. James had not countenanced Frederick's aggression in Bohemia, and English Protestant zeal had regarded his holding back another proof of his cowardice and want of faith in Protestantism. But the same desire to leave things as they were which had made him reluctant to help his son-in-law in Bohemia, rendered him very anxious to prevent the elector being deprived of his hereditary possessions. English volunteers were permitted to join Frederick's army; but even now James shirked strong measures. He believed that the best way to set things straight was for him to use his influence over his Spanish allies, and thus bring about Frederick's restoration by peaceful means. It was, however, absurd to think that the German Catholics would give up their conquests to please the Spaniards, even if the Spaniards were willing to ask them to do so. As a matter of fact, the Spaniards had no intention of procuring the Elector Palatine's return. They used James as a tool, and encouraged him to resume the negotiations for the marriage of his son with the Infanta, which had broken down on the previous occasion.

Failure of the Spanish marriage, 1623.

23. Spain was delighted to delay matters by treating with England for the prince's hand. But it gradually became clear that Philip would not really accept any marriage scheme unless James promised to give such freedom of worship to his Catholic subjects as the English parliament would never allow. It suited the Spaniards' game, however, to waste time on trivial details, until Buckingham, who ruled Charles as absolutely as his father, persuaded the prince of Wales that the best way to settle the question one way or the other was for him to go to Spain and woo the Infanta in person. Accordingly, in 1623 the prince and his friend made their way to Madrid.

only to find that the diplomatic difficulties remained as great as ever, and that Spanish etiquette and the Infanta's dislike of a heretic wooer put fresh obstacles in his way. At last he realized that the Spaniards were playing with him, whereupon he went home, brimful of indignation and eager to persuade his timid father to take up arms to restore the Elector Palatine, since the last efforts of diplomacy to effect this object had so signally failed. Charles and Buckingham revenged themselves on Spain by negotiating an alliance with France, which had once more begun to take up a line of its own. It was agreed that Charles should marry Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII. This proposal was less hated by the English than the Spanish match, but any marriage of the heir-apparent with a Roman Catholic was disliked. Moreover, the French proved ineffective allies, and James's first efforts to send help to his son-in-law were sorry failures.

24. Foreign complications again necessitated recourse to parliament, and James twice more met his estates in 1621 and 1624. His third parliament in the former year assembled at the time when James's slackness in helping Frederick made him unpopular among militant Protestants. James asked for a large supply, though he made it clear that he would not fight if he could help it. He was answered by the Commons refusing to grant him a subsidy until their chief grievances had been redressed. Conspicuous among these were monopolies, which had become even more burdensome than in the last years of Elizabeth. The indignant Commons especially complained of a monopoly for licensing ale-houses, which the monopolists, headed by Sir Giles Mompesson, had used so selfishly as to encourage drunkenness. Mompesson fled from the country, but could not escape condemnation.

James's third Parliament. 1621.

25. The ministers of the crown were also singled out for attack, chief among them being the lord chancellor Bacon, a stout friend of monopolies. Some aggrieved suitors in the Court of Chancery complained that Bacon had accepted bribes, and that he had given decisions against them. Thereupon the Commons sent up to the Lords the complaints made by the suitors, that they might be judicially investigated. This was the practical revival of the late mediæval custom of *impeachment*, whereby the Commons presented a public offender to be tried by the Lords as judges. Bacon did not seriously defend himself. He declared that he had never given

The fall of Bacon, 1621.

corrupt judgments, though he acknowledged that he had fallen into the evil system then usual of accepting presents from litigants. He was condemned, deprived of office, and for a short time imprisoned; but James soon released the fallen statesman from the Tower. Bacon died five years afterwards, a disappointed man, though he found in his release from office opportunity for working out some parts of the great schemes for building up a new philosophy which had long amused his leisure.

James's fourth Parliament, 1624, and death, 1625.

26. Both in the matter of the monopolists and Bacon, James had given way to the Commons. After granting a subsidy, there was a short prorogation until the autumn, when the same House reassembled. The renewal of the Spanish negotiations disgusted the Commons, who sent a request to James that he should marry his son to a Protestant. James told them it was no business of theirs, but they replied that they had a right to give advice on any subject. Thereupon James angrily dismissed them. When he next met a parliament in 1624, the breach with Spain had made him popular, but even now there were disputes as to the way the war should be carried on, and the Commons showed their resolution by impeaching the lord treasurer Middlesex, and passing an act declaring that monopolies were already illegal. On March 27, 1625, the old king died.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES I. (1625–1649)

Chief Dates:

1625. Accession of Charles I.
1628. The Petition of Right.
1629. Dissolution of Charles' third Parliament.
1633. Laud archbishop of Canterbury.
1638. Hampden's Case and the Scottish National Covenant.
1640. Meeting of the Long Parliament.
1641. Execution of Strafford and the Irish Rebellion.
1642. Battle of Edge Hill.
1643. Battle of Newbury.
1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
1645. Battle of Naseby.
1648. Second Civil War.
1649. Execution of Charles I.

1. Charles, prince of Wales, became Charles I. at the age of twenty-five. Handsome, dignified, and serious, he far surpassed his father in all the external graces of his station, but he was without James's shrewdness and wide knowledge. Though carefully brought up, he had not very great ability, and was curiously slow in thought and action. He could neither think nor speak clearly, and, unable to understand any one else's standpoint, he lived in a dream-world of his own. He was proud, obstinate, and unyielding; yet he had a great difficulty in making up his mind as to any decided course of action. His piety, gravity, love of culture, and care for his friends attracted the devotion of his personal followers, but he was out of sympathy with his people as a whole. His ministers complained that he would never yield them his full confidence, and that it was impossible to tie him down to any fixed policy. His devotion to Buckingham made his people regard him with distrust. His wife, Henrietta Maria of France, was frivolous and intriguing, and her great influence over him was by no means exercised for good.

Character of Charles I.

2. When Charles became king, England was already at war

with Spain. He was so anxious to restore the Elector Palatine and to fight the Spaniards, that he promised large subsidies to his uncle, Christian of Denmark, who agreed to invade Germany and revive the Protestant cause. The alliance with France would, as he hoped, help both his Spanish and his German designs. Knowing that a Protestant war against Spain and the German Catholics was popular, Charles reasonably expected that parliament would give him sufficient supplies to enable him to carry out his comprehensive designs with vigour. But when parliament met in 1625, it refused to make substantial grants unless Buckingham were removed from his counsels, and showed an unexpected want of sympathy for his Protestant foreign policy. Charles thought that the Commons had played him false, and angrily dismissed them. Their claim to withhold supplies until his advisers were of their liking seemed to him to be a wanton attack on the king's right to rule the country as he would.

The war with Spain and Charles's first Parliament, 1625.

3. It was clear that Charles was now likely to be involved in a fierce struggle with his parliaments. A prudent statesman would have abandoned his foreign designs in the face of the attitude of the Commons. Anyhow, he would have chosen between fighting parliament and fighting the Spaniards. Charles was too confused a thinker to grasp this point, and resolved to go on with his war whether the Commons helped him or not. This was a course certain to make Charles unsuccessful in both struggles.

Home and foreign policy.

4. The war itself was mismanaged, and Charles's finances made fighting on an adequate scale impossible. The French gave him little help, and an expedition sent from England under Edward Cecil, afterwards Lord Wimbledon, to attack Cadiz, and cut off the American treasure fleet on its way to Spain, proved a lamentable failure. Before long Charles quarrelled with France as well as Spain, and in 1626 was involved in hostilities with his brother-in-law. Under these circumstances he was again forced to summon the estates. But Charles's *second parliament*, which met in 1626, was as uncompromising as its predecessor. Led by Sir John Eliot, an eloquent Cornish gentleman, the Commons resolved to impeach Buckingham, and Charles soon found that the only way to save his favourite was to dissolve parliament.

The French war and Charles's second Parliament, 1626.

5. Charles's foreign policy was already a complete failure. He could do no harm to Spain, and the cause of the Elector Palatine

became hopeless when Christian of Denmark was utterly beaten by the German Catholics in 1626. Christian bitterly complained that the English had broken their promise to help him with men and money, but Charles was quite unable to redeem his word. Nevertheless he now planned an expedition against France, where the revolt of the Huguenots of La Rochelle, then the chief seaport of western France, gave him an opportunity of winning allies among his enemies' subjects. As the Commons would not make him grants, Charles sought to provide money for the expedition by levying a *forced loan* upon all his subjects. The legality of this was more than doubtful, for an act of Richard III. had prohibited all benevolences or compulsory gifts to the crown. The king's lawyers argued, however, that there was no law that prevented Charles borrowing his subjects' money, and great pains were taken to force every substantial Englishman to hand over to Charles the sum which he fixed should be lent to him. Soldiers were billeted on those who refused to pay, and commissions of martial law issued which sought to withdraw the trial of offences wrought by such soldiers from the ordinary law courts. Many persons, including Eliot himself, who refused to comply with the king's orders, were put into prison. Among the prisoners were five knights, who resolved to test the lawfulness of the king's demand by requesting their release from prison by what was called a writ of *habeas corpus*. By this the gaoler was compelled to produce the body of the prisoner before the judges in court, and to specify the offence for which he was detained. If the judges thought that the prisoner was unlawfully kept in prison, it was their duty to order his release. In *Darnell's case*, as this case was called from the name of one of the five knights, the gaoler returned the answer to the writ that the captives were detained by the special command of the king. The judges thereupon ordered their recommittal to gaol, thus practically deciding in the king's favour and admitting that the king could imprison his subjects at his discretion. So little success attended Charles's efforts even after this, that in despair he set the five knights free and summoned another parliament. He at length understood that the only way to help La Rochelle was to obtain a parliamentary grant.

The forced loan and Darnell's case, 1626-1627.

6. Charles's third parliament assembled in 1628. Besides Sir John Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire landlord, was conspicuous among the leaders of the Commons. Under their guidance the Commons showed a resolute determination to defend

the liberty and the purses of Englishmen from Charles's attacks. Wentworth had no wish to diminish the king's authority, but he distrusted Buckingham and wished to drive him from power. He proposed that a bill should be passed enacting that in the future forced loans and imprisonment without legal warrant should be restrained, but Charles resented the proposal as an encroachment on his prerogative, and Eliot did not think it went far enough. In the end Eliot's counsels prevailed over those of Wentworth, and the Commons sent up to the king a document called the *Petition of Right*, which declared that the recent acts of Charles were already against the law, and in particular denounced as illegal the levying of gifts, loans, or taxes without parliamentary consent, the imprisonment of persons without cause shown, the billeting of soldiers and sailors on householders against their wills, and the issuing of commissions of martial law.

Charles's third Parliament and the Petition of Right, 1628.

7. At first Charles returned an evasive answer to the Petition of Right, but Commons and Lords alike urged that he should say yes or no, and the Commons proposed to renew the impeachment of Buckingham. Fear for his friend soon compelled Charles to yield the royal assent to the petition. Parliament then made him a large grant of money, and went home for the holidays, conscious that it had at last won a complete triumph over the crown.

Charles accepts the petition. 1628.

8. The subsidy of the Commons at last made the expedition to La Rochelle possible. It was high time, for Louis XIII.'s troops had besieged the Protestant stronghold, and unless the English sent a relieving force its capitulation could not be long delayed. Buckingham, who as lord admiral was to command the fleet, went down to Portsmouth to hasten the preparations. There he was murdered by a fanatic named Felton, whose motive, however, was private spite, not political animosity. Buckingham was so unpopular that the mob made a hero of the murderer. Few save Charles lamented the dead favourite. His removal did not, however, result in any improvement in the relations between Charles and his subjects. The king's policy remained the same, and the indignation which had hitherto fallen on the duke now fell directly upon the monarch.

Murder of Buckingham, 1628.

9. In 1629 Charles's third parliament met for a second session, and, despite the Petition of Right, began to attack the king more fiercely than ever. The Commons complained that Charles still levied some customs duties, called *tunnage and poundage*, which his

first parliament, rejecting the custom of earlier times which voted the king tunnage and poundage for life, had only granted him for a single year. Charles had thrown into prison a member of the House of Commons who had refused to pay this tax, and the Commons now said that this was an attack on the privilege of parliament to be exempt from arrest. Moreover, Charles had recently promoted to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferment divines who belonged to the Arminian party, which was so distasteful to the Puritan Commons. There was soon so complete a breach that the king resolved to prorogue parliament. The Commons shut the door of the House in the face of the king's messenger, and two members, Holles and Valentine, held down in his chair the timid Speaker, who had sought to end the sitting. Amidst stormy scenes the Commons voted, on Eliot's motion, that all who introduced Arminianism, or brought in innovations in religion, or paid tunnage and poundage without parliamentary grant, were traitors to the Commonwealth. Then the door was opened, and the king's messenger admitted. The Commons streamed out to receive notice that their session was prorogued, and a few days later parliament was dissolved. Eliot, as the ringleader, was thrown into the Tower, where he died three years later of consumption, aggravated by the rigour of his imprisonment.

Dissolution of Charles's third Parliament, 1629.

10. The first period of Charles's reign ends with the dissolution of his third parliament. The second comprises the eleven years from 1629 to 1640, during which Charles managed to carry on the government without summoning a new one. Five years of strife had shown that the claims of the crown and of parliament were incompatible with each other. The Commons were no longer content to accept the position which had satisfied them under the Tudors. They now demanded supremacy in the state, for they required that the king should change his ministers whenever the Commons were displeased with them. Though the Commons declared that they were only following up ancient precedents, Charles can hardly be blamed for resenting their interference as a new and revolutionary pretension. His predecessors had governed England as they would, and now parliament sought to make his government dependent upon itself. Neither king nor Commons quite saw the real issue. The real truth was that the country had outgrown the old constitution, and that the future could only be settled when it was seen whether king or parliament was the stronger. Two

Charles's arbitrary rule, 1629-1640.

issues were alone possible. If Charles could do without parliaments he could make himself a despot like his brother-in-law Louis XIII. If parliament could beat the king, then the strong monarchy of the Tudors was dead, and the king must henceforth content himself with a mere shadow of his former power. But Charles went on blundering in the old ways, and even during those eleven years never strove to make himself strong and popular, so that the people might trust him rather than the Commons.

11. Charles's first efforts were now to raise enough money to be able to live without parliamentary grants. With this object he practised the greatest economy in all his expenses. He at last saw how impossible it was to fight foreign nations without parliamentary help, and concluded peace with both Spain and France, thus abandoning the unlucky Elector Palatine to his fate. Meanwhile the thirty years' struggle still continued in Germany, when first Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and afterwards Louis XIII. of France and his great minister Richelieu, stepped in to save the Protestants from destruction. Peace was not made until 1648. Even when at peace Charles found himself hardly pressed to obtain a revenue. He dared not openly break the law and raise taxes of his own authority, but he sought to evade the spirit of the law in all sorts of underhand ways. His chief care was to revive obsolete royal rights, by which a little money might be made. Thus he increased the customs duties, because as king he had the right to regulate trade, and on the same ground continued to levy tunnage and poundage. He renewed an old custom, called *distraint of knighthood*, by which the king could fine all gentlemen of landed property who had neglected to get themselves dubbed knights. He strove to increase the limits of the royal forests after the fashion of the Norman kings. Above all, he revived an ancient right, whereby in ancient times the different maritime districts had been required to provide the king with ships, or had been forced to pay instead a money composition, called *ship money*, with which the king might construct vessels for himself. There was, indeed, urgent need for increasing the royal navy, and Charles honestly spent the money he thus got in building ships to protect the shores and commerce of England. He was so encouraged by the success of his scheme, that he soon extended ship money from the coast region to the inland counties. It thus became practically a new tax levied without parliamentary grant.

Charles's expedients for raising money.

Ship money.

12. The old opponents of Charles in parliament were much disgusted with ship money, and John Hampden, an able and wealthy Buckinghamshire gentleman, a former member of the House of Commons, and a close friend of Sir John Eliot, refused to pay his quota of the sum demanded from Buckinghamshire to equip a new ship for the king. In 1638 his case was tried before all the judges, who decided by a majority in favour of the legality of the tax. But Hampden's resistance focussed the popular opposition to Charles's pitiful financial expedients. Henceforth ship money was paid with increasing reluctance, and dislike to the king's arbitrary and incompetent government became widely spread.

Hampden's case, 1638.

13. Charles's ecclesiastical policy had still more share in making his rule odious than his attempts to raise money. Even more than Elizabeth and James I., Charles showed himself a bitter enemy of the Puritans, whose cause was the more odious to him since it was so popular with the House of Commons. A friend and disciple of Laud, Charles was a sincere Arminian, and in full sympathy with the new school whose affinities with the Church of the Middle Ages made them so antipathetic to the Puritan Calvinists. Apart from theological preference, however, Charles trusted the Arminian clergy because they were always on the side of the monarchy, and ever anxious to magnify the sacred character and divine commission of a crowned and anointed king. In 1628 he made Laud bishop of London, and in 1633, when Archbishop Abbot died, raised him to the see of Canterbury. Throughout all these years Laud was Charles's most trusted adviser.

Charles's ecclesiastical policy.

14. The new archbishop was a man of learning, high character, and wonderful energy. He was sincerely anxious to improve the condition of the Church, which was still full of abuses and laxity. But he was narrow-minded, meddlesome, and wanting in tact, and as incapable as Charles himself of understanding the temper of people who differed from himself. His respect for antiquity and his martinet's sense of discipline made Laud regard rigid conformity and unity in ceremonies as equally important with the maintenance of morality and religion. Under Abbot the Puritan clergy had been permitted to be somewhat lax in regard to ceremonies, but Laud now made it his chief care to establish a higher standard. The nonconforming clergy were ruthlessly driven from their cures, and severity naturally added considerably to the hitherto scanty ranks of the

Archbishop Laud and the Puritans.

separatists. Preachers were forced to read Common Prayer before giving their sermons, and even foreign Protestants were compelled to use the Prayer-book. It was required that the communion tables should be placed at the east end of the churches, and fenced with rails to keep them from profanation. Puritans, who regarded Sunday as a Christian sabbath, were scandalized when Laud caused to be read in churches a proclamation recognizing *lawful sports*, such as archery and dancing, after service on Sunday. The indignant Puritans were convinced that their enemy was aiming, in league with the Roman Catholics, at the subversion of Protestantism. The Catholic surroundings of the queen, even the tolerance that refused to butcher Catholic priests as Elizabeth had done, were regarded as further proofs of the disloyalty of king and archbishop to the Reformation.

15. For a time all opposition was stilled. Laud strove to revive and extend the power of the Church courts, which continued to exercise intolerable tyranny over all men. Great offenders were punished by the court of High Commission. It was by extraordinary courts of this type that Charles as well as Laud found their chief means of enforcing obedience. The Star Chamber made itself odious by the severity of its punishments, the secrecy of its proceedings, and its absolute deference to the wishes of the government. A Scottish physician, named Alexander Leighton, was imprisoned, flogged, and cropped of his ears for writing a book against bishops. William Prynne, a learned lawyer and antiquary, was put in the pillory, mutilated, and imprisoned for libelling the queen, because in writing a book against stage plays he had reflected on the moral character of actresses, and the queen was fond of acting in masques.

The victims of Charles's policy.

16. Laud believed that he had restored the Church to the great position it had lost at the Reformation. As in the Middle Ages, the clergy began to hold the highest offices of state, and Juxon, bishop of London, a college friend and close ally of Laud, was made lord high treasurer. Among the lay allies of Laud, Sir Thomas Wentworth, now Lord Wentworth, was by far the ablest. We have seen how Wentworth had had something to do with the passing of the Petition of Right and the attack on Buckingham. After Buckingham's death, however, he abandoned his old associates and joined the court party. He was no mere apostate, as has sometimes been thought. He had always upheld the prerogative, for, like Bacon, he believed that he would be more likely to secure the strong government and

Thomas Wentworth.

comprehensive reforms that he loved from an enlightened king than from the conservative and puritanical House of Commons. Wentworth, however, did not fully enjoy Charles's confidence, for the king was too half-hearted and vacillating for so thorough-going a minister. He employed Wentworth first as president of the council of the north and afterwards as deputy of Ireland. In the latter office Wentworth showed extraordinary vigour and energy, ruling Ireland firmly but roughly, maintaining peace, and improving its agriculture, trade, and material prosperity. He planned a new plantation of Connaught, which would have driven the native Irish from their last retreats. But his masterful ways alienated Irishmen of every class. Wentworth was a great friend of Laud, who shared his views. They called their system of trampling down all opposition *Thorough*, and Wentworth was soon able to boast to the archbishop that the system of "thorough" had been completely established in Ireland. He raised an army in Ireland, which might well some day be useful to extend the reign of "thorough" to Britain.

17. Scotland also was to share with Ireland and England the new system of government, of which Laud and Wentworth were the great exponents. Charles pressed on his father's policy of extending his power over the Scots by making Scottish institutions as much like those of England as he could, and, in particular, by assimilating the Scottish Church to the Church of England. In 1633 Charles visited Edinburgh, and was crowned king of Scots. Laud accompanied him, and, by the archbishop's advice, the power of the newly restored Scottish bishops was increased, and a new bishopric was set up in Edinburgh. Surplices were ordered to be worn by the clergy when conducting divine worship. At last, in 1637, a great further step was taken, when a service-book was drawn up for the Scottish Church. The Scots hated all set forms of worship, and looked on the English Prayer-book as popery in disguise. The book Charles now ordered them to use was based upon the English service, and alterations which were made in it, with the professed object of giving the Scots a special book of their own, were all of a character that made it more in accordance with the teaching of Laud and his school than the English Common Prayer. So unpopular was the plan in Scotland that Charles did not venture to get the consent either of the Scottish parliament or of the general assembly of the Scottish Church. It was imposed upon the country by the royal prerogative alone.

The Scottish Prayer-book, 1637.

All Scotland was indignant at the new service-book; and when the dean of the new cathedral of St. Giles's in Edinburgh attempted to read prayers from it for the first time, there was a riot in the church. All over Scotland the clergy, still Presbyterian at heart, despite the restoration of episcopacy, refused to use the hated liturgy, and were backed up by the thorough sympathy of their flocks. The nobles, who had hitherto supported the king against the ministers, fell away, and, headed by Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll, and James Graham, earl of Montrose, made common cause with the clergy in defending Scottish Puritanism and Scottish national rights. Four *tables*, or committees, were set up, representing the nobles, gentry, clergy, and townsfolk, and as Charles had no means of enforcing his will, these committees became for all practical purposes the rulers of Scotland. In March, 1638, Scots of all ranks united in signing what was called the *National Covenant*, whereby they pledged themselves to abhor "papistry" and uproot all traces of its "idolatries," to uphold the king's lawful authority, and to labour to restore the purity of the Gospel as "established before recent novations." It was in vain that Charles abandoned the Prayer-book. A General Assembly of the Church met at Glasgow, and soon showed so mutinous a spirit that the king dissolved it. The assembly declared that the king had no right to interfere with the spiritual freedom of the Church, and went on with its work all the same. It formally abolished episcopacy, and the good will of the whole nation secured that its decree should at once be carried out.

The National Covenant, 1638.

18. Charles thus saw his authority set aside by his Scottish subjects. Being without an army, he had no means of restoring his sway. His only chance was to appeal to the old hatred of the English to the Scots, and raise a force in England by which he might conquer Scotland like a foreign country. But the English saw that the Scots had a common cause with them against the king, and honoured the Scots for showing them the way to resist him. The few troops that Charles could collect were mutinous, ill trained, and had no heart for his cause. Against him the Scots brought together a fine army, many of the soldiers having, like the general, Alexander Leslie, been trained in the art of war when fighting as volunteers for the Protestant cause in Germany. The result was that the *First Bishops' War*, as men called it, which Charles attempted to fight in the summer of 1639, was a sorry failure. Charles, finding

The First Bishops' War, 1639.

his soldiers would not fight, was forced to sign the *treaty of Berwick*, by which all Scottish grievances were to be settled by a free parliament and general assembly. Perceiving, however, that both parliament and assembly were resolved to insist on the abolition of episcopacy, Charles adjourned their sessions, and again resolved to try the fortune of war.

19. This bold policy required a stronger hand than Charles or his weak ministers possessed. The king therefore recalled Wentworth from Ireland, made him earl of Strafford, and gave him his chief confidence. Strafford was clear-headed enough to see that Charles could only hope to be successful in fighting the Scots by summoning a parliament and throwing himself upon the support of England. Very unwillingly Charles accepted his advice, and again met a parliament in April, 1640. Led by Hampden, the hero of the ship-money struggle, and John Pym, an able and eloquent squire of Somerset, the Commons refused to give Charles any supply unless he first redressed their grievances. This meant changing Charles's whole system of government, a course for which the king was not yet prepared. Accordingly Charles dissolved his fourth parliament when it had sat about three weeks. For this reason it was known as the *Short Parliament*.

The Short Parliament, April, 1640.

20. Despite his failure to get parliamentary supplies, Charles managed somehow to get an army together to fight the Scots in the summer. This time the Scots did not wait for Charles at home, but boldly invaded England, where they were welcomed as liberators. It was in vain that Charles strove to defend the passage of the Tyne against the northern army. After some fighting at *Newburn*, near Newcastle, the English ran away, and the Scots occupied the south bank of the river. Their march southwards was no longer opposed. In October, Charles, again forced to treat, made with them the *treaty of Ripon*, by which he promised to pay the expenses of the army which had beaten him. Next year he signed a permanent treaty that left Scotland in the hands of the Presbyterians. Thus the *Second Bishops' War* was even more disastrous to the king than the first.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.

21. The need of paying the Scots army brought Charles's embarrassments to a head. He was now obliged to raise a large sum of money, and, fearing to meet another parliament, he called together at York a great council of peers. The lords told him that he must summon a parliament, and, having no other resource, he was constrained to follow their advice.

The great council at York.

22. On November 3, 1640, Charles's fifth and last parliament, memorable in our history as the *Long Parliament*, assembled at Westminster. The king was absolutely at its mercy, and the whole of the Commons and a large number of the Lords were bent on reversing the whole of his system of government. The king's ministers were at once attacked. Strafford and Laud were *impeached*, and Strafford, as the more dangerous of the two, was first brought up for trial before the Lords. It was soon, however, found very difficult to convict him of any legal offence. He was charged with treason, but treason, by English law, was treason against the king, and Strafford's real crime was to have served the king too well at the expense of his country. Great efforts were made to prove that a letter of Strafford, in which he urged the king to use the Irish army against the English or Scots, amounted to levying war against the king. This was, however, a most strained and unnatural twisting of the law, and the Lords, the judges of the case, hesitated as to whether it would be accepted. Despairing of wreaking vengeance on their foe by judicial means, the Commons dropped the impeachment, and borrowed from the worst precedents of Henry VIII., the procedure known as an *act of attainder*. This was simply passing a new law enacting that Strafford should die. It was practically denying to the accused any proper trial, and disposing of him by virtue of the power of a law to do anything. The bill easily passed the Commons, and the Lords were frightened into accepting it by the timely discovery of what was called the *army plot*, an intrigue of a few courtiers to upset the parliament and establish a despotism. Charles was then asked to give the royal assent to the bill. He had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be hurt, but, after a pitiful hesitation, gave way. On hearing the king's decision Strafford exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes." On May 12, 1641, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Laud was kept in the Tower until there was leisure to proceed against him also.

Meeting of the Long Parliament, Nov., 1640.

Attainder of Strafford, May, 1641.

23. The more satisfactory work of the early sessions of the Long Parliament was the clean sweep which it made of the machinery by which Charles had attempted to play the despot for eleven years. It abolished the Court of High Commission, the Council of the North, the Star Chamber, and the other *prerogative courts*, and released their victims, such as Prynne, who were now hailed as popular heroes. It reversed the unconstitutional decisions of the

Remedial measures of the Long Parliament, 1640-1641.

judges, such as those in Darnell's case and Hampden's case. It declared ship money, tunnage and poundage, and the new impositions illegal. It passed a *Triennial Act*, enacting that not more than three years should elapse without a meeting of parliament. It deprived Charles of his favourite weapon of a dissolution by forcing on him a law that the existing parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. As with Strafford's impeachment, parliament showed a wonderful agreement in carrying all these measures. The king had no party, and was forced to stand aside while Pym and Hampden, the spokesmen of the representatives of the nation, destroyed his power as they would.

24. Having reordered the government of the State, the parliamentary leaders set to work to provide for the future of the Church. With Pym and Hampden's goodwill a bill was brought forward, called the *Root and Branch Bill*, which proposed to abolish bishops altogether and put the control of the Church into the hands of a commission of laymen. The revolutionary character of this measure had the result of dividing the Long Parliament for the first time into parties. There were still many who loved bishops and the Prayer-book. Such men would willingly have made common cause with Pym and Hampden in getting rid of what were called Laud's "innovations," but their conservative temper made it intolerable to them that the Elizabethan settlement of the Church should be destroyed. Headed by Edward Hyde, a rising lawyer, and by Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, a broad-minded, warm-hearted enthusiast of deep religious feeling, they opposed the Root and Branch Bill. The result was that the second reading was only carried by a small majority. Soon afterwards parliament separated for the vacation.

The Root and Branch Bill, 1641.

25. When Parliament scattered Charles went to Scotland. Some of his followers formed a foolish plot, called the *Incident*, which aimed at arresting Argyll and the Presbyterian leaders at the moment when Charles professed the utmost friendship for them. Though Charles denied any knowledge of the scheme, the detection of his friends' treachery brought him much discredit.

The Incident, 1641.

26. Still graver suspicion was cast upon Charles when a serious rebellion broke out in Ireland. As soon as Strafford's strong hand was removed, the oppressed Irish burst into revolt against his weak successors. The native Irish in Ulster rose against the Protestant settlers, and Owen Roe O'Neill, the exiled chief of the greatest of the Ulster clans,

The Irish Rebellion, 1641.

came back from his exile, and put himself at the head of the rebels. Soon the rising spread to other provinces, and the Straffordian system of "thorough" was soon violently overthrown. Great atrocities were wrought, which were magnified by rumour in England. It was reported that the bloodthirsty Irish had massacred thousands of Protestants in cold blood. The king and his papist queen were denounced as accomplices of the assassins, or as anyhow having given the signal to the revolt by the sympathy they had shown to Roman Catholics.

The Grand Remonstrance, Nov., 1641.

27. In the autumn of 1641 parliament met again, thoroughly alarmed by the Irish rebellion, and eager to take advantage of every rumour that blackened the king. It drew up a long document, called the *Grand Remonstrance*, wherein it recapitulated all the evil deeds wrought by Charles since his accession. It attributed the root of the mischief to Charles's "malignant design to subvert the fundamental laws and principles of government," and demanded that ministers should be employed who possessed the confidence of parliament, and that the Church should be reformed by a synod of divines. In substance it declared that Charles's concessions counted for nothing, and that parliament would only be satisfied with revolution in Church and state. Hyde and Falkland now mustered those who had opposed the Root and Branch Bill to vote against the Remonstrance. After a hot debate, Pym and Hampden only managed to pass the Remonstrance through the Commons by a majority of eleven.

The division of Parliament into two parties.

28. The division of the once united Commons into two nearly equal parties gave Charles a splendid opportunity of winning back a position of influence. The foes of the Remonstrance were a constitutional royalist party in the making, pledged to uphold the existing institutions in Church and state, though equally pledged against arbitrary rule and Laudian innovations. But Charles had no eyes to see how affairs were tending, and his one idea was to win back all that he had lost by taking advantage of the disunion of his natural enemies, the Commons. He made a feeble attempt to conciliate the moderate party by giving office to Falkland, but he immediately afforded damning proof that Pym and Hampden were justified in their incurable distrust of him by a foolish and treacherous attack on the leaders of the majority. On January 3, 1642, he accused Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, among whom were Pym

The attack on the five members. Jan., 1642.

and Hampden, of high treason, on the ground of their negotiations with the Scots, which he regarded as conspiring with the king's enemies. Not content with that, he went down to the House of Commons, and demanded that the five members should be surrendered. Forewarned of the king's designs, the five members had escaped to the City, and Charles was forced to withdraw, amidst angry cries of "Privilege." Thereupon the Commons transferred their sessions from Westminster to the City, whose walls afforded them protection, and whose citizens were ardently on their side.

29. Charles was so completely baffled that, a week later, he abandoned the capital, leaving his palace and all the resources of the state in his enemies' hands. War was now almost inevitable, but efforts to avoid a rupture still occupied the first six months of 1642. Charles made his last concession when he gave the royal consent to a bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords. Soon after the Houses sent up for his approval a *Militia Bill*, which transferred the command of the militia from officers appointed by the king to commanders appointed by themselves. When Charles refused to accept this, the Lords and Commons ordered that it should be carried out as an ordinance of parliament, and were obeyed over a great part of the country. Parliament then formulated their final terms in the *Nineteen Propositions* presented to Charles at York, the effect of which would have been to make him only a nominal ruler. Indignantly rejecting these proposals, Charles raised troops and money on his own account. There had already been collisions between the friends of the king and parliament at Manchester and Hull when, on August 22, the king set up his standard at Nottingham as a signal that civil war had begun.

The rupture between King and Parliament.

30. The *Great Rebellion*, as it was called, saw the division of the nation so equally between king and parliament that the struggle was necessarily long and severe. Despite Charles's recent signs of bad faith, he found a large proportion of the country enthusiastically on his side. Few Englishmen had any real love of revolution, and the uncompromising wish shown by the parliament to alter the whole system of government in Church and State caused many to rally round the king. Nearly all those who had upheld Hyde and Falkland were now on Charles's side, and gradually more than a third of the Commons, and more than half of the Lords, deserted Westminster and joined Charles. Both parties professed to maintain

The Royalist and Parliamentary parties.

the old constitution, and many holding almost the same views were found in opposite camps. In the king's favour was the strong personal attachment of his own friends and the stronger feeling of loyalty to the office of monarch. Against him were the errors of his past career and the profound distrust which so many felt of his character and motives. Religion divided the two sides more clearly than politics. Puritanism was the real strength of parliament, and all who loved bishops and Prayer-book, or were afraid of the setting up of a rigid Calvinistic despotism over conscience and liberty, fought for the king. The Roman Catholics were necessarily royalists, since a Puritan triumph meant a renewal of bitter persecutions for the friends of the old Church. There was no clear class division between the parties. Though the majority of the Lords and country gentry were royalists, yet a large proportion of the greater nobles of old standing was opposed to the crown, and the leaders of the Commons were gentlemen of large estate and high social position. It is easier to draw a geographical line between parties, though both sides had representatives everywhere. Roughly speaking, parliamentary preponderance rested on London and the southern and south-eastern shires; while the districts most loyal to the king were the north, Wales, and the south-west. This corresponds very roughly to the older divisions between York and Lancaster, between friends and foes of the Reformation under the Tudors. The more wealthy and progressive parts of the land were for the parliament; the old-fashioned and conservative districts felt more keenly the impulse of loyalty to the crown. Parliament had most resources, and was, in particular, in a much stronger financial position than the king. The royalists were called *Cavaliers*—that is, horsemen or gentlemen; and the Parliamentarians were nicknamed *Roundheads*, from the close-cropped hair affected by the Puritans.

31. Charles soon gained a large following in the Midlands. He appointed the earl of Lindsey to the supreme command, and placed the horse under his nephew, Prince Rupert, the son of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and his English wife, Elizabeth Stewart. Charles's plan was to march southwards on London, the parliamentary headquarters. But the chief parliamentary army, commanded by the earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's favourite, followed closely on his heels, and compelled him to fight the first pitched battle of the war at *Edge Hill*, on the borders of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire. Led by the impetuous Rupert, the king's cavalry easily defeated the horsemen

The campaign of 1642.

of the enemy, but the parliamentary infantry proved superior to the foot-soldiers of the king. When night fell, Essex withdrew his troops, leaving the king the fruits of victory. Charles thereupon resumed his march to London. On his way he occupied Oxford, and made his headquarters of that city, whose university, inspired by Laud's teaching, was enthusiastically on his side. From Oxford he pushed his way through Reading to London. He got to Brentford, within a few miles of the capital, but dared not venture to fight a pitched battle with the London militia, massed to oppose him on *Turnham Green*, between Hammersmith and Brentford. Winter was approaching, and Charles withdrew from Brentford to Oxford. He was never so near success as when he thus turned back from the suburbs of London.

Edge Hill and Brentford.

32. The early part of the campaign of 1643 was decidedly in favour of the king. The main armies, ranged between Oxford and London, did not show great energy, and the most memorable conflict between them was a skirmish between Rupert's horsemen and the parliamentary forces at *Chalgrove Field*, ten miles east of Oxford, where Hampden received his death-wound. His loss was the greater since Pym, the other parliamentary spokesman, died in the course of the same year. The main scenes of fighting were in the north and west, where each side had set on foot independent local armies. In both cases the preponderating feeling of the district was royalist, and in both the royalist cause prevailed. The king's general, the earl of Newcastle, defeated Lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, at *Adwalton Moor*, near Bradford, and conquered all Yorkshire, save Hull. In the south-west the battle of *Stratton* was an equally decisive royalist triumph. Cornwall and Devon were conquered, and the western army finished up its career of victory by marching through Somerset and defeating Sir William Waller at *Roundway Down*, near Devizes, in Wiltshire. Plymouth alone in the west upheld the cause of parliament. Bristol opened its gates, and nothing save the resistance of Puritan *Gloucester* prevented the royalist conquest of the lower Severn valley.

The campaign of 1643.

Royalist successes.

33. The royalists threw all their efforts into the attack on Plymouth, Hull, and Gloucester. Charles himself undertook the investment of the latter place, and soon pressed it so hard that Essex, though a sluggish general, felt forced to attempt to raise the siege. On his approach Charles fled, and Gloucester was thus saved from danger. Essex now made

First battle of Newbury. Sept., 1643.

his way back to London, retiring by circuitous roads so as to avoid Oxford. On September 20 he found his return blocked at *Newbury* by Charles's army, and was forced to accept battle. Charles's army was strongly posted on the slopes of a hill, and Essex's men had to advance through narrow lanes and broken ground to the attack. Rupert's impatience at fighting a mere defensive action caused him to risk the day by leading a fierce charge against the enemy. But the steadiness of the London militia resisted his headlong assaults, and when night fell the sturdy citizens still maintained their ground. The royalists suffered such severe losses that Charles, under cover of darkness, retreated to Oxford. Among the royalists slain was Falkland.

34. The relief of Gloucester, and the virtual victory at Newbury, marked the turning-points in the war. Henceforth the royalist successes were stayed, and the year ended without any more decisive action. In one field, the eastern counties, the Puritan cause held its own, even in the darkest days of the war. There was no fighting here, since, on the outbreak of hostilities, the various shires were combined in an organization known as the *Eastern Association*, which set up a well-disciplined army of sturdy Puritans, commanded by the earl of Manchester—who, as Lord Kimbolton, had shared the fate of the five members—and by Oliver Cromwell, a descendant of a Welsh nephew of Thomas Cromwell, and the member for Cambridge town in the Long Parliament. Cromwell was soon the soul of the Eastern Association, which he inspired with his own fierce and determined spirit. Its army conquered Lincolnshire at *Winceby fight* on the same day that Newcastle was forced to relinquish his long siege of Hull.

Cromwell and the Eastern Association.

35. After nearly two years of almost balanced victory, king and parliament now sought to obtain outside support. Fortunately foreign intervention was impossible, since the Thirty Years' War still occupied the attention of the chief nations of Europe. But Charles looked to Ireland and parliament to Scotland for possible assistance. Charles made a treaty called the *Cessation* with the Irish Catholics, which set free Strafford's army to come over and help him, though it once more involved him in the imputation of being a friend of papists. Parliament did a better stroke of business in signing a treaty with the Scots, called the *Solemn League and Covenant*, by which the Scots army was sent to aid the English Puritans on condition of England pledging itself to accept

The Cessation, and the Solemn League and Covenant.

Presbyterianism, which the Scots believed in so greatly that they would not move a finger to help the English until they adopted it.

36. Early in 1644 fighting was renewed. The army sent from Ireland to aid the king was scattered soon after its landing, but the well-disciplined levies of the Scots joined the Fairfaxes, and soon reversed the previous fortunes of war in the north of England. At last the combined Puritan armies shut up Newcastle and his army in York, which they straightway besieged. Manchester and Cromwell came up to the help of the Scots and Fairfaxes. Soon York was so severely pressed that Charles sent Rupert with the best part of his army to its relief. On his approach the siege of York was raised and the three armies of the parliament took up a position facing northwards on rising ground between the villages of Marston and Tockwith, a few miles west of York, where they awaited the attack of Newcastle and Rupert. Thus was brought about, on July 2, 1644, the *battle of Marston Moor*, the most important battle of the war.

The campaign of 1644.

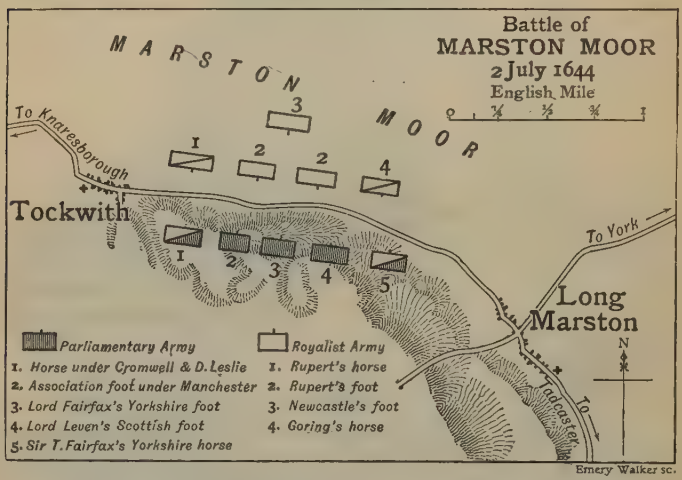
37. The three Puritan armies were posted amidst fields of rye on the low ridge that dominates Marston Moor from the south. Manchester and the Association army held the left, his extreme left being protected by Cromwell at the head of the eastern cavalry and David Leslie with the Scots horse. Lord Fairfax and the Yorkshire infantry were in the centre, while the Scots foot, commanded by Alexander Leslie, now Lord Leven, David's uncle, were stationed more to the right. The right flank was held by Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Yorkshire cavalry. On the other side Rupert stationed his horsemen over against Cromwell, while Lord Goring, with the rest of the cavalry, held the left wing opposite Sir Thomas and his Yorkshiremen. The infantry was massed in the centre, Rupert's troops being in advance of Newcastle's, which were held in reserve in the rear. The armies faced each other until six o'clock in the summer evening, when Rupert resolved to postpone the attack till next day. Suddenly the parliamentary forces advanced in a late and unexpected assault. Though taken by surprise, the royalists held their own manfully. Soon the tide of battle began to set against the Puritans. Lord Fairfax's centre was cut through, and his son's cavalry fled in headlong panic before Goring's troopers. The fortunes of the day were, however, stayed by the steadiness of Leven's Scottish infantry, who, though isolated by the retreat of the Fairfaxes on both sides of them, held their own with fierce pertinacity. Meanwhile, Cromwell and Rupert had

The Battle of Marston Moor, July 2, 1644.

ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, MAY. 1643.

ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, NOVEMBER, 1644.

crossed swords in the western section of the field. These commanders had already won the reputation of being the ablest generals of cavalry on their respective sides. Meeting each other for the first time, they fought with extreme courage and endurance. For a time Cromwell's heavy horsemen held their own with difficulty against the boisterous onslaught of Rupert. Then a timely charge of David Leslie turned the balance, and Rupert's troopers were soon driven in flight to the north. With great prudence Cromwell desisted from the pursuit, and turned to the assistance of the hotly pressed Scots foot. Manchester's men rallied on witnessing their



comrades' success. Thereupon the whole forces of the Association assailed the royalists on their right flank, and soon won a complete triumph. "God made them," boasted Cromwell, "as stubble to our swords." The royalists were scattered; a day half lost was changed into a great victory, and the whole of the north fell into the hands of the conquerors.

38. Parties were still so well balanced that Marston Moor was not in itself decisive. Essex's army was destroyed by an abortive attempt to invade Cornwall; and later in the year, when Manchester and Cromwell marched south to redress the Puritan fortunes, the sluggishness of the former missed a good chance of victory in the *second battle of Newbury*. But the greatest successes of Charles were

brought about by an unexpected royalist rising in Scotland under James Graham, earl of Montrose. Montrose had acted with Argyll, the Presbyterian leader, in repudiating the bishops and accepting the covenant. But he grew weary of the Calvinistic tyranny and was disgusted at the strong position which Argyll and his allies, the ministers, had attained. Montrose's ideal was that of a constitutional monarchy, ruling through the nobles and gentry, and keeping the clergy and the greater magnates in subjection. Presbyterianism was so strong, however, in Lowland Scotland that Montrose had no chance of winning many followers in the south. After vainly attempting to stir up a rising there, he turned to the Highlands, where he met with a warmer welcome. In the wild north and west of Scotland the Highland clans still maintained their turbulent independence. Every valley was governed by the clan chieftain just as the O'Neills and their fellows had ruled in Ireland until the Elizabethan conquest. Argyll was not only a great Lowland nobleman, but the head of the powerful Presbyterian clan of the Campbells, whose greed and aggressiveness made them hated by all the neighbouring tribesmen. The Highlanders readily rose at the bidding of the foe of the Campbells, and Montrose, with a true soldier's instinct, first led the fierce clansmen into the Lowlands, and made them the arbiters between the contending factions of the south. His appreciation of the military value of the Highlanders brought a new element into the scene which changed the fortunes of Scottish history on at least four occasions within the next hundred years. For the moment he was brilliantly successful. After many minor victories he scattered the Campbells at *Inverlochy*, near Ben Nevis, on February 2, 1645.

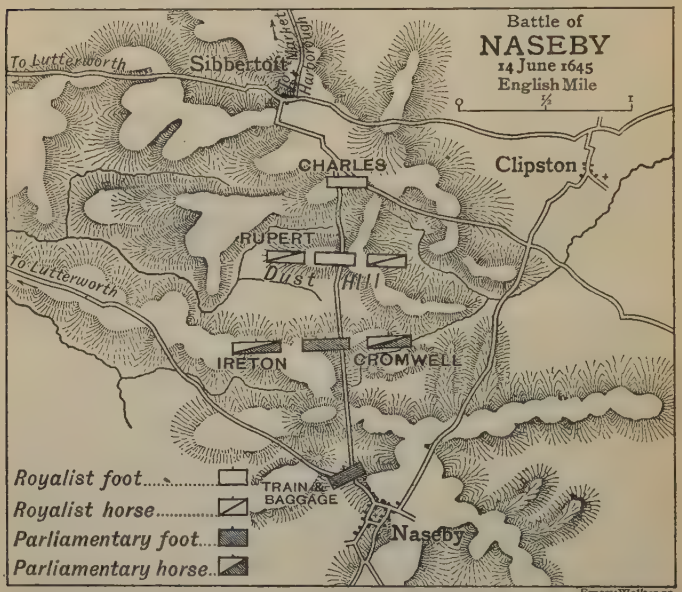
The destruction of Essex's army and the rising of Montrose.

39. The continued successes of the royalists filled the party of the parliament with extreme disappointment. Ardent spirits declared that the failure of the popular cause was largely due to the sluggishness and incompetence of the great noblemen, like Essex and Manchester, to whom the command of the armies had been assigned by reason of their hereditary claims. Others saw a chief reason for ill success in the want of organization and method of the locally raised and independently controlled armies. It was a proof that the extreme men were growing in power, that the aged Laud was attainted and executed early in 1645, a cruel act of vengeance that did nothing save to make peace more impossible. More honourable triumphs were the passing of

The New Model and the Self-Denying Ordinance, 1645.

the *New Model Ordinance*, which welded the armies of the Parliament together in a single whole, with sterner discipline, better organization, and regular pay, and the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, by which members of either House of Parliament were deprived of their commands. This was an ingenious plan for getting rid of Essex, Manchester, and Waller, but it should also have involved the removal of Cromwell. Cromwell was, however, the real inspirer of the new army system, and was thought indispensable. He was made *lieutenant-general*, or second in command, with supreme authority over the cavalry. Sir Thomas Fairfax became general-in-chief.

40. The campaign of 1645 proved the value of the New Model.



After purposeless wanderings in the Midlands, Charles and Fairfax met in battle on the high plateau of *Naseby*, in Northamptonshire, on June 14. As usual, the cavalry on the wings took the chief part in the struggle, but while Rupert on the king's right, after scattering his opponents under Ireton, wasted his time in pursuing the enemy and plundering the baggage train, Cromwell, who easily scattered the royalist left, at once desisted from pursuit, as at Marston, and fiercely

The battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645.

attacked the infantry on the royalist centre that had more than held its own in the early part of the encounter. Crushed between Cromwell's troopers and the rallying infantry of the New Model, the royalist centre was soon hopelessly defeated. Before long Cromwell had won a battle even more complete than the fight at Marston Moor.

41. The royalists still struggled manfully, but Montrose in Scotland was the only general who could still win victories for Charles. The Highland host had swept everything before it, but, when the fight was won, the simple clansmen had no thought save to go home and revel on the spoils. Montrose soon found the impossibility of keeping a Highland army long in the field an insuperable obstacle between him and the conquest of Scotland. In despair of his Celtic allies, he once more appealed to the Lowlands, but he was only joined by a few border lairds and their followers. David Leslie returned from England, and had little difficulty in destroying Montrose's little force at *Philiphaugh*, on Ettrick Water, in September, 1645. Montrose fled to the Highlands and thence to the continent. The Covenanters again dominated all Scotland.

Battle of Philiphaugh, Sept., 1645.

42. For nearly a year after Naseby Charles continued the struggle. At last, in May, 1646, seeing that his only choice was between exile and surrender, he rode into the Scots camp, thinking that he might persuade them to uphold him against the English. This the Scots might have done if Charles would have given up episcopacy, but on his refusing their terms, they handed him over to parliament, and went back to their own country. Fortune, however, still favoured the king. If he could not set Scots against English, he soon had a chance of winning back some power by playing off against each other the two factions into which the victorious parliamentarians were now breaking up.

Charles surrenders to the Scots, May, 1646.

43. Already, during the discussions about the New Model, a strong cleavage had become marked between the moderate men, powerful in the two Houses of Parliament, and the extreme men, who gained the chief positions in the reorganized army. In an age that set religion before politics, these two parties became known as *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. The Presbyterians of the Long Parliament were not zealots for the divine right of Presbytery like their Scots allies, though they had agreed to make the English Church Presbyterian. With the help of the *Westminster Assembly of Divines* they had removed bishops and Prayer-book from the English Church,

Presbyterians and Independents.

and had made it in all things like the Church of Scotland, save that they insisted on maintaining parliamentary control over the Church after a fashion that the Scots thought an impious interference by the secular power with spiritual matters. Even in the Westminster Assembly, however, a little knot of *sectaries*, or *Independents*, made their influence felt. Holding the same views as the Brownists of Elizabeth's reign, the sectaries wished to make each congregation a self-governing Church. They thought that the "new presbyter is but old priest writ large," and feared to extend to England the spiritual tyranny set up in Scotland. It followed from their views that they were advocates of toleration, while the Presbyterians were more eager than Laud to impose their tenets upon every one, and stamp out all dissent.

Parliament and the army.

44. The might of Independency lay in the strong and growing hold which it had over the army. When appeal is once made to the sword, the sword naturally has the final settlement of affairs. But the Presbyterian leaders in parliament did not realize what an immense authority belonged to the warriors who had fought their battles. Now that the war was over they hoped to disband the army, and were so eager to do this that they did not even pay the soldiers their arrears of pay before their dismissal. This foolish step united the army as one man against the Lords and Commons. The beginnings of opposition arose from the elected representatives of the soldiers, but Cromwell, after some hesitation, threw in his lot with them.

Charles's intrigues with both the army and the Presbyterians.

45. Parliament, alarmed by the attitude of the army leaders, began to negotiate with the king and Scots. Thereupon Cromwell sent a few troops of horse to *Holmby House*, near Northampton, where Charles was living, and secured the custody of the king for the army. Charles was respectfully treated by the soldiers, who offered him better terms than the Scots or parliament had done. He might even continue episcopacy so long as none were forced to obey the bishops' jurisdiction. But Charles, as usual, shirked taking up a straightforward line. Deceived by the anxiety which both parties had shown to get him on their side, he thought he was still strong enough to play off one against the other, and ultimately win back his old position. His incurable vacillation and lack of faith soon convinced the soldiers that no trust could be placed in him. While professing to listen to the army terms, he signed a secret *Engagement* with the Scots, in which he promised to set up Presbyterianism for three years and put down heresy—that

is, Independency. In deep disgust the Independent leaders resolved to have no more to do with the treacherous king. An unsuccessful attempt at escape gave them the pretext for keeping him, under restraint for the first time, at Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

46. In 1648 the English Presbyterians joined hands with the Scots against the army. The result was the *second Civil War*, in which a Scottish force advanced through Cumberland and Lancashire to restore the king, while Presbyterian Kent and Essex, where there had hitherto been no fighting at all, rose in revolt against army rule. Fairfax soon crushed the rising in the Home Counties by the capture of *Colchester*, while Cromwell fell upon the Scots and signally defeated them in a series of fights between *Preston* and *Warrington*. All England was now at the mercy of the New Model army, controlled by fierce fanatics, who were weary of compromise and intrigue, and felt a divine call to govern England after their own fashion.

The second Civil War, 1648.

47. Parliament still timidly upheld the Presbyterian position, and tried to renew negotiations with the king. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Pride went down to Westminster and drove out the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons. The minority of Independents, soon derided as the *Rump*, was allowed to sit, but these men were puppets in the hands of the soldiers. The army now demanded that Charles should be brought to trial as guilty of the unnecessary bloodshed of the second Civil War. The little knot of Independent peers shrank from so violent a policy, whereupon the Commons resolved that as representatives of the people they had power to act by themselves. A *High Court of Justice*, of which John Bradshaw was the president, was then set up to try the king. Though barely half the members nominated were willing to sit, Fairfax the general being himself among those who refused, the resolute fanatics resolved to hold their court. Charles, brought before it, declared that no tribunal of subjects had a right to sit in judgment on its sovereign. This plea was disregarded, and, after a mere pretence of a trial, the king was condemned to death on January 27 as a murderer and a traitor. On January 30 he was beheaded outside the Banqueting House of his own palace of Whitehall. In the presence of death the better side of Charles's character asserted itself. He died with such piety, patience, and meekness that the incurable errors of his life were forgotten in the pity excited by his death, and he was reverenced as a martyr to Church and constitution.

The triumph of the Independents, Dec., 1648, and the execution of Charles I., Jan., 1649.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649–1660)

Chief Dates:

1649. Establishment of the Commonwealth; Cromwell's victories in Ireland.
1650. Battle of Dunbar.
1651. Battle of Worcester.
1652. War with the Dutch.
1653. The Instrument of Government.
1655. Conquest of Jamaica.
1657. The Humble Petition and Advice.
1658. Death of Cromwell.
1659. Fall of Richard Cromwell.
1660. Convention Parliament and Declaration of Breda.

Establishment of the Commonwealth, 1649.

1. After the execution of Charles I., the Rump, disregarding the claims of his son Charles, prince of Wales, abolished both monarchy and House of Lords, and resolved that henceforward England should be a Republic, or *Commonwealth*, ruled by a House of Commons only. The carrying out of the laws was entrusted to a new *Council of State* of forty-one persons, which was to take the place of the Privy Council. The next thing to follow naturally would have been the dissolution of the Rump, and the holding of a general election; and the army, the real source of the Rump's authority, was anxious that this step should be effected without delay. However, the Rump clung to power, and feared lest a freely elected parliament should sweep away the new constitution. Its ideal was a republican aristocracy, such as that of Holland or Venice, maintaining good order, and upholding religious toleration for all sorts of Puritans. For more than four years it was suffered to go on ruling England. Its real masters, the soldiers, had plenty to do during that period in defeating their enemies in Scotland and Ireland, and in teaching foreign states to respect the young republic.

2. Even in England troubles beset the infant commonwealth. The royalist party was inspired with new life by the pity felt for the fate of Charles I. A little book called, *Eikon Basilike*, or the *Kingly Image*, which professed to contain the prayers and meditations composed by the martyr before his execution, was so eagerly read and admired that John Milton, the poet, now secretary to the council of state, wrote an answer entitled *Eikonoklastes*, or the *Image-breaker*. An even greater peril came from the more turbulent spirits called the *Levellers*, who thought that the army leaders had not gone far enough, and insisted upon the immediate setting up of a complete democracy. Many of the keenest politicians in the army were of this way of thinking, and there was real danger from their fierce zeal. Cromwell, however, declared himself strongly against them. "Break them in pieces," said he to the council. "If you do not break them, they will break you." He sternly put down the mutinies which the Levellers had stirred up among the soldiers. The Commonwealth must make itself supreme before the question of what form it should take could be considered. The royalists dared not rise, so that the fall of the Levellers meant the complete subjugation of England.

Difficulties of the new government.

3. Ireland and Scotland were still outside the rule of the Rump. In Ireland since the Cessation most of the country was in Catholic hands, though the differences between the extreme Irish party and the moderate Catholic nobles made their position difficult, and allowed the duke of Ormonde, the royalist leader, to make an alliance between the Catholic lords and the Protestant royalists, and proclaim the prince of Wales as Charles II., king of Ireland. Early in 1649 Cromwell crossed over to Ireland and waged a war against the Catholics and royalists. His first victories were the captures of *Drogheda* and *Wexford*, where he massacred the whole of the defeated garrisons, thinking that this cruel example would frighten the rest of the land into obedience. In 1650 the conquest had proceeded so far that Cromwell was able to leave its completion to his lieutenants. These now restored Protestant and English ascendency in very much the same fashion as Strafford. The Catholic worship was suppressed, and the Irish landlords were driven from their lands, or compelled to exchange their fertile estates for stretches of bog and moorland beyond the Shannon. Their property was sold to speculators, or else handed over to Puritan veterans, on condition of their settling down as new members of the English garrison. Ireland had secured

Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, 1649-1650.

peace and sound government, but was so sternly coerced that the rule of Cromwell has ever after been hated by the Irish as a time of peculiarly bitter tyranny.

4. In Scotland the Presbyterians, indignant at their defeat in the second civil war, and always professing loyalty, after their fashion, to the monarchy, proclaimed the prince of Wales king of Scots immediately on his father's death. The young king was, however, an exile in Holland. Clever and clear-headed, but needy, frivolous, and debauched, Charles II. had no mind to submit himself to the restraints which the Covenanters sought to impose upon their king, and remained in Holland, while Montrose crossed to Scotland in 1650, and attempted another royalist rising, in the hope of making the king's nominal rule a real one. He was unsuccessful, and was soon captured and hanged. This tragedy showed Charles that he must accept the Presbyterian terms or remain in poverty and exile. He bent his neck to the yoke, subscribed the Covenant, pledged himself to set up Presbyterianism in all the three kingdoms, and was thereafter coldly welcomed by his subjects, and crowned king of Scots in January, 1651. Argyll, however, remained the real ruler of Scotland, and the young king was completely dependent on his stern Puritan taskmasters.

Charles II. king of Scots, 1649-1651.

5. The Rump saw that either they must conquer Scotland, or that the Scots would attempt to conquer England. Fairfax, long disgusted with the turn things were taking, refused to lead the army against the Scots, and resigned his command. Cromwell, who had no such scruples, became general in his place, and invaded Scotland in the summer of 1650. On September 3 he gained one of the most brilliant of his victories at *Dunbar*, over a Scots army commanded by David Leslie, his old companion in arms. The result was the conquest of southern Scotland. In 1651 the Scots, in despair of resisting the invader any longer, took the desperate resolve of invading England, hoping that a royalist rising would follow the appearance of the king and his troops. David Leslie again led the Covenanting army, and Charles II. himself accompanied the expedition. England was, however, so sick of war that not even the appearance of the son of the martyr of Whitehall could stir up a revolt, especially for a Presbyterian king surrounded by Puritan soldiers. Cromwell followed hard upon the invaders, so that their movement had more the appearance of a flight than a spontaneous advance. At last, on September 3, 1651, exactly a year after Dunbar, the

Battles of Dunbar and Worcester, 1650-1651.

general overwhelmed the weary band at *Worcester*, a battle which he described as a "crowning mercy." The three kingdoms were now at his feet, for Argyll, unable to defend even his Highland valleys, was forced to make peace. Scotland, like England, became a commonwealth, without king or House of Lords. Presbyterianism was deprived of its assemblies and political influence, and toleration was secured for all Puritans in the land which had hitherto had freedom of worship for none save Presbyterians. After Worcester, the king of Scots escaped to the continent, having many romantic adventures on his way.

6. The British islands all subdued, the young republic next turned against the foreign enemies that had insulted it. Conspicuous among these was the Dutch republic, whose strong commercial rivalry with England overbore the common bonds that should have bound together two Calvinistic commonwealths. The Rump did not fear to challenge Dutch hostility by passing, in 1651, a *Navigation Act*, which was directly aimed at the *carrying trade* which was the chief source of the enormous wealth of the United Provinces. By it goods were to be henceforth imported into England, either in English ships or in vessels of the country to which the cargo belonged. The result of the act was a fierce war at sea between England and the Dutch. At first the enemy had nearly everything in their favour. Their ships and captains were the most famous in Europe, while the Rump had to create a new English navy and find naval commanders from its generals on land. Luckily a leader of great capacity for seamanship was found in Robert Blake, a Somersetshire man, who had fought well on the side of Puritanism during the Civil War. Beaten in his first efforts by the eminent Dutch admiral Tromp, Blake was able to win a decided victory off *Portland* in 1653. Henceforth the two navies were so equal and the seamen of each so brave and obstinate that the fight was one of peculiar stubbornness. There was no longer, however, any danger of foreign nations striving to upset the young republic. Abroad as at home the commonwealth seemed firmly established.

The Dutch war, 1652-1653.

7. Now that fighting was over the Puritan army had again leisure to concern itself with politics. It became indignant that so narrow an oligarchy as the Rump should still cling to power, and still profess to speak in the name of the English people. It drew up schemes for the future government of England on popular and Puritan lines, and strongly urged the dissolution of parliament. The oligarchy

The expulsion of the Rump, 1653.

paid little attention to its views. The Rump had now been so long in power that it forgot that it had been created by the soldiers and was dependent upon them. Before long the army leaders lost all patience. Cromwell, though slow to move, never hesitated to take a decisive line when he thought the time was ripe for action. He convinced himself that the Rump would never willingly put an end to itself, and that the continuance of its rule was a danger to freedom. On April 20, 1653, he made a speech in parliament bitterly rebuking his colleagues for self-seeking and greed. "It is not fit," he cried, "that you should sit here any longer." Thereupon some of his soldiers drove the Commons out of their own House. Thus an end was put to even a pretence of parliamentary government. The army thus destroyed the Commons as well as the monarchy and the Lords.

The Little Parliament.

8. Power was now concentrated in the soldiers and their general. Cromwell, though careless of forms, had no wish to rule as a mere military chieftain. Now that the Rump was removed, he cast about for a body corresponding to the House of Commons, though he had not enough faith in popular government to summon a free parliament and let it do what it liked. He was an enthusiastic Puritan, and thought that the best rulers of a nation were godly and religious men. He now strove to gather together an assembly of leading Puritans selected by himself. When they met he told them that they had been chosen to govern England because of their piety. His nominees in this assembly soon got out of hand. They forced forward wild schemes for getting rid of priests and lawyers, and their impracticable crochets soon made Cromwell see that he had made a mistake in calling them together. He persuaded some of the more discreet members to resign their power into his hands. Thus ended the meetings of the body which men called in derision the *Little Parliament*, though in truth it was no parliament at all. It was also called *Barebones' Parliament*, from one of its members whose name was Barbon.

The Instrument of Government.

9. The soldiers showed more good sense than the fanatics, and in December, 1653, the council of officers drew up a scheme for the future administration of England, called the *Instrument of Government*. It provided that England, Scotland, and Ireland should be united in a single commonwealth, with one parliament and one executive. This parliament was to consist of a House of Commons only, containing four hundred members, representing the three nations,

and chosen according to a scheme that gave members to districts according to their wealth and importance, and votes in choosing them to all persons possessed of property worth £200. To this reformed House of Commons the whole legislative power was assigned. The government of the country was, however, entrusted to a *Lord Protector*, assisted by a *Council of State*. Cromwell was to be the lord protector, and the effect of the plan was to give him a sort of limited monarchy for life, though with not nearly so much power as the old kings had possessed.

10. For the rest of his career Cromwell ruled England as protector. He soon showed that he was as great as a statesman as he had been as a general. In modern days we may look back with special interest to his work, since under his rule the three kingdoms first had a single parliament, the first reformed parliaments sat, and religious toleration was tried for the first time. Wise, active, and high-minded as he undoubtedly was, Cromwell, nevertheless, was not able to rule England successfully. When his parliament met, it began to quarrel with the system under which it had been created, but this Cromwell would not permit. He told the members that they must accept the general principle of the Instrument of Government, and would not allow those who refused to bind themselves to do so to sit any longer. Even after this purging the Commons continued to give Cromwell trouble, so that he dissolved them in disgust.

Cromwell as Protector, 1653-1658.

11. Cromwell now threw over all pretence of constitutional rule. He levied taxes without parliamentary grant, and turned out the judges who seemed too outspoken in their criticisms of his system. He divided England into ten large districts, over each of which he appointed a soldier, with the title of *Major-General*, to act as its governor. This revealed the true character of the new protectorate. It was based upon the power of the sword, and without the support of the Puritan army it would not have lasted for a month. The royalists hated Cromwell as a king-killer; the republicans as a renegade who made himself a sort of king; and even his own soldiers wavered in their loyalty to him. Ireland and Scotland resented his rule as that of an alien conqueror, and were only kept quiet by main force. In short, all Cromwell's playing with constitutional forms was insincere. It is true that he preferred to rule through a parliament. Yet he was determined to govern after his own way, and if his Commons did not like it, he dealt with them more roughly

The Major-generals, 1655.

than ever Charles I. dared to do. His sway was, therefore, that of a military despot, and he belongs to the same type as Julius Cæsar and Napoleon Buonaparte. But though one of the most arbitrary he was one of the most efficient of all our rulers, and, considering the narrow basis of his power, he accomplished great things.

Cromwell's Puritan State Church.

12. Cromwell devoted much care to the settlement of the Church by bringing in a larger measure of toleration than England had ever known before. There was still a state Church, which, after a brief experience of exclusive Presbyterianism before 1648, became under Cromwell the common ground for all men of Puritan views. Even the old clergy were not disturbed if they would abstain from using the Prayer-book and promised to be faithful to the commonwealth. Cromwell boasted of his comprehensive Church system. "Of the three sorts of godly men," he said, "Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents, though a man may be of any of these three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him he may be admitted." Ministers of these three ways of thinking held the livings, received the tithes, and preached in the churches. But outside Cromwell's tolerance were "Papists" and "Prelatists," partly because they were not faithful to the commonwealth, but partly also because their opinions were thought to be superstitious. In other directions Cromwell was so liberal that he allowed Jews to settle in England and erect synagogues there for the first time since the reign of Edward I. A tolerance that excluded the Prayer-book and the mass could not but find many dissatisfied persons, and besides Catholic and Anglican malcontents, new Puritan sects now arose which also stood outside Cromwell's Church. Chief among these were the *Society of Friends*, or the *Quakers*, whose protests against Calvinistic dogmatism took the form of believing that the inner light of each man's conscience was the best test of spiritual truth.

Cromwell's foreign policy.

13. Cromwell's foreign policy brought him especial fame. Alone of our seventeenth-century rulers, he had the advantage of having an army behind him, and could therefore make his influence felt in a fashion impossible for any Stewart king. His first idea of foreign politics was to go back to the days of Queen Elizabeth, and pose as the protector of the Protestant interest all over Europe. With this object he made peace with the Dutch in 1654, and strove to form a league of the Protestant powers. He soon found, however, that religion was no longer the chief element in determining the relations between state

and state, and that Protestant nations hated each other as bitterly as did the chief Catholic powers, France and Spain. Politics still centred round the rivalry of these two kingdoms. The Thirty Years' War had ended in 1648 by the *treaty of Westphalia* giving religious peace to Germany. But the position then won by the Protestants in Germany was due, not to their own efforts, but to the influence of France, which in its hatred of the Hapsburgs had backed up the Lutherans. The peace of 1648 secured the supremacy of France, which, under its young king Louis XIV. (1643-1715), became once more the first state in Europe. So jealous was Spain of French ascendency that it refused to make peace, and war between the two great powers continued until 1659. Their eager rivalry made both anxious to get the support of Cromwell.

14. Rudely deceived in his hopes of forming a Protestant league, the protector had now to decide between the rival claims of two Catholic states to his favour. He soon cast in his lot with France, largely on the ground that France was less bigoted in its popery than Spain, but also moved by the fact that, as in Elizabeth's days, Spain was still our chief rival on the sea and in America. In 1654 he sent Blake to uphold English interests in the Mediterranean, while another fleet under Penn and Venables was despatched to the West Indies to renew the old Elizabethan attacks on Spanish power in the new world. Blake soon won fresh glory for our fleets, concluding his great career in 1657 by totally destroying a Spanish fleet at *Santa Cruz*, in Teneriffe. He died on the way home, having in a few years won an enduring place among the very greatest of English seamen.

The French alliance, 1655.

15. Penn and Venables were less fortunate, failing in an ill-planned attack on Hispaniola, but taking *Jamaica* from the Spaniards in 1655. This was the first colony won by England by conquest from another European power. In 1657 and 1658, Cromwell's Puritan soldiers fought side by side with the French in Flanders, gaining a brilliant victory in the *battle of the Dunes*, which resulted in our capture and occupation of *Dunkirk*. With English help, France so thoroughly defeated Spain that in 1659 the Spaniards were glad to make peace. The conditions made Louis XIV. by far the strongest prince in Europe and gained Dunkirk for England. Cromwell's foreign policy won England a position she had not had since the days of Elizabeth. It deserves every praise for vigour and energy, yet the fundamental idea of it was mistaken. If a balance of power was to be maintained, Cromwell did a bad service

Jamaica, 1655, and the battle of the Dunes, 1658.

to England and Europe by helping to build up the overweening power of Louis XIV.

16. Despite his first failure Cromwell still strove to rule with a parliament, and in 1656 summoned a second House of Commons, though again excluding from their seats all persons known to be opposed to his policy. This purged assembly, pleased at the withdrawal of the rule of the major-generals, drew up, in 1657, a new scheme of government called the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which is memorable as an attempt to restore the traditional constitution before the Civil Wars. In the original plan Cromwell was to be made king, and, though respect for the prejudices of his republican friends led him to reject the title, a revised scheme was drafted giving him as protector the chief powers of a king, including the right of naming his successor. Moreover, the House of Lords was to be restored as well as the monarchy, though also under another name. An upper house, consisting of life peers, nominated by the protector, and called the *Other House*, was henceforth set up beside the House of Commons. Thus the old constitution was to come back under the house of Cromwell and with a Puritan Church establishment.

The Humble Petition and Advice, 1657.

17. Cromwell did not live long enough to carry out this new system completely. He was cut off on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, and the protectorate, difficult enough under a man of genius, speedily became impossible under his eldest son. Richard Cromwell, whom Oliver had nominated as his successor, became protector as easily as one hereditary king succeeds another. His advisers, anxious to make the restoration of the old constitution more complete, abandoned the reformed scheme of representation, and caused his first parliament to be elected by the old constituencies, rotten boroughs and all. The Commons showed friendliness to Richard because they were afraid of the army, and hoped to make an alliance with him against the soldiers. The real trouble began when the army insisted on having as their new general, Fleetwood, with powers independent of protector and parliament. Richard refused this, though he offered to make Fleetwood lieutenant-general under himself as general. Then the army coerced the weak-spirited protector into dismissing parliament. On May 25, 1659, Richard, only anxious for a quiet life in the country, resigned the protectorate altogether.

Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, September, 1658-May, 1659.

18. The army did not know what to do with the supreme power which devolved upon it on the collapse of parliament and protector. Without Cromwell there was no one to frame them a policy, and the would-be successors of Cromwell quarrelled among each other instead of agreeing upon common action. At last, in depair, the Rump was asked to resume power. The narrow and self-satisfied oligarchy had learned nothing during its years of retirement. It again arrogated to itself all the rights of the Commons of England, and took up a lofty tone in dealing with the soldiers.

The Rump restored.

19. Everything was now in confusion, and the weakness of the government inspired the Presbyterians of Cheshire to rise in revolt. The army could still fight, though it could not rule, and Lambert, the strongest of the generals, easily suppressed the insurrection. When peace was restored, Lambert turned out the Rump; but so little was the army able to govern that, on December 26, it recalled the Rump for the second time.

A Presbyterian revolt suppressed, 1659.

20. The only way that had not been tried to remedy the hopeless condition into which affairs had drifted was the bringing back of the old king and the old constitution. The first man of authority bold enough to make this experiment was George Monk, a silent, hard-headed, shrewd soldier, who then commanded the army that kept Scotland in obedience to the commonwealth. Still keeping his own counsel as to what he meant to do, Monk crossed the Tweed into England on January 2, 1660, and marched slowly to London. During the journey he received a warm welcome from every one, among others from Fairfax, now eager to undo the work of his own hands. When Monk reached London, he declared himself in favour of a free parliament meeting at once to settle the future destiny of the nation. He compelled the Rump to receive back the members ejected at Pride's Purge. This gave a majority for his friends, who at once voted that the Long Parliament should come to an end. Its last act was to make Monk general of the army.

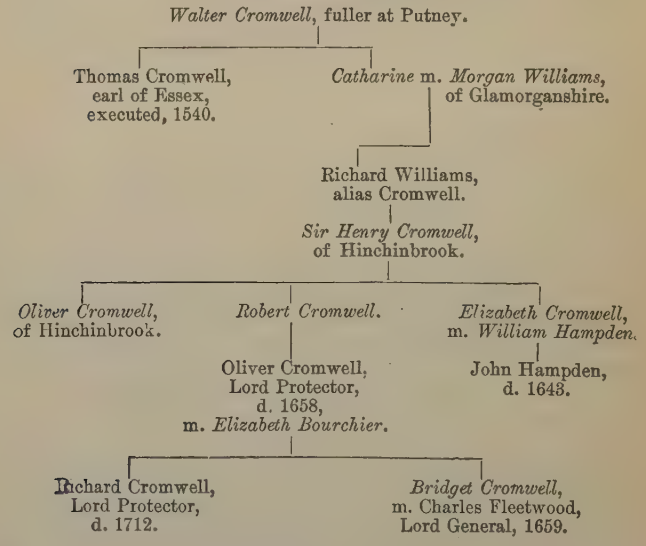
Monk declares for a free Parliament, 1660.

21. All eyes were now turned to the king of Scots and his court of exiles. To facilitate Monk's work, Charles issued, on April 4, the *Declaration of Breda*, in which he promised a general pardon, agreed to let parliament settle the chief matters of importance, and declared his desire to grant a "liberty to tender consciences" in matters of religion that did not disturb the peace of the realm. A few weeks later the free parliament assembled,

the Commons for England only after the old fashion, and the Lords temporal, without the bishops, who had been lawfully excluded. This assembly, called the *Convention*, since it was not summoned by royal writ, voted that "the government is and ought to be by kings, Lords, and Commons," and invited Charles to come and receive his birthright. On May 29, which was also his birthday, Charles II. entered London amidst the unmeasured rejoicings of nearly the whole nation. This Restoration was, however, not merely a restoration of the crown. It was preceded by a restoration of parliament, and the wholesome laws of the early days of the Long Parliament remained on the statute-book, and made it impossible for Charles to follow blindly in his father's path. Thus the one great break in the continuity of modern English history was ended by the bringing back of the old constitution.

The declaration of Breda and the restoration of Charles II., April-May, 1660.

THE CROMWELL FAMILY


Walter Cromwell, fuller at Putney.
Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, executed, 1540.
Catharine m. *Morgan Williams*, of Glamorganshire.
Richard Williams, alias Cromwell.
Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook.
Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook.
Robert Cromwell.
Elizabeth Cromwell, m. *William Hampden*.
Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, d. 1658, m. *Elizabeth Bourchier*.
John Hampden, d. 1643.
Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, d. 1712.
Bridget Cromwell, m. Charles Fleetwood, Lord General, 1659.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES II. (1660–1685)

Chief Dates:

1660. Restoration of Charles II.
1662. Act of Uniformity.
1663. Foundation of Carolina.
1665. The Dutch War; the Great Plague.
1666. The Great Fire of London.
1667. Treaty of Breda and Fall of Clarendon.
1668. Triple Alliance.
1670. Treaty of Dover.
1673. Test Act and Fall of Cabal.
1678. Treaty of Nijmegen and Popish Plot.
1679. Fall of Danby and the *Habeas Corpus Act.*
1680. Exclusion Bill rejected.
1681. Foundation of Pennsylvania.
1682. Rye House Plot.
1685. Death of Charles II.

1. Many delicate matters remained to be settled after the restoration of Charles II. The king had been brought back by the Presbyterians, but the old royalists now returned from their exile or retirement, and it was no easy matter to satisfy both of these parties. The Convention, now turned into a formal parliament, set to work to embody in law the conditions of the Declaration of Breda. An *Act of Indemnity* was passed which gave a general pardon to those who had fought against Charles I. The *regicides*, who had sat in judgment on him, and a few others, were excepted from the amnesty, and thirteen of these were put to death, while others were imprisoned or exiled. Even dead regicides were exposed to such dishonour as could be wrought upon them. The bodies of Cromwell and other commonwealth leaders were dug out of their graves in Westminster Abbey, and hanged on the gallows at Tyburn. Monk's army received its arrears of pay, and was disbanded, except about five thousand men. These few regiments formed the nucleus of our modern standing army, which thus is directly descended from the

Work of the Convention, 1660–1661.

Cromwellian soldiers. All the proceedings of the revolutionary government were now treated as invalid, but very few of the early acts of the Long Parliament, which Charles I. had accepted, were tampered with, though the Triennial Act was made less severe, and bishops were restored to their place in the House of Lords. Many of the laws of the Rump and of the protectorate, which were thought good in themselves, were now re-enacted in a more legal fashion. Among these was the Navigation Act of 1651, and an act abolishing military tenures. A permanent excise was granted to the king in compensation for his loss of the feudal revenue, and an income of £1,200,000 a year was voted to Charles for life.

2. Public opinion soon ran far beyond the policy of the Convention Parliament. The ruined royalists denounced as rebels many of those who had been most prominent in bringing about the Restoration. In particular there was a strong indisposition to allow a Puritan assembly to settle the future constitution of the Church. Accordingly, the Convention was dissolved in December, and in May, 1661, a new parliament was elected. In this the old Cavalier spirit was supreme. It insisted upon further exceptions to the Act of Indemnity, though Charles and his ministers did what they could to prevent additional deeds of vengeance. The first work of this new parliament was the settlement of the Church. Neither Prayer-book nor bishops had been legally abolished. The surviving bishops were restored to their sees, and the empty bishoprics were filled up. The chief difficulty in the bishops' way lay in the fact that parish clergy, appointed since the Civil War, were Puritans, who hated episcopacy and the Prayer-book. At first there was some talk of so altering the constitution of the Church as to retain the more moderate of the Puritan clergy within its fold, and Charles himself had promised to reform the Church so as to make it better liked by the Presbyterians. With that object a *conference* was held in 1661 at the Savoy Palace in the Strand, between the bishops and the Presbyterian leaders. The bishops, headed by Gilbert Sheldon, then bishop of London, and soon after this made archbishop of Canterbury, took up an unconciliatory attitude; and the Presbyterians, whose chief spokesman was Richard Baxter, demanded such extensive changes, that the bishops had some excuse for refusing any concessions at all. A slight revision of the Prayer-book was the chief result of the Savoy Conference; but the changes made in it were such as made it more distasteful to the Puritans than it had been before.

The Restoration settlement of the Church, 1661.

3. A series of acts of parliament now completed the restoration of the old Church. The first of these was the *Corporation Act* of 1661, which required that all members of municipal corporations should receive the Communion according to the rites of the Church, and abjure the Covenant. Next came the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662, which made compulsory the use of the revised Prayer-book after St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24. Another act required that all the beneficed clergy on whom a bishop had not laid his hands should receive episcopal ordination. When these laws came into operation nearly two thousand beneficed clergymen resigned their benefices, rather than read the Prayer-book and seek episcopal ordination. Their expulsion from the Church made it necessary for such as wished to continue their ministry to set up congregations of their own. The result was the beginning of Protestant dissent on a large scale. Up to now the general plan of the Puritans had been to remain within the Church and change its character. This policy was henceforth impossible. Not only the Independents and Baptists, who had had churches of their own since Elizabeth's day, left the Church. Even the Presbyterians followed their example, though it was a proof of the weakness of English Presbyterianism that a large number of the leaders of the old Presbyterian party conformed to the new settlement. Stern laws strove to defeat the efforts of the expelled ministers to form congregations for themselves. Charles II. did what he could to carry out the promise of "liberty to tender consciences" which he had promised at Breda. But even the wish of the king was of no great force on the zealots who professed to be glorifying his power. In 1664 a *Conventicle Act* enacted that any meeting of more than five persons for religious worship, not in accordance with the practices of the Church, was an illegal conventicle, attendance at which was severely punished. In 1665 the *Five-Mile Act* forbade the ejected clergy to teach in schools, or live within five miles of any town or of any place where they had once held a cure. For the rest of Charles's reign the prisons were filled with Dissenters, who had broken these cruel laws in their wish to worship God in the way they thought right. John Bunyan, the minister of a village congregation of Baptists near Bedford, was shut up for more than twelve years in Bedford gaol. During a subsequent imprisonment there, he wrote his famous *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Clarendon Code, 1661-1665.

4. Thus the ecclesiastical system of Laud and Charles I. was fully restored. It is the best proof of the thoroughness of the

reaction against Puritanism that that Restoration was the work of parliament itself. Laud, in defiance of parliament, had persecuted those who disagreed with him; the Dissenters of the age of the Restoration were legally persecuted by the act of the House of Commons itself. The same strong reaction against Puritanism led to a curious glorification of royalty and the erection of loyalty into a sort of religion. New churches were dedicated to King Charles the Martyr as to a new saint. The restored clergy preached the divine right of kings, and the duty of the subjects passively obeying the will of the Lord's anointed. The rebound from Puritan austerity showed itself even more strongly in a wild time of riot and dissipation in which the king and his courtiers took the lead.

The reaction against Puritanism.

5. Scotland and Ireland were as strongly affected by the Restoration as England. In both countries the Cromwellian Union was set aside as illegally brought about, and both the bringing back of the local parliaments and the ending of the Independent tyranny made Scots and Irish at first welcome the movement. But in neither country was there a real restoration of local independence, and English ascendency survived in more disguised forms. In Scotland a *Rescissory Act* abolished all legislation passed since 1633, and therefore restored bishops in the Church, though no effort was made to set up anew the Liturgy of Laud. This measure, passed by a union between the king and the nobles, curbed the power of the Presbyterian clergy, and began to make the Restoration disliked among the Scots. Before long things went much further. Argyll, the Presbyterian leader, was executed upon frivolous charges of complicity with the death of Charles I. With the help of the new archbishop of St. Andrews, James Sharp, and of John Maitland, earl of Lauderdale, both recent converts to episcopacy, Charles II. renewed the policy of the early Stewarts of keeping Scotland under English influence, which in effect meant the subordination of the smaller to the larger kingdom. The *Covenanters*, who refused to worship in a Church ruled by bishops, were brutally persecuted, and the feeling of the people was with them, so that the king's policy became unpopular and provoked frequent insurrections.

The Restoration in Scotland.

6. There was no pretence of restoring freedom to Ireland. Protestant and English ascendency assumed a Cavalier and Episcopal rather than a Puritan shape, and the duke of Ormonde, the chief agent of the Irish Restoration, showed more toleration

to the Roman Catholics than the Cromwellians had done. The chief problem of the Irish Restoration, however, was the question of the land. The Puritan adventurers had been settled on estates that had been forfeited, partly for rebellion against England, and partly for loyalty to Charles I. They were, however, a powerful addition to the Protestant garrison, and it seemed dangerous to English interests to remove them. Accordingly, the *Act of Settlement* of 1661 allowed the Puritan settlers to keep their estates, while promising restitution to all royalists, whether Protestant or Catholic, who had lost their lands for adhesion to King Charles. It was soon found that there was not enough land to satisfy everybody, and a later *Act of Explanation* annulled a third of the Cromwellian grants in order to help back loyalists. This seemed a liberal policy to Ormonde, but the result of it was that a very small proportion of Irish soil was restored to native Irish or Catholic hands. Hence arose the great agrarian question of later Irish history. The divorce of the Irish Catholics from their land condemned them to hopeless poverty and intensified their deep sense of wrong. They were, however, less harshly dealt with than in Puritan times. The mass was again allowed, though the Catholic clergy were badly treated. Bishops were restored in the Protestant Church, which, however, kept up its Puritan traditions by way of being as different as possible from the Catholic majority.

The Restoration in Ireland.

7. Foreign policy was not greatly influenced by the Restoration so far as its general direction was concerned, though the different way in which the same policy was carried out soon made the changes seem greater than they were. Charles II. continued Cromwell's alliance with Louis XIV., though the overwhelming power of that monarch was already recognized as threatening the balance of Europe. Two important results soon flowed from the French alliance. In 1662 Charles sold the Cromwellian conquest, Dunkirk, to the French. This act was unpopular, and was unjustly set down to corrupt motives. Men said that Charles was more anxious to please Louis than protect the honour of England. The king's marriage in the same year was another triumph of French diplomacy. Charles chose as his wife Catharine of Braganza, sister of the king of Portugal. This country had revolted from Spain in 1640, and was still maintaining its independence with the help of the French. Louis now secured English recognition of Portugal by the marriage of Charles to a princess of that nation. It was a deadly offence to

The Restoration and foreign policy.

Spain, for Portugal became sure of her freedom during the next few years. Moreover, the rich wedding portion with which Portugal purchased the English alliance proved of great importance for the development of English trade. Besides a large sum of money, Portugal handed over to England Tangier, on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the island of Bombay in India. The latter was handed over to the East India Company, and soon became the chief of its trading settlements, and the only one that was not held of the Mogul Empire. With its acquisition we have the first faint beginnings of our Indian Empire. At present, however, the India Company still pursued merely commercial objects. It became very wealthy and successful in the generation that followed the Restoration.

8. Charles II. was as anxious as Cromwell to further English commerce and colonies, and his brother James, duke of York, now lord high admiral, administered the navy with skill and success. The first war of the new reign was a war for trade and empire. The commercial rivalry of England and Holland was now keener than ever. The renewal of the Navigation Act had embittered feeling between the two countries. Even after the Dutch had acquiesced in that, Dutch and English traders were fighting on their own account in Africa and North America. In 1665 the clamour of the English merchants forced England to declare war against the Dutch.

The rivalry of England and Holland.

The struggle was as obstinate as that which had taken place twelve years earlier. The Dutch, commanded by their admiral, Ruyter, were more skilful than their opponents, though heroes of the Civil Wars like Prince Rupert and Monk, now duke of Albemarle, acquired fresh credit as commanders of our fleets. After two years of hard fighting the English, having exhausted all their money, foolishly laid up their great ships in harbour, and thereby left the Dutch in temporary command of the sea. They availed themselves of this to sail up the Medway to Chatham, where they burnt three men-of-war laid up uselessly in the harbour, and cut off London from all communication with the sea for several weeks. This was the more alarming since Louis XIV., alarmed at the power of the English navy, supported the Dutch against us. This temporary triumph was not, however, due to the superiority of the Dutch so much as to the want of wisdom of the English. The best proof that forces were still equally balanced was that in the course of the same year (1667), peace was signed at *Breda*, by which each country was allowed

The Dutch war, 1665-1667.

to retain possession of the territories which it held at that moment. The effect of this was to transfer the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam to English rule. Granted to the king's brother, James, Duke of York, it took the new name of New York. Its acquisition was of the greatest importance for the future of English North America. *New Amsterdam* had kept asunder the New England group of colonies from Virginia and its neighbours. Henceforth a continuous row of English settlements monopolized the eastern seaboard of Central North America.

9. In other ways also the period of the Restoration is important in the growth of our American colonies. The earlier plantations increased in wealth, population, and importance. The addition of Cromwell's conquest of Jamaica to Barbados and the other English settlements in the West Indies, much strengthened our commerce in that direction, while the further development of the slave trade made it easier to find labour for the sugar plantations. Fresh colonies were also set up in the mainland of North America. The first of these was *Carolina*, established in 1663, and named, like *Charlestown* its capital, from Charles II. Situated to the south of Virginia, in a semi-tropical climate, Carolina was from the beginning largely dependent upon slave labour, especially in its southern districts. Ultimately the colony split up into *North and South Carolina*. Even more important than English expansion southwards was the completion of the filling up of the gap between New England and Virginia. The conversion of New Amsterdam into *New York* had partly effected this; but the settled Dutch district did not go beyond the Hudson, and the coast-land between the Hudson and the Delaware were still untilled soil. The duke of York sold the vacant Dutch lands beyond the Hudson to Sir George Carteret, who, in 1667, established therein a new colony called *New Jersey*, since Carteret was a Jersey man. The plantations of the midland district was still further developed in 1681, when William Penn, the son of the conqueror of Jamaica, obtained a grant of the land west of the Delaware stretching into the interior, and on which he settled a new colony called *Pennsylvania*. Penn, a gentleman of wealth, high position, and noble ideals, had lately joined the *Society of Friends*, and wished to find a new home for his co-religionists, who were as severely persecuted by the government of the Restoration as by that of the Commonwealth. Though Pennsylvania was his

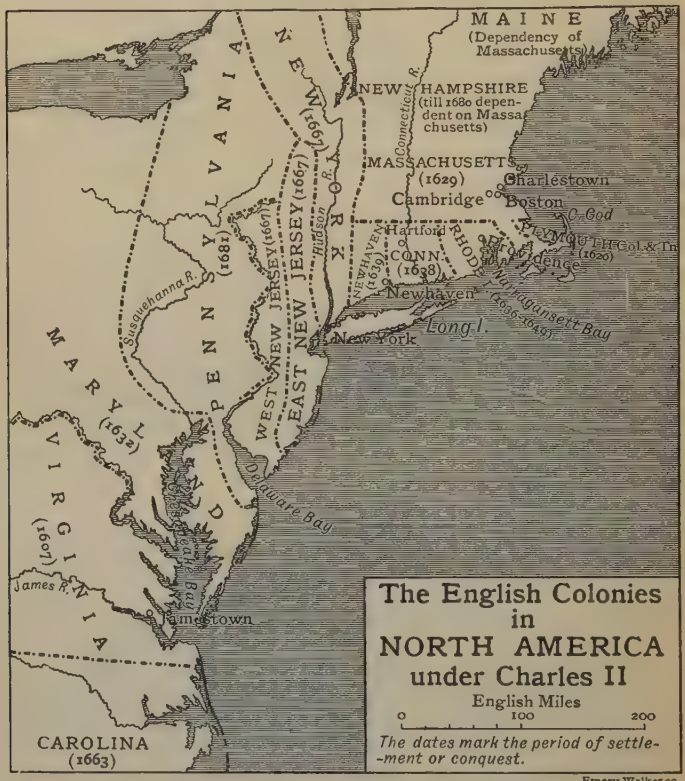
Growth of the American colonies.

Carolina, 1663.

New York and New Jersey, 1667.

Pennsylvania, 1681.

own property, being, as it was termed, a *proprietary colony*, he drew up a very liberal constitution for it by which a popular assembly was elected by ballot and religious freedom given to all who believed in God and the moral teaching of Christianity. He called his capital *Philadelphia*—the city of brotherly love—and would not



allow war to be waged even with the Indians, with whom the other colonies were constantly engaged in hostilities. The combined result of all these new movements was that England became one of the chief colonizing and maritime powers. It was gradually driving its old rival Holland into a secondary position. Its success excited the jealousy of France, which, under Louis XIV.,

first began to devote herself to foreign trade, to the sea, and to colonies.

10. The slow and unnoticed growth of English power in distant lands did not compensate for the many failures of the Restoration government in dealing with the matters that were immediately before it. During the disasters and mismanagement of the Dutch war, London was exposed to two great calamities. In 1665 it was decimated by the *Great Plague*, and in 1666 half the city was burnt down by the *Great Fire*. There was a bitter outcry against the profligacy and corruption of the court, the blunders of the Dutch war, the subservience of the crown to the French, and the general maladministration of the country. Even the loyal parliament elected in 1661 was beginning to grow restive, and a strong opposition, called the *country party*, sought to renew the policy of Pym and Hampden. Edward Hyde, the old associate of Falkland, earl of Clarendon and chancellor since the king's return, was looked upon as chiefly responsible for the policy of the government. The country party disliked him as an advocate of the prerogative. Puritans and Dissenters hated him for his jealous championship of the Church, and called the persecuting laws of the period the *Clarendon Code*. He was more unjustly blamed for the demerits of the king's foreign policy, with which he had little to do. Moreover, though his daughter, Anne Hyde, was the wife of the duke of York, the heir to the throne, he was not supported strongly at court, where he was looked upon as old-fashioned, slow, and over-scrupulous. Accordingly, when the Commons showed a desire to make Clarendon the scapegoat of their growing indignation, the king willingly gave him up. In 1667 the chancellor was dismissed from office and impeached for high treason. The charges brought against him were so far from amounting to that crime that the Lords refused to commit him to prison. But Charles, who wished to get rid of him, recommended Clarendon to leave the country. Taking the king's advice, he withdrew to France. Thereupon parliament, taking his flight as a proof of guilt, passed an act for his banishment. With his exile the first period of Charles II.'s reign comes to an end.

The fall of Clarendon, 1667.

11. In the administration that was formed after the chancellor's fall, there was no single statesman who held so powerful a position as Clarendon had previously occupied. He had been driven from power by a coalition of country party and courtiers, and both these discordant elements were now

The Cabal, 1667-1673.

strongly represented in the government. Chief among them was George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, son of Charles I.'s favourite, who, as the king's personal friend and the political ally of the Puritans, formed a connecting link between the two parties. Though able and enterprising, Buckingham had neither earnestness nor principle. A stronger statesman was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, a former partisan of Cromwell's, the ablest of the opposition, a keen advocate of parliamentary supremacy and of toleration, and the best party manager of his time, though he was ambitious, factious, and unscrupulous. Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, a pompous diplomatist, and Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, a hot-headed Catholic, were dependents of the court; while Lauderdale, the fifth prominent minister, though working with the others, limited himself mainly to Scots affairs. These five gained an infamous notoriety as the *Cabal*, a word then used for the little groups of politicians whose secret deliberations were beginning to have more influence upon the conduct of affairs than the more formal debates of a large and heterogeneous body like the privy council, the traditional organ of the executive power. The Cabal, however, widely differed among themselves, and were only accidentally bound together by their common dislike of the old Cavalier party that had dominated affairs under Clarendon. They posed as friends of toleration at home and of peace abroad, and in both these matters their policy was more sound than that of their predecessors. In particular, they looked with suspicion on the ever-increasing aggressions of Louis XIV., who was again at war with Spain, and rapidly overrunning the Spanish Netherlands, to which he laid claim on behalf of his wife, the sister of the new Spanish king Charles II. In 1668 England united with the Dutch and the Swedes to form a *Triple Alliance* to restore peace to Europe. So formidable was the combination that Louis unwillingly made peace, and surrendered many of his conquests. He was bitterly mortified at the league formed against him, and strove with all his might to break it up.

The Triple Alliance, 1668.

12. The early acts of the Cabal gave promise of better things than resulted from them. The ministers were, however, greedy, corrupt, and divided, and did not persevere in their wiser policy when their self-interest impelled them in a contrary direction. Louis XIV. brought his influence to bear upon Charles II., and in 1670 signed with him the secret *treaty of Dover*, by which Charles promised to help Louis against the Dutch and Spaniards, while Louis agreed to send men and

The Treaty of Dover, 1670.

money to assist Charles to put down opponents to his power and restore Catholicism to England. Charles only communicated the full details of this scandalous compact to Arlington and Clifford, but Buckingham and Ashley were persuaded to agree to help the French against the Dutch. Louis, who looked upon the Dutch as mainly responsible for the Triple Alliance, now made the humiliation of the United Provinces the great object of his policy.

13. Having stripped Holland of all her allies, Louis and Charles declared war against her in 1672. So mismanaged were Charles's finances that he could obtain funds to equip his fleet only by a discreditable refusal to repay from the Exchequer a large sum of money temporarily deposited there by the bankers. This measure was called the *Stop of the Exchequer*. Unlike former English attacks upon Holland, this war was not popular. Though Englishmen had no love for their rivals in trade, they saw that England was making herself the tool of France, whose ascendency was more dangerous both to our commerce and our liberty than that of a slowly decaying small state which was already almost beaten in the contest with us. The utmost sympathy was shown when the Dutch, attacked both by sea and land, prepared to resist Louis as they had resisted the Spaniards a hundred years earlier. Before long, other nations, dreading the advance of France, made common cause with the Dutch, so that Louis had to fight not a single state but a European coalition. Led by their heroic young *stadtholder*, William III., prince of Orange, a nephew of Charles II., called from private life to defend his country against the French and restore the power of the house of Orange over the Dutch Republic, the Hollanders held their own so well that there was no longer any danger of the destruction of their republic. Before long William of Orange showed such skill as a general and a diplomatist that he became the soul of the general European opposition to the overmighty power of France. For the next thirty years he made it the chief business of his life to build up coalitions and command armies against Louis XIV.

The Dutch war, 1672-1673.

14. The unpopularity of the war destroyed the influence of the Cabal, and rumours of Catholic intrigue and dangers to Protestantism leaked out, despite the secrecy which was carefully preserved as to the treaty of Dover. The Cabal now went back to its earlier policy of toleration at home, and as it was hopeless to ask Parliament to relax the laws against the Dissenters, it sought to compass the same end by royal prerogative. Charles claimed that as king

he possessed a power both to *suspend* altogether any act of parliament, and also to *dispense* in particular cases with its operation. By virtue of these powers he issued in 1672 a *Declaration of Indulgence*, proclaiming religious freedom to all Dissenters. The Church party, still strong in the Commons, was very indignant at this, while even the Protestant Dissenters looked askance at toleration that flowed from royal prerogative only, especially as they saw that it was clearly granted in the interests of the Roman Catholics, who were popular and numerous at court. Charles himself had secret sympathies with the Catholics, and the duke of York had recently become an avowed Romanist. A great cry arose that Protestantism was in danger. This soon broke up the ill-cemented ranks of the Cabal. Ashley, now earl of Shaftesbury, threw himself into violent opposition once more. In 1673 the Protestant party hurried a *Test Act* through parliament, which required all holders of office under the crown to receive the Communion after the fashion of the English Church and renounce the doctrine of transubstantiation. Shaftesbury hotly supported the bill, which Charles dared not refuse to accept. Clifford would not take the test, and Arlington was driven from power. The duke of York laid down the admiralty rather than accept the test. In 1674 parliament forced Charles to make peace with the Dutch.

The Declaration of Indulgence, the Test Act, and the fall of the Cabal, 1672-3.

15. The reaction from the Cabal restored power to the old Cavalier party, now represented by Sir Thomas Osborne, a Yorkshire gentleman, who became earl of Danby and lord high treasurer. The Commons had confidence in him, because, like Clarendon, he was a good friend of the Church, and indisposed to show favour either to Catholics or Protestant Dissenters. In foreign policy, however, Danby took up a different line from that which Clarendon had been credited with. In his distrust of France he went back to the principles of the Triple Alliance, though he was prevented by the king from actively siding with the European coalition that was still fighting with no great success against Louis XIV. Thus king and minister worked in different directions, with results that proved extremely discreditable to the country. Soon Charles signed another secret treaty with Louis, by which he promised to make no alliance with a foreign power without the French king's leave. Moreover, he and his courtiers freely took pensions and bribes from Louis, who naturally expected the support which he had paid for. Yet next year Danby raised an army to fight the French, and

The ministry of Danby, 1673-1678.

married the princess Mary of York, the next heir to the throne after Charles and James, to William of Orange, the pillar of Protestantism and opposition to France.

16. In great disgust at these acts of hostility, Louis signed with his enemies the treaty of *Nijmegen* in 1678, preferring to stay his course of victory rather than run the risk of England joining his enemies. Profoundly irritated at the inexplicable difference between Charles's promises and his ministers' acts, the French king resolved no longer to waste his money on so shiftless a dependent. His bribes now flowed into the coffers of the opposition, and he roused the just indignation of the country party by revealing to them his secret dealings with Charles, to some of which Danby had been an unwilling partner. In December, 1678, Danby was hurled from power and threatened with impeachment, whereupon, in January, 1679, the king dissolved parliament. It was still the same longlived House of Commons that had been elected in 1661. Distrust of the king had quite destroyed its former excessive loyalty, but it remained to the last as zealous for the Church as in the early days of the Clarendon Code.

The Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678.

17. A new trouble had already fallen upon the country during the last months of Danby's ministry. In 1678 a clergyman named Titus Oates announced that he had information that the Roman Catholics had formed a plot to murder the king and restore their religious ascendency. Why a king so friendly to the Catholics as was Charles should have been assassinated by them is not easy to understand, and the character of the informant was so bad that it was difficult to accept his statement as evidence of anything. Expelled from his ministry in the English Church, Oates had gone abroad and turned Catholic. His gross vices had brought him into trouble in his new as in his old faith, and he came back to England, professing a new zeal for the Protestant cause and a special store of information about the misdeeds of the papists. There had been so much Catholic intrigue that plain men might be pardoned for being credulous, and the secret dealings of Charles with Louis XIV. and the convert's zeal of the duke of York for his new faith, all naturally produced an excitable and suspicious condition of public opinion. Yet nothing can excuse the blind faith which sober men now showed in Oates's revelations. Other scoundrels, seeing how profitable was the trade of informer, followed his example. Innocent Catholics were denounced, tried by venal judges before timid juries, and hurried

The Popish Plot, 1678-1679.

to the scaffold on perjured testimony. The panic resulted not only in the collapse of the power of Danby; it gave the country party, already eager to uphold the Protestant interest, an admirable opportunity of forcing its way to place. Shaftesbury, its leader, made a clever but unscrupulous use of the chance thus put into his hands. He hoped to regain authority as the saviour of England from popery, and did not care how many innocent persons suffered if he could fulfil his purpose.

18. In March, 1679, a new parliament met. Elected under the panic fear of the papists, the Commons were entirely in Shaftesbury's hands. Two chief measures were laid before the estates by the popular leader. One of these, a measure for securing the liberty of the subject, called the *Habeas Corpus Act*, speedily became law, and did much good in making it more difficult for the crown to imprison innocent persons without legal warranty. The other was a bolder measure, namely, an *Exclusion Bill*, to keep the Catholic duke of York out of the succession to the throne on his brother's death. Besides this, parliament renewed the impeachment of Danby, who was not very fairly regarded as responsible for a policy which he had done his best to prevent.

The Habeas Corpus Act and the Exclusion Bill, 1679.

19. In July, 1679, Charles dissolved parliament, in the hope of saving his brother's chance of the succession. Though fresh elections were held at once, the temper of the new House of Commons was reported to be so unruly that Charles feared to summon it to transact business. The friends of the Exclusion Bill, therefore, sent up petitions to the king, urging him to allow parliament to meet. From this they were called *Petitioners*. But there were signs that the violence of the ultra-Protestant party had already begun to produce a reaction. The old devotion to monarchy showed itself in the friends of hereditary succession drawing up counter petitions to the crown, in which they expressed their abhorrence of the petitioners' attempt to interfere with the royal prerogative. For this reason these people were styled *Abhorrers*. As in 1642, the nation was splitting up into two parties, and the Petitioners of 1679 were like the Roundheads of the earlier year, whilst the Abhorrers were the same as the Cavaliers. Shorter and more convenient nicknames were soon found for the two parties than these. The Petitioners were called *Whigs*, a nickname first applied to the Scottish Covenanters; while the Abhorrers were described as Tories, a word first used to distinguish the Catholic rebels and outlaws in

Whigs and Tories, 1679.

Ireland. Though both in their origin the insulting epithets of opponents, the two short words took root, and the two great parties into which the nation was henceforth divided were proud to be described as Whigs and Tories. A little later the strong Church party, the Laudians, got the nickname of *High Church*; while the more Puritanical, or liberal, section of Churchmen were spoken of as *Low Church*. Tory and High Church, Whig and Low Church, were virtually synonymous terms.

High Church and Low Church.

20. The outlook long remained stormy. In 1679 the extreme Scottish Presbyterians, or *Covenanters*, murdered Archbishop Sharp, and rose in revolt against king and bishops. By Shaftesbury's advice the task of suppressing the revolt was entrusted to James, duke of Monmouth, the eldest of the king's numerous illegitimate children. Monmouth defeated the Covenanters at *Bothwell Bridge*, over the Clyde, near Glasgow. This broke the back of the rising, and the duke of York, sent down by his brother to Scotland, punished the rebels very sternly. He drove away from Scotland the earl of Argyll, who aspired to play the part of his father, the Argyll beheaded in 1661.

Battle of Bothwell Bridge, 1679.

21. Monmouth was a popular but showy and shallow person, and Shaftesbury, who treated him as a tool, was glad to use him as much as he could. There was even talk that he was Charles's lawful son, and should be the next king instead of the duke of York. Charles, however, upheld his brother as loyally as he could, though in general the king had good sense enough to see that it was not wise for him to set himself too strongly against public opinion. Thus he gave way to Shaftesbury and the Whigs, though he hated their views, and had no faith in the popish plot. After keeping back the parliament elected in 1679 for more than a year, Charles at last allowed it to assemble in October, 1680. The Commons at once carried the Exclusion Bill, but the Lords rejected it, mainly through the advice of Lord Halifax, who boasted that he was neither a Whig nor a Tory, but a *Trimmer* between the two.

The Lords reject the Exclusion Bill, 1680.

22. In January, 1681, Charles dissolved parliament, and met another one in March at Oxford. Passion was now so deeply aroused that the Whig members rode to Oxford with bands of armed followers, like the Mad Parliament of 1258. It looked as if another civil war was absolutely inevitable. The Commons clamoured for exclusion, and the king, backed up by the Church party, would not give up hereditary right.

The Oxford Parliament, 1681.

After a short but violent session, Charles once more dissolved his parliament. It was the last that met during his reign.

23. The violence and factiousness of Shaftesbury had overshot the mark. The panic of the Popish Plot had died down, and Charles, skilfully though selfishly, waiting on events, had given the Tories time to rally. A strong Tory reaction set in which soon involved Shaftesbury in disgrace. The Tories now showed themselves as cruel as the Whigs had been. Shaftesbury and Monmouth fled to Holland, where the Whig leader soon died. The extreme Whigs in their disgust formed a conspiracy called the *Rye House Plot*, which aimed at assassinating Charles as he rode past a house called the Rye House on his way from London to Newmarket. The plan was detected, and its chief authors executed. Some of the Whig leaders, including Lord Russell, the eldest son of the earl of Bedford, and Algernon Sidney, the republican son of the earl of Leicester, were accused of complicity in the conspiracy. Though the evidence against them was weak, they were condemned and executed. They were looked upon as martyrs to the popular cause.

The Rye House Plot, 1683.

24. The Tories remained in power for the rest of Charles II.'s reign. The reaction against the tumults of the period of the Popish Plot made the king as popular at the end of his life as he had been in the first enthusiasm of the Restoration, and when he was suddenly cut off in February, 1685, he died generally lamented. In some ways his popularity was very lightly gained. Genial, good-tempered, and easy of access, he knew how to make himself pleasant to his subjects; but he was idle, improvident, selfish, extravagant, and immoral. The dissoluteness of his private life set the worst of examples to his people. He sold himself to Louis XIV., and would willingly have restored Catholicism and arbitrary rule had he the power to do so. Yet Charles was too idle and careless to make the consistent effort necessary to carry out a strong personal policy of his own. Abler and much clearer-headed than any other Stewart king, Charles had the shrewdness to see things as they really were. He perceived that he could not safely take up the line of his father, and, being determined to die on his throne, he learnt in some ways to play the part of a constitutional king. Alone of his house he recognized the force of public opinion, and he was thus able, though not from high motives, to save England from the danger of more revolutions when her greatest need was quiet and rest.

The Tory reaction, 1682-1685, and the death of Charles II., 1685.

CHAPTER V

JAMES II. (1685–1688)

Chief Dates:

1685. Accession of James II.; Revolts of Argyll and Monmouth.
1688. Declaration of Indulgence and fall of James II.

1. The Tory reaction of the last years of Charles II.'s reign still flowed so strongly that the duke of York was proclaimed James II. without a murmur of opposition. The new king was neither so able nor so attractive as his brother. He was careful, businesslike, and a good administrator, and had sacrificed much through his devotion to the Catholic faith. Like Charles I., he was obstinate, tenacious, and lacking both in straightforwardness and insight. Yet even James could not but recognize that his peaceful accession was due to the loyalty of the High Church and Tory party. Though he went to mass in state, he professed to regard his religion as a private matter. He allowed himself to be crowned after the Protestant rite by William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and promised to uphold the Church because Churchmen were always loyal. He kept his brother's Tory ministers in office, and the first few months of his reign were simply a continuation of the last years of Charles II.

Character of James II.

2. James was strong enough not to be afraid of public opinion. He at once assembled both the English and the Scottish parliaments, and found steady support from both these bodies. The Scots parliament passed fresh laws against the Covenanters, while the high Tory majority in the English House of Commons voted James a revenue of £1,900,000 a year for life. This sum was so large that it made James almost independent of future parliamentary grants. Parliament released Danby from his long imprisonment; the informers whose perjured testimony had brought to the scaffold so many innocent Catholics, were sought out and punished. Titus Oates was whipped so cruelly that his survival seemed almost a miracle.

The Parliament of 1685.

3. The peaceful accession of James filled with despair the

Whig refugees in Holland. Seeing that the new king could not be overthrown by peaceful means, they fell back on treason. In the summer of 1685 two small groups of exiles landed in Britain, hoping to stir up rebellions. One of these was led by the earl of Argyll, who landed in the Campbell country of the western Highlands in the expectation of raising his clansmen. He had some success in this, but his associates failed to excite a revolt among the Covenanters of Ayrshire, and the expedition was so badly managed that it soon collapsed. Argyll, like his father, was executed as a traitor, and the persecution of the Covenanters became more brutal than ever.

Argyll's rebellion, 1685.

4. The chief effort of the exiles was directed to the south-west of England. In June the duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, declaring that he was Charles II.'s lawful son and rightful king of England. A large force of Puritan peasants and miners gathered round him, and he became so strong that he was able to advance through Somerset towards Bath and Bristol. Both these towns, however, refused to receive him, and he was compelled to retire to Bridgwater, closely pursued by the king's army, commanded by the earl of Feversham, under whom was John, Lord Churchill, the ablest soldier of his time. Monmouth gallantly resolved to surprise Feversham's troops in their camp at *Sedgmoor*, a few miles east of Bridgwater. After a long night march the rebel army attacked Feversham in the early morning of July 6. They found the royalists well prepared to meet them, and Monmouth's cavalry fled in a panic. The raw infantry gallantly stood their ground, but they were outflanked and outgeneralled, and at last utterly routed in the last pitched battle fought on English soil. Monmouth himself was captured a few days later, hiding in a ditch from his pursuers. On July 15 he was beheaded on Tower Hill. The most cruel vengeance was wreaked upon the rebels. Besides many executions immediately after the battle, a whole host of victims was condemned by Chief Justice Jefferies, whose circuit for the trial of the rebels became notorious as the *Bloody Assize*. On his return Jefferies was rewarded by a peerage and his elevation to the office of lord chancellor.

Monmouth's rebellion, 1685.

5. James II. was now at the height of his power. He had been so successful that he began to forget the narrow basis on which his throne rested. He was naturally impatient at the disabilities still imposed by law on those who held his faith. It seemed to him unworthy that he should be ruling England and

The
SOUTH OF ENGLAND
1685-1689
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
March of Monmouth
Advance of William III.
First flight of James II.
Second flight of James II.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
London (Dec.18)
Windsor
Thames
Reading
Hungerford (Dec.6)
Salisbury
Wincanton
Bridport
Axminster
Chard
Honiton
Exeter (Nov.9-21)
Newton Abbot
Tor Bay (Nov.5 1688)
Brixham
Lyme Regis (June 11 1685)
Taunton
Bridgwater
Sedgmoor (July 6)
Wells
Glastonbury
Shepton Mallet
Frome
Philips Norton (June 27)
Keynsham
Bath
Bristol
Rochester (Dec.23)
Sittingbourne
Faversham
Sheerness
Emery Walker sc.

worshipping freely after the Catholic fashion while his brother Catholics were unable to practise their religion lawfully or to hold the meanest office under the crown. Accordingly, he asked the parliament to repeal the Test Act, and was much annoyed to be met with a blank refusal. Parliament, however, was even more loyal to the Church and to Protestantism than to the crown. It believed that the Test Act was more than ever necessary now that a Roman Catholic occupied the throne. In great disgust James dissolved parliament, and dismissed the Tory ministers whom he had inherited from his brother. The result was a complete breach between James and those who had given him the throne.

Breach between James and the Tories.

6. James was now treading in his father's footsteps. He appointed as his chief adviser Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland, a statesman of great ability and foresight, but selfish, corrupt, and unprincipled, and not scrupling to profess his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith in order to please the king. Visions of a Catholic and absolutist restoration began to float before the mind of James and his advisers. The first steps towards this were won by obtaining from subservient judges decisions that enabled the king to override the laws which parliament had refused to repeal. Even in Charles II.'s days there had been much talk of the king possessing a *dispensing power* which enabled him to stay the operation of a law in any particular case, and a *suspending power* by which he could temporarily suspend the whole operation of a statute when the interest of the state seemed to require it. It was by virtue of these powers that Charles II. had issued his Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. James now appointed a Roman Catholic named Sir Edward Hales as colonel of one of his regiments. Hales was prosecuted by his coachman for illegally holding office without receiving the sacrament or taking the oath of supremacy. In June, 1686, the judge decided that Hales's commission was lawful, since the king had granted him a dispensation from these obligations. Fortified with this decision, James pushed his dispensing power so far as to appoint many Catholics to civil and military posts. Before long he even gave offices in the Church to avowed Romanists. He required the University of Cambridge to give the degree of M.A. to a Benedictine monk named Francis, whom he dispensed from taking the usual oaths. He ordered the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect as their president a Roman Catholic of bad character, though the office of president of the

The dispensing and the suspending powers.

college was open only to clergy of the English Church. He strove to stifle the murmurings that arose by establishing a new *Court of High Commission*. This was an avowedly illegal act, and directly opposed to the statute of the Long Parliament, which had declared such commissions unlawful. A large army was enlisted, many of whose officers were Roman Catholics, and was encamped on Hounslow Heath to overawe the Londoners.

7. James embarked on a definite policy of undermining Protestantism and the constitution. The Court of High Commission, of which Jefferies was the leading spirit, dealt out stern but illegal punishment to all who went against the king's will. It deprived the vice-chancellor of Cambridge of his office, because he resisted the royal mandate to give a degree to Francis. At Oxford it ejected the fellows of Magdalen because they declined to choose a popish president.

The Court of High Commission.

8. A great cry arose that Protestantism was in danger. Not only in England were the fortunes of the reformed religion now imperilled. In 1685 James's ally, Louis XIV., had revoked the Edict of Nantes by which the French Huguenots had for a century enjoyed toleration. Tens of thousands of French Protestants, exiled from their country for their loyalty to their faith, sought refuge in England and other Protestant lands. Their presence in our midst quickened the deep hatred and distrust of popery that had so long been among the rooted convictions of Englishmen. Even the High Churchmen, who had so long made a religion of loyalty, began to grow restive. They were not prepared to allow the king to use his position as head of the Church to ruin the body of which he was supreme governor.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

9. James's chief difficulty in carrying out his plans was that there were not enough Roman Catholics in England to form a strong party. He tried to make up for this by conciliating the oppressed Catholics of Ireland, and appointed as lord-lieutenant of Ireland the Catholic earl of Tyrconnell, who began to assail that Protestant ascendency on which English rule in Ireland was based. Irish help, however, did James more harm than good in England, and gradually the king saw that his best chance of overthrowing the Church was by uniting the Protestant Dissenters, whom hitherto he had severely persecuted, with his Roman Catholic followers.

Tyrconnell in Ireland.

10. In 1687 and 1688 James issued two declarations of indulgence by which by his own authority he suspended all the laws against

both Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Very few of the English Dissenters were blind enough to accept the king's lead. They had no reason to love the dominant and persecuting Church, but they saw that the Church was the chief bulwark of Protestantism, and that its overthrow would be followed by the extension to England of the persecution that so sorely afflicted their brethren in France and Scotland. Thus they refused to become accomplices in the restoration of arbitrary power and popery in England, and prepared to take sides with their old enemies in the defence of the liberties of England and the Protestant religion. The crisis came in 1688, when James gave orders that his second *Declaration of Indulgence* should be read in all churches on the first two Sundays in June. Archbishop Sancroft, an extreme Tory and High Churchman, took counsel with six of his brethren, of whom Ken, the holy bishop of Bath and Wells, was the most important. The *seven bishops* agreed to petition the king not to force the clergy to break the law. James was very angry at the prelates presuming to question his acts, and became furious when the great majority of the clergy, inspired by the bishops' resistance, refused to read the declaration. He brought the seven bishops to trial for publishing a seditious libel. On June 30 a London jury acquitted them of this ridiculous charge amidst the universal rejoicing of the whole nation. The seven bishops became popular heroes for having led the way to resistance against the popish king.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1688.

11. While the trial of the bishops was still pending, another event had occurred which intensified the need for resistance. Hitherto many men had borne with James's doings, since he was an old man, and on his death his throne would have gone to his Protestant daughter, the princess Mary of Orange, the grand-daughter of Clarendon. But on June 10 a son, named James, was born to the king and his second wife, Mary of Modena. The new prince of Wales would of course be brought up as a Catholic, and thus there was every prospect of a long continuance of popish rulers. Accordingly, on the very day of the bishops' acquittal, seven leading men united in sending a letter to Mary's husband, William of Orange, inviting him to come to England to save the land from popery and arbitrary power. Not only Whig magnates like the earl of Devonshire, but Tories so staunch as Danby signed this appeal.

The invitation to William of Orange.

12. A new European war was breaking out, and William of Orange, the leader of the coalition which he had formed against

the French, was eager to get England on his side. He accepted the invitation, and on November 5 anded in *Torbay* at the head of a Dutch army. All England fell away from James, who strove, when it was too late, to conciliate his angry subjects by dissolving the Court of High Commission. William was welcomed by the gentry of the west, and advanced slowly from Exeter to London. James found that it was useless to attempt resistance. His own daughter, the princess Anne; his favourite soldier, Lord Churchill, deserted him; and as the Dutch approached London, he was forced to flee to France.

The fall of James II., 1688-1689.

13. Once master of the capital, William issued writs summoning a *Convention Parliament*. Like the body that restored Charles II., this convention was in all but name and form a real parliament. It met on January 22, 1689. Though the majority was fiercely Whig, there was a strong body of Tories returned, who, now that James's flight had dissipated their worst alarms, began to have scruples against resisting or deposing the king by divine right. They proposed that James should remain nominal king while William became regent. But this was an absurd compromise that pleased nobody, and finally the Convention took up a more decided line. It voted that James had abdicated the throne by his flight to France, and that the throne had thereby become vacant. It drew up a *Declaration of Right*, wherein the worst of James's acts were denounced as illegal. The declaration was presented to William and Mary, who ratified it. Thereupon the throne was offered to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. On their acceptance of the throne, the "Glorious Revolution," as it was called, was completed. The Stewart attempt to set up king above parliament was finally defeated. Working out still further the principles of the men of 1641 and 1660, the Convention set up a monarchy, created by parliament, and responsible to it. It thus destroyed the old Tory theory of divine hereditary right, and made the king an official, subject, like other officials, to dismissal if he neglected to perform his duties. Thus parliament became the strongest element in the English state, and the seventeenth-century struggle of king and his subjects was finally ended by the triumph of the parliament over the crown.

The Convention, and the Declaration of Right, 1688.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM III. (1689–1702) AND MARY (1689–1694)

Chief Dates:

1689. Accession of William and Mary; Bill of Rights and Toleration Act.
1690. Battle of the Boyne.
1692. Battle of La Hougue and Massacre of Glencoe.
1694. Death of Queen Mary.
1696. First Whig Ministry.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
1698. Failure of the Darien scheme; First Partition Treaty.
1700. Second Partition Treaty.
1701. Act of Settlement.
1702. Grand Alliance formed; death of William III.

The accession of William and Mary, and the Bill of Rights, 1689.

1. On February 13, 1689, William III. and Mary were put in possession of the throne. Much still had to be done before the changes made necessary by the flight of James II. were completed. To carry some of these out, the Convention, following the precedent of the convention which restored Charles II., was turned into a regular parliament. It set to work to pass new laws which should make it impossible for any future king to govern on the lines of James II. The most important of these was the *Bill of Rights*, which re-enacted the Declaration of Rights in a more formal fashion. It declared illegal many of James's unconstitutional acts, such as levying money and keeping a standing army without the sanction of parliament, and stated that subjects had a right to petition the king, and that parliaments should be freely elected, frequently held, and have free speech. It declared the suspending power altogether illegal, and the dispensing power "as it hath been exercised of late." Its most important clauses, however, were those which bore upon the future. It enacted that "for the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom," all persons "who profess the popish religion or marry a papist, shall be incapable to inherit or possess the crown."

2. Other laws of scarcely less importance were passed by the Convention. A *Mutiny Act* was drawn up, which authorized the king to maintain a standing army and enforce discipline in it by martial law. This act was only passed for a short period, so that the king was forced to go every year to parliament for its renewal. This was a more excellent means of keeping William dependent on parliament than the abstract resolutions of the Bill of Rights. Even more effective, however, was the action of parliament with regard to the royal revenue. While Charles II. and James II. had received a grant of a large income for life, so that they were able to carry on the government in a fashion without having further recourse to the Commons, parliament cut down the life revenue of the crown to very modest limits, and resolved to make parliamentary grants from year to year only. This action resulted in the necessity for annual sessions of parliament ever since. Were parliament not to assemble, the Mutiny Act would lapse, so that the standing army would become illegal, while most taxes would come to an end, for no one would have any obligation to pay them.

The Mutiny Act, and the revenue, 1689.

3. Another law, passed in 1689, was the *Toleration Act*, which gave Protestant Dissenters who believed in the Trinity the right to worship freely in their own chapels. It was not a broad or comprehensive measure of toleration. Unitarians were excluded from it, and the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters still remained on the statute-book. Yet it practically carried the principle against which nearly all religious parties had been fighting since the Reformation. It recognized that Englishmen did not all think the same way in matters of religion, and allowed persons who disagreed with the established system of the Church to assemble for worship after their own fashion. The Dissenters still remained under all sorts of disabilities, but they had at last won the right to exist. Gradually the spirit of the times changed, and extended the benefits of the Toleration Act to those who were expressly excepted from it. But many a battle had still to be fought before complete religious liberty was won.

The Toleration Act, 1689.

4. The High Church party disliked the Toleration Act, and were afraid of the results of the revolution. Though many of them had deserted James in his hour of need, they soon became disaffected with the rule of a king who gave toleration to Dissenters and was a Presbyterian in his own country. They were still a very powerful body, and were strong enough to prevent

William carrying out his wish to change the constitution of the Church in such a fashion that it might include some of the moderate Dissenters, and particularly the Presbyterians.

The Low Church triumph and the schism of the Non-Jurors.

Some of the High Church leaders still upheld the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience, and denied that William had any right to the throne. When called upon to take an *oath of allegiance* to the new sovereign, many of the clergy refused to accept it. Among them were Archbishop Sancroft, of Canterbury, and Bishop Ken, of Bath and Wells, and several hundred parish clergymen. All these were driven from their offices, and the bishoprics thus made vacant were filled up by William from the Low Church party, which was enthusiastically upon his side. The new archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, was the leader of the Low Church, and much disliked by the High Churchmen for his wish to widen the limits of the Church by bringing some of the Dissenters within it. Those who refused to swear allegiance to William were called the *Non-Jurors*. The more extreme among them broke off all relations with the Church, and held services of their own. This *schism of the Non-Jurors* was, however, never very formidable, since few laymen followed the clergy who left the Church. And the seceders were only a minority, even among the High Church clergy. The majority took the oaths without giving up their old theories, and remained very hostile to the Church policy of the new king. Many of them soon became *Jacobites*, or partisans of King James, and they were the more formidable, since they still had a great hold over the people. Thus, even in England, the revolution was not carried through without grave difficulties. It was still harder to establish the power of William and Mary in Ireland and Scotland.

5. Ireland supported James II. long after he was expelled from England. His deputy in Ireland, Tyrconnell, had already destroyed Protestant ascendency in Ireland, and, with the flight of James, the last restraint upon his zeal was removed. Hitherto James had looked with suspicion upon the Irish movement, because, though he sympathized with the Irish as Catholics, he had no wish to help them to throw off English rule altogether. Now, however, James had to accept any allies he could get, and allow them to act as they thought best. In March, 1689, James himself landed in Ireland, bringing with him some French troops. He summoned an Irish parliament to Dublin, the great majority of which was Catholic. It showed a

James's power upheld in Ireland.

bitter hatred to England and Protestantism. It repealed the *Act of Settlement* of 1661, by which the greater part of Irish land had been confirmed to English and Protestant owners. It passed an *Act of Attainder*, which condemned more than two thousand partisans of William of Orange.

6. The scattered Irish Protestants of the south were forced to submit to James and the Catholics; but in Ulster, where the Protestants were numerous, they at once took arms in favour of King William and the Protestant religion. The two Ulster towns of *Londonderry* and *Enniskillen* were the chief centres of resistance. King James's army soon besieged Derry, and pressed the garrison hard. The walls were weak, and provisions soon ran short, but the Protestants held out with great stubbornness. Ships laden with provisions were sent from England for their relief, but the Catholic army had thrown a boom across the river Foyle, so that it seemed impossible for vessels to sail up to the town. However, on July 30, when the garrison was almost desperate from want of food, a merchant ship sailed up the river, and managed to break through the obstruction. Her stores removed all danger of starvation, and the Catholics, losing heart at the unexpected relief afforded to their enemies, at once raised the siege. Three days later, the men of Enniskillen defeated another Catholic army in the *battle of Newtown Butler*.

Siege of Derry and the battle of Newtown Butler, 1689.

7. Despite these successes, the Irish Protestants were too few to hold their own permanently against the Catholics. Their only chance lay in obtaining help from England, and luckily for them, this was not long in coming. William saw that if James kept his hold on Ireland he would soon attempt to win back England also. He therefore sent an English army, under General Schomberg, a French Protestant refugee, to fight against James in Ireland. But sickness broke out in his army, and he was not able to accomplish anything. Next year (1690) William himself undertook the conquest of Ireland. Landing at Carrickfergus, he advanced southwards towards Dublin. James resolved to hold against him the line of the river Boyne, which, dividing the counties of Louth and Meath, runs into the sea just below Drogheda. On July 1 the *battle of the Boyne* was fought. Schomberg was killed in the fight, but William's troops forced the passage of the river, and drove the Catholics in a panic towards Dublin. James fled to France; William occupied the capital, and conquered

Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

the greater part of Ireland. The Catholics now stood on the defensive, and made their last stand at *Limerick*. The fortifications there were as feeble as those of Derry, but the stout spirit of the defenders enabled them to hold their own. Towards the end of the summer William returned to England without having taken Limerick.

8. In June, 1691, the Dutch general, Ginkel, captured *Athlone*, which commanded the passage over the Shannon. This enabled him to invade Connaught, where, on July 12, he defeated the Irish army at the battle of *Aughrim*. Before long all western Ireland was overrun, and for a second time the Catholics stood at bay behind the weak walls of Limerick. This time further resistance was useless, and Ginkel offered easy conditions in order to bring the war to an end. In October the Irish accepted the *treaty of Limerick*, by which it was agreed to allow all the Irish soldiers who chose to abandon their country to take ship for France. The Catholics who took the oath of allegiance to William were promised forgiveness, and were guaranteed the same liberty to hear mass that they had been allowed in the days of Charles II. But the Irish parliament was now once more a purely Protestant body, and was desperately afraid of the Catholics, who had so nearly overthrown Protestant ascendency. It declared that Ginkel had gone beyond his powers in making these promises, and meanly refused to be bound by the treaty. Eager to have revenge on the Catholics, the Irish parliament restored Protestant ascendency in a more cruel fashion than either Strafford or Cromwell had maintained it. Gradually it built up a *Penal Code* of extreme severity, which took away from the Catholics all political rights, reduced them to poverty by taking away their lands, and barely allowed them the exercise of their religion.

The Protestant conquest of Ireland, 1691.

9. In Scotland the revolution followed the course of events in England rather than that in Ireland. James II. had set himself against Scottish popular opinion even more than he had gone against the wishes of his southern subjects, and the Scots rejoiced greatly when the English drove him out. A Convention of the Scottish estates met in Edinburgh, and resolved that James VII. had forfeited the Scottish crown. A *Claim of Right* was drawn up which declared that prelacy was an insupportable grievance and ought to be abolished. William and Mary accepted the throne, and agreed to carry out the wishes of the Convention. In 1690 the General Assembly

The revolution in Scotland.

of the Scots Church met for the first time since the Cromwellian conquest, and carried out the restoration of the Presbyterian system. The bishops and their followers were forced to set up a separate Church of their own, which was strongly Jacobite and bitterly persecuted. But the abolition of episcopacy in the Scottish Church made it possible for Scotland to be governed much more in accordance with Scottish ideas than it had been in Stewart times.

10. There was fighting before the revolution was completed in Scotland. John Graham, of Claverhouse, whom James had made Viscount Dundee, withdrew from the Convention in disgust, and called upon the Highland clans to uphold the cause of the Stewarts. The Highlanders cared little about the disputes between bishops and presbyters, Jacobites and Williamites. The revolution meant for them the restoration of the earl of Argyll, the son of the earl executed in 1685, to the chieftainship of his clan. The smaller clans, such as the Macdonalds and Camerons, had long been afraid of the Campbells, and willingly rose in revolt to prevent the danger of a renewal of Campbell domination. Accordingly a large army gathered together from the Tory clans who hated the Whig Campbells. To these Graham stood as his kinsman Montrose had stood to their fathers. But though he showed great capacity as a general, his career was too short to enable him to rival the deeds of Montrose. After various wanderings, Dundee and his Highlanders took up a position in the Perthshire Highlands near Blair Atholl. The Lowland army of King William, under the Highland general Mackay, marched against them through the *pass of Killiecrankie*. Soon after Mackay had made his way through the pass, the army of Dundee went forth to meet him on July 27, 1689. The Lowlanders gave way before the fierce Highland charge, but Dundee was slain in the moment of victory, and Mackay rallied his troops so effectively that, after a few days, the Highlanders became weary of fighting, and went home with their spoils.

Battle of Killiecrankie, 1689.

11. The break-up of the Highland host made William undisputed king of Scots. The Highlands were then gradually pacified. Though the work was slow, it was at length accomplished, and amnesty was promised to all those who, before the end of 1691, would take oaths to live peaceably under King William. Most of the chieftains made their submission, but one of the heads of a branch of the Macdonald clan, MacIan of *Glencoe*, made it a point of honour

The massacre of Glencoe, 1692.

to hold out as long as he could, though within a few days of the time fixed, he took the oath to William. The chief adviser of William for Scotch affairs was John Dalrymple, called the Master of Stair, because he was the eldest son of Viscount Stair. He was a Lowlander anxious to teach Highlanders to respect the law, and he thought that MacIan's neglect to take the oath gave him a good pretext for reading the clansmen a much-needed lesson. Accordingly he persuaded William, who knew nothing of the facts, that it was desirable "for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of thieves," meaning thereby the Macdonalds of Glencoe. The order was carried out by a detachment of soldiers from Argyll's own regiment, who, as Campbells, were the natural enemies of the Macdonalds. The dalesmen of Glencoe were so unsuspicious that they entertained the soldiers with great hospitality. Suddenly, on the early morning of February 13, 1692, the Campbells fell upon their hosts, and brutally put them to the sword. This deed of blood was called the *Massacre of Glencoe*. It excited such indignation that William was forced to dismiss the Master of Stair from his service. William himself was severely blamed, but the real guilt rather fell upon Dalrymple and the Campbells.

12. A general European war had broken out on the eve of William's expedition to England. Since the treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, Louis XIV. had provoked the indignation of all his neighbours by a series of wanton attacks upon them. William of Orange had striven for many years to form a general league against Louis XIV. He welcomed his accession to the English throne chiefly because it gave him the hope of adding England to the coalition against the French. Louis's own action in supporting James II. excited so much indignation in England that William found it an easy task to persuade his new subjects to enter upon war against France. This struggle lasted from 1689 to 1697. Though Holland, Brandenburg, Spain, the Empire, and many smaller powers were allied with England against France, Louis was still able to withstand this formidable coalition.

The war against France, 1689-1697.

13. The French won every battle in the Netherlands, and even at sea were able to give the allies much trouble. Though England and Holland, the two greatest naval powers, were united, the French admiral, Tourville, won, on June 30, 1690, a brilliant victory over their combined fleets off *Beachy Head*. This success made it easy for Louis to send help to the Catholics in Ireland.

He also thought of invading England, being encouraged to do so not only by avowed Jacobites, but also by some treacherous ministers and generals of William himself. So long as the French retained the command of the sea, England was exposed to real danger. However, on May 19, 1692, Admiral Russell decisively defeated the French navy under Tourville off *La Hougue*, in Normandy. Henceforth the English and Dutch retained the command of the Channel, though the French grievously harried English commerce for the rest of the war.

Battles of Beachy Head, 1690, and La Hougue, 1692.

14. On land the chief fighting was in the Netherlands. Every summer William took command of the allied army and did his best to withstand the French. Every year he was beaten in a pitched battle, but he had a wonderful power of rallying his army after defeat, so that the French progress was very slow, despite their victories. As time went on, William became more successful, and in 1695 he managed to capture the strong fortress of Namur. The two sides were now fighting on such equal terms that they soon got weary of continuing a costly and unprofitable war. At last, in 1697, peace was made at *Ryswick*, near the Hague. By it Louis restored the conquests he had made during the war, and agreed to recognize William as king of England. It was not a very glorious peace for the allies, but it was the first treaty which Louis had signed by which he had not gained large additions to his dominions. His power was still very great, but it had ceased to grow. This was largely due to the fact that England had definitely ranged herself on the side of the enemies of France. One of the most important results of the revolution was the increased part which England took in foreign politics. Under the guidance of the great statesman who was now her king, she had set limits to the power of France, and again won for herself the position of a leading European power.

Peace of Ryswick, 1697.

15. During the war England was exposed to many difficulties. In particular the cost of the war was so enormous that it involved new expedients for raising money. Fresh taxes were imposed, among them being a *Land Tax*, which the country gentlemen bitterly opposed. But it was soon found quite impossible to raise enough money year by year to meet the expenses of the campaigns. Charles Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, was forced to borrow large sums of money. From these loans began our *National Debt*, for Montague did not follow

Financial policy.

the earlier fashion of borrowing, by which temporary advances were demanded for a short period. The new loans became permanent, and their interest a fixed charge on the revenue. One of the earliest loans was made by a company of merchants, which in return was constituted as the *Bank of England*, and given special advantages in carrying on financial business. This was the first bank on a large scale set up in England. It proved very successful, partly because it gave better security to those who trusted their money to it than the goldsmiths, the earlier bankers, had afforded, and partly because it became the agent of the ministry for borrowing fresh loans and managing the ever-increasing national debt. One indirect advantage came from these loans. The persons who lent their money to the government had good reason to be afraid of a Jacobite restoration, since it was unlikely that James would pay interest on money borrowed by William to maintain himself on his throne. Thus the wealthy classes became solidly attached to the Revolution settlement. It was a time when commerce was greatly extending, and many Englishmen were amassing riches through trade.

16. William had many other difficulties besides those which sprang from the need of raising money for the war. He never made himself popular in England or took any trouble to understand English ways. His whole mind was absorbed in his lifelong struggle against France. He distrusted Englishmen, and had good reason for doing so. He was always glad when he could get away to Holland, and his chief friends were Dutchmen, whom he enriched with English estates and raised to English peerages. His health was weak, and he was peevish, morose, taciturn, and selfish. These faults blinded most Englishmen to his real greatness. Things grew worse after Queen Mary's death in 1694, for she was bright, gracious, and popular, and a thorough Englishwoman. As they had no children, the next heir to the throne was now the princess Anne, Mary's younger sister. Anne was on bad terms with her brother-in-law, and had as her chief adviser John Churchill, earl of Marlborough. Marlborough was a great general, but a greedy and self-seeking politician. When engaged in William's service, he did not scruple to intrigue with the exiled king.

Death of Queen Mary, 1694.

17. All through these years the Jacobites were active. Plot after plot was formed to restore King James and to assassinate William. So alarming were these conspiracies that in 1696 parliament followed the example of Elizabeth's parliament in 1584,

and drew up a *Bond of Association*, by which they agreed to stand by King William and the Protestant succession, and to avenge any attack on either. Faction rose high both in parliament and among the king's ministers. At the beginning of the reign William, who was anxious not to be the king of one party only, had chosen his ministers indifferently from both the Whig and the Tory statesmen. But the two factions hated each other, and would not work loyally together. Things were the worse since the Tories disliked the war with France. They declared that it was dangerous for England to have a strong army, and that continental politics were no concern of hers.

The Bond of Association, 1696.

18. It was soon clear that a ministry chosen from the two parties would not work. The renegade Sunderland, now again a Protestant and returned from exile, wormed his way into William's favour, and showed him the advantages to be gained from having ministers all of the same way of thinking. The king gradually drove away the Tories from office, and selected his advisers exclusively from the Whigs. The last Tory to go was the duke of Leeds, the former earl of Danby, who narrowly escaped a second impeachment on a charge of corruption. By 1696 a united Whig ministry was formed, of which the leaders were a little knot of statesmen called the *Junto*. Chief among them were the chancellor, Lord Somers; Charles Montague, the brilliant financier, who was soon made Lord Halifax; and Admiral Russell, the victor of La Hougue, now Lord Orford. As soon as William gave his chief confidence to the Whigs, he adopted their policy and accepted their measures. In 1694 he gave his assent to the *Triennial Act*, which laid down that no parliament should last more than three years. In 1695 he allowed the act to lapse which, since the Restoration, had empowered the king to appoint a licenser, without whose permission no newspaper or book could be printed. This abolition of the *censorship of the press* was as great an encouragement to freedom of writing as the Toleration Act had been to freedom of worship.

The first united Whig ministry, 1696.

19. William had not thought that he was making any great change when he created his united Whig ministry. He was eager to use all the power that the law, as modified by the revolution, gave him. First among his royal rights he reckoned his power to choose his ministers freely, and so to control the government of the country. But the Whigs, at the time they became his ministers, were the party which commanded a majority in the House of Commons, and the

Beginnings of cabinet government.

real advantage which he got from the change was in the harmony between his policy and that which commended itself to his parliament. It was, in fact, a move in the direction of the modern system of the *Cabinet Government*, by which the king is compelled to have as his advisers the leaders of the party commanding a majority in the lower House. Already under Charles II. there had been a tendency towards this plan. The ministry of the Whig *Junto* marked a much further step along the same road. The final result was that the king ceased to govern the country at all, and that the executive power passed virtually to the House of Commons. But this change, which was the greatest of all the results of the revolution, was brought about very slowly, and only completed after the accession of the house of Hanover. Yet before the end of William's reign another approach to cabinet government was made, when William had to dismiss his Whig ministers, because the House of Commons ceased to have a Whig majority.

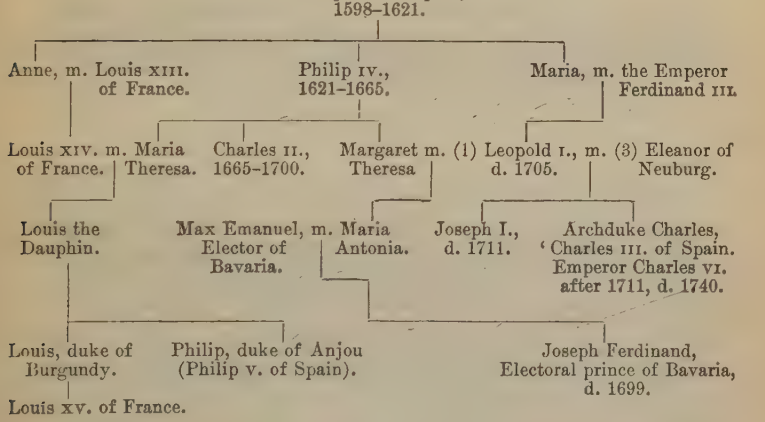
The Darien scheme, 1695-1699.

20. Scotland gave trouble to William as well as England. Scotland was in those days a very poor country, with little industry or trade. Now that England was rapidly gaining wealth by foreign commerce, the Scots naturally wished to do the same. There were, however, grave difficulties in the way. The English Navigation Acts treated Scotland as a foreign country, and, in particular, shut the Scots out of all share in the profitable trade with English colonies. Paterson, a shrewd Scot who had helped Montague to establish the Bank of England, proposed to his countrymen to set up a Scottish colony and trading station on the *Isthmus of Darien*, or Panama, which separates North and South America. He believed that he would be able to bring nearly all the trade between the Pacific and Europe through his new colony, and thus make Darien one of the great commercial centres of the world. His plan was taken up with enthusiasm; a Darien company was floated, and in 1698 Paterson himself landed at Darien with the first settlers. Three obstacles stood in their way. The climate was so hot and unhealthy that the colonists died off rapidly of fever. Spain claimed the site as hers, and regarded the Scottish settlers as pirates. England looked with ill will on a new colony that would prove, if successful, a rival to her own. For all these reasons the Darien scheme proved a failure. Such settlers as survived the climate were driven out by the Spaniards, and England did not raise a finger to help them. The chief result of the fiasco was that the Scots became bitterly hostile to England.

21. The treaty of Ryswick brought no lasting peace. Charles II., the childless king of Spain, was slowly dying, and it was certain that on his death Louis XIV. and the emperor Leopold I. would each try to establish a member of their own family on the Spanish throne. Charles's two sisters, Maria Theresa and Margaret Theresa, had married Louis and Leopold, and Leopold's mother had been Charles's aunt. The son of the elder sister, Maria Theresa, and Louis XIV., the dauphin Louis of France, was the nearest heir to Charles II. After him came the electress of Bavaria, the only child of Margaret

The Spanish partition treaties, 1698-1699.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, 1700.


Philip III. of Spain, 1598–1621.
Anne, m. Louis XIII. of France.
Philip IV., 1621–1665.
Maria, m. the Emperor Ferdinand III.
Louis XIV. m. Maria Theresa.
Charles II., 1665–1700.
Margaret Theresa
m. (1) Leopold I., d. 1705.
m. (3) Eleanor of Neuburg.
Louis the Dauphin.
Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria.
m. Maria Antonia.
Joseph I., d. 1711.
Archduke Charles, 'Charles III. of Spain. Emperor Charles VI. after 1711, d. 1740.
Louis, duke of Burgundy.
Louis XV. of France.
Philip, duke of Anjou (Philip V. of Spain).
Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral prince of Bavaria, d. 1699.

Theresa and Leopold. Maria Theresa, very solemnly, and, to a certain extent, the electress had renounced their rights to Spain when they had married. If these renunciations were valid, the heir was Leopold himself, whose mother had made no such surrender. Both the king of France and the emperor meant to press forward their pretensions, and statesmen were almost equally afraid of either of them succeeding, since the union of Spain with France, or even with Austria, would have utterly upset the European balance of power. William III. strongly shared this opinion, and was able to persuade Louis XIV. that it was better for him to obtain a part of the Spanish succession without a struggle rather than plunge into a long and doubtful war on the chance of winning the

whole. Accordingly, in 1698, England, Holland, and France signed the *First Partition Treaty*, by which it was agreed that the electoral prince of Bavaria, the son of the electress and grandson of the emperor, should be the next king of Spain. France was to be compensated with the Basque province of Guipuscoa and with Naples, while the emperor was to be bought off with the Milanese. Looking at the Spanish succession question from the European point of view, it was a wise plan to make that prince king whose accession would least disturb the European balance, and both William and Louis deserve credit for making it. Unluckily, the Bavarian prince died in 1699, and so the whole question was reopened. Louis and William were still anxious to avoid war, and resumed their negotiations. In 1700 they agreed upon a *Second Partition Treaty*. In this Louis recognized the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles, as king of Spain, and received as additional compensation the Milanese as well as Naples and Guipuscoa. This meant that Louis resigned his son's claims in order to win for France the supreme position in Italy enjoyed by the Spanish Hapsburgers since the days of Charles V.

22. The weak point of the policy of William and Louis was that it took no account whatever of the wishes of the Spaniards. Though the treaties were kept secret, news about them soon leaked out, and Spaniards felt indignant that foreign princes should presume to cut their empire into pieces and distribute the fragments at their pleasure. The dying Charles II. so fully shared this feeling that he made a will, giving the succession to the whole of his dominions to Philip, duke of Anjou, the younger son of the dauphin, to whom his father, following the example of Leopold's handing over his pretensions to the archduke Charles, had yielded up his claims. Soon afterwards he died, and Louis XIV., yielding to the temptation, threw over the partition treaty, and sent his grandson to Spain. Before long, the whole of the Spanish dominions recognized the French prince as Philip V. Thus the great ambition of William's life was frustrated, for the union of Spain with France seemed likely to make Louis XIV. more dangerous to the European balance than ever.

The failure of the partition treaties, 1700.

23. Nothing, however, could be effected for the moment. A strong Tory reaction had followed the treaty of Ryswick, and the new parliament, which met in 1698, had reduced the English army to seven thousand men and done all that it could to baffle William and his Whig ministers

The Tory reaction, 1698-1700.

The wish of the Commons was to drive the Whigs from power, but William did not see why he should dismiss ministers he liked because the Commons did not happen to agree with their policy. For a long time he held out, being helped in his resistance by the support of the House of Lords, a body in which the Whigs had in those days a permanent majority. However, before the end of 1700 he was obliged to give way, and accept a Tory ministry, headed by the earl of Rochester and Lord Godolphin. It was another step forward towards our modern cabinet system when so able a king as William had to change his ministers at the bidding of the House of Commons. It was gradually becoming clear that the revolution had made the Commons stronger than either the king or the Lords.

24. William felt bitterly that his Tory ministers and parliament prevented him from taking any steps to prevent the establishment of Philip of Anjou in Spain. The Tories declared that the balance of power was no concern of England, and impeached the fallen Whigs for having made the partition treaty without the consent of parliament. Nothing, however, came of this, because the Whig House of Lords took good care not to condemn the chiefs of their own party. There was another general election in 1701, but the Tories were still in a majority. The chief measure of this new parliament was the *Act of Settlement* of 1701, by which the succession to the throne was provided for in the event, which seemed certain, of both William and his sister-in-law Anne dying without children. By it the crown was settled, after Anne's death, on Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her heirs, being Protestants. Sophia was the daughter of Frederick the Elector Palatine, and sometime king of Bohemia, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. She was selected for this position because she was the nearest Protestant descendant of James I., her grandfather. There were plenty of nearer heirs, but they were all Catholics.

The Act of Settlement, 1701.

25. In providing for the Protestant succession without regard to the strict laws of inheritance, the parliament of 1701 showed that Tories, like Whigs, now accepted the doctrines of the revolution, and treated the monarchy as an office which could be conferred by act of parliament. In fact, the Tory Commons were so jealous of a Whig king like William, that they took particular care to limit the authority of the crown as soon as the new law came into force. Some of the constitutional safeguards introduced into the Act of Settlement have great future importance, and worthily completed the legal changes brought about by the

The constitutional limitations in the Act of Settlement.

revolution settlement. All future kings were to be members of the Church of England; they were not to engage England in war to protect their foreign dominions without the consent of parliament, and no foreigner was to hold grants, or office, or sit in parliament. Judges were to have fixed salaries, and only to be removed from office by petition of parliament, and no royal pardon could be pleaded as an answer to an impeachment. All these articles showed distrust of the crown and a wish to wound William's feelings. The same spirit came out even more clearly in three clauses, which were repealed in the next reign before they came into operation. By these the future king was not to be allowed to leave England without consent of parliament. No minister, placeman, or pensioner was to sit in the House of Commons, and affairs of state were to be transacted, not in cabinet councils of ministers after the Whig fashion, but in the full privy council. Had these two last articles ever come into operation, they would have altered the whole course of our later history by stopping the growth of cabinet government. It was soon found, however, that it was the only practical way of giving the strongest party a chance of getting its own way. However, when in the next reign the clause excluding placemen from parliament was repealed, the present plan was brought in of making ministers seek re-election after receiving office.

26. William was thus checked both at home and abroad. His health was breaking up, but he never lost heart, and gradually the outlook became brighter. At last a false step on the part of Louis XIV. gave him his chance. James II. died in 1701, and Louis, moved by a generous impulse not to desert the unfortunate, recognized his son James, prince of Wales, as the true English king. This was a breach of the treaty of Ryswick, and bad policy, because it stirred up English national feeling against France. Even the Tories became willing to fight the French; and William was at last enabled to build up a *Grand Alliance* against the union of France and Spain, in which England was to take a leading part. Before long William was able to dismiss his Tory ministers and dissolve his Tory parliament. A Whig majority was returned at the general election, which backed up the new Whig ministers in their preparations for war with France. All was ready for fighting when William died on March 8, 1702, from the effects of a fall from his horse. He lived long enough to start the great league which in the next reign was to carry out his dearest wish to destroy the power of Louis XIV.

The Grand Alliance, and the death of William III., 1702.

CHAPTER VII

QUEEN ANNE (1702–1714)

Chief Dates:

1702. Accession of Queen Anne.
1704. Battle of Blenheim and Act of Security.
1706. Battle of Ramillies.
1707. Battle of Almanza and union with Scotland.
1708. Battle of Oudenarde.
1709. Battle of Malplaquet.
1710. Fall of the Whigs.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
1714. Death of Anne.

1. Queen Anne was good-natured, true to her friends, sincerely religious, and a thorough Englishwoman. She was popular because of her honesty, and her strong sympathy with the Tories and the High Churchmen. But she was obstinate, and narrow-minded, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, was even duller than his wife. Anne had been entirely ruled for many years by her old friend Sarah Jennings, who became the wife of Marlborough. Lady Marlborough was strong-willed, quick-witted, and devoted to her husband. The result was that Marlborough really governed the policy of the new queen. A cold-hearted and selfish man, who had betrayed James II. and William in turn, Marlborough was a clear-headed and far-seeing statesman, and the greatest general of his age. He was the one man in Europe strong enough to continue the life-work of William III., and it was well for England that he was available to guide the counsels and direct the armies of the new queen.

Character of Queen Anne.

2. Marlborough was a Tory, and his influence caused Anne to dismiss her brother-in-law's Whig ministers and put Tories in their place. The chief of the new ministers was Marlborough's close friend, Godolphin, a shrewd and prudent financier, who was made lord treasurer, and the earl of Nottingham, the leader of the High Churchmen, who became secretary of state. Marlborough

was made a duke and captain-general of the English and Dutch armies. It was his business to carry on the war, while Godolphin found the money to pay for it. But he remained a statesman as well as a general, and the custom of the armies of the period going into winter quarters enabled him to take his share in the work of parliament and government in the winter, while commanding the troops in the field during the summer. It was a great proof of his power over his party that he persuaded them to prosecute the war so vigorously, though all the Tory tradition was in favour of peace.

The rule of Marlborough and Godolphin, 1702-1708.

3. War began within a few weeks of Anne's accession. The chief parties to the Grand Alliance were England and Holland, which still acted closely together, and the emperor, who hoped to win the Spanish throne for his younger son. Many of the smaller German princes followed the emperor's lead, conspicuous among them being the elector of Brandenburg, who had been bribed to take sides against France by being recognized as Frederick I., king of *Prussia*. Yet Louis had greater resources than ever under his control. France was the richest, most compact, and, in some ways, the best ruled state in Europe. Its army had an almost unbroken record of victory, and its generals and statesmen enjoyed the highest reputation. Spain, hitherto the opponent of France, was now Louis's active ally, and was inspired with a new energy by her French king. The Spanish Netherlands, hitherto an impregnable barrier to French advance, were under Louis's control, and the Dutch frontier stood open to invasion. Even in Germany the French still had some partisans, notably the elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the elector of Cologne. Italy also, which had hitherto been against him, was mainly on his side, owing to Spanish influence and to his alliance with Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy and lord of Piedmont, the strongest of the Italian princes. The struggle between allies so well matched was soon to prove itself one of the most memorable in history.

The war of the Spanish succession, 1702-1713.

4. The first campaigns of the war were not very eventful. The Dutch were fearful of their land being invaded by the French, and compelled Marlborough and the chief army of the allies to devote his main attention to the defence of their frontier. In 1702 and 1703 Marlborough not only saved Holland from invasion, but captured Liège and Bonn, and overwhelmed the elector of Cologne, Louis's chief

The early campaigns of the war, 1702-1703.

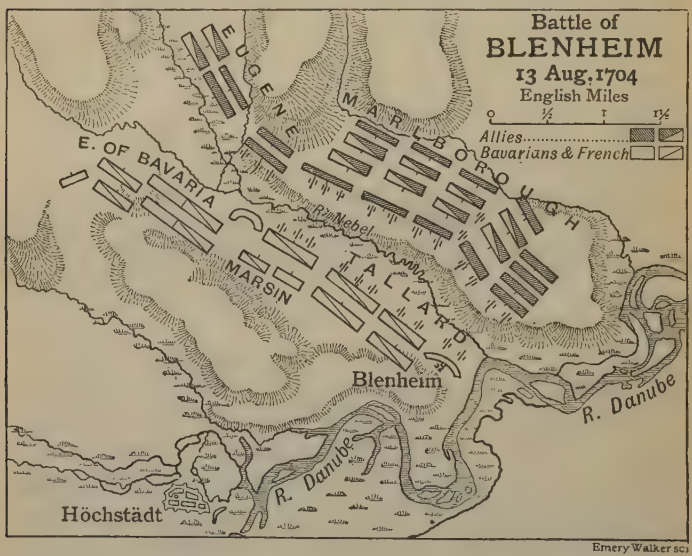
ally in Northern Germany. Elsewhere, however, the coalition was less successful. In upper Germany the French and their Bavarian supporters invaded Austria and marched on Vienna, while a revolt in Hungary also exposed the emperor to trouble in the east. Spain and Italy were so entirely under French control that Portugal and Savoy, alarmed at the danger they were exposed to from French ascendency, changed sides and joined the coalition. The treaty between England and Portugal was called the *Methuen Treaty* (1703), from its negotiator, John Methuen. By it Portugal opened up her markets to English manufacturers, while England agreed that Portuguese wine should pay a less duty than French wine. The result of the compact was that for the best part of a century Portugal became dependent on England both in politics and trade.

The Methuen Treaty, 1703.

5. In 1704 matters became critical for the allies. Vienna was threatened both from Bavaria and from Hungary, and it seemed as if the emperor would be forced to make peace. The only army that could help him was that of Marlborough, which lay hundreds of miles away protecting the Dutch frontier, and whose presence there the Dutch thought necessary for their safety. Armies of this period were unwieldy and slow, but it is the mark of a general of genius to break from the traditions of his day, and Marlborough rose to the great opportunity which was offered to him. He resolved to shift his army from the lower Rhine to the upper Danube and save the emperor. He overcame the reluctance of the Dutch with extraordinary tact, and persuaded them to allow him to remove his troops on the pretence of fighting on the Moselle. But he hurried his force up the Rhine and Neckar, and invaded Bavaria from the west. Prince Eugene of Savoy, the best of the imperial generals, now united his army with that of Marlborough. Thereupon the French and Bavarians were compelled to fight a battle to save Bavaria from being overrun. It took place on August 13, 1704, at Blindheim, called by the English *Blenheim*, a village on the north bank of the Danube, not far east from Höchstädt. The Franco-Bavarian army took up a position facing eastwards on some rising ground commanding the marshy valley through which the little river Nebel runs to join the Danube. Blenheim, the right of their position, was held by Marshal Tallard, the chief French general; in the left were the Bavarians under their elector; while the centre consisted of French troops under Marshal Marsin. The allies were on the opposite bank, Prince Eugene being opposed to the elector and

Battle of Blenheim, 1704.

Marsin, while Marlborough fought against Tallard. The battle began by Marlborough fiercely attacking Blenheim; but the village was strongly fortified, and many lives were lost to no purpose. Marlborough's quick eye soon saw that Tallard had drawn off many troops from Marsin's column in order to protect his threatened right. He at once threw all his forces against the weak point in the enemies' lines, and managed to break through his centre. Thereupon the elector retreated with the left wing, while Tallard and the defenders of Blenheim were forced to lay down their arms. The battle of Blenheim was the first great victory won



against Louis XIV. in the open field, and dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the French army. Austria was saved; Bavaria forced to make peace; the French were driven over the Danube; and Marlborough won the reputation of a brilliant general whose daring tactics, rapid movements, and brilliant attacks raised him far above the stiff and slow commanders of the age.

6. In 1706 the successes of Blenheim were followed up by a remarkable series of victories. Marlborough, who had returned to the Netherlands, won the *battle of Ramillies*, near Namur, the result of which was the capture of almost all the Spanish

Netherlands. Prince Eugene, who had undertaken the command in Italy, won the decisive *battle of Turin*, which drove the French out of Italy and established the archduke Charles in Milan and Naples. The attack on Philip v. in Spain, which had begun by Admiral Rooke's capture of *Gibraltar* in 1704, and extended after *Barcelona* had been won in 1705, was consummated by the union of two allied armies in Madrid. One of these, starting from Barcelona, consisted largely of the Catalans, who had revolted from Philip and proclaimed the archduke Charles their king; while the other, composed of Portuguese, English, and Dutch, marched up the Tagus valley to the Spanish capital. It seemed as if France were beaten in every field of the war.

Victories of the allies in 1704–1706.

7. Louis and his grandson were inspired to new efforts by their earlier failures, and in 1707 the tide of victory turned against the allies. This was particularly the case in Spain, where the proclamation of the hated Austrian had been followed by a great popular rising of the Spanish people in favour of the king of their choice. In 1707 the allies were decisively beaten in the *battle of Almanza*, and Philip v. was restored to Madrid. In the Netherlands many of the fortresses lost after Blenheim were won back, while the invasion of Germany was renewed. It was clear that the French were not yet powerless.

The battle Almanza, 1707.

8. In 1708 the allies regained their lost ground in the Netherlands. Marlborough and Eugene won the *battle of Oudenarde*, which repeated the success of Ramillies, and was followed by the recapture of the Netherlandish fortresses. At last the storming of Lille, the key of French Flanders, opened up Louis's own dominions to invasion. Louis became so despondent that he offered to make peace and renounce the Spanish succession. But the allies declared that they would only agree to make terms if Louis would help them to expel Philip from Spain. The French king declined to do this, and manfully prepared to resist invasion.

Battle of Oudenarde, 1708.

9. In 1709 Marlborough won the last of his great victories at *Malplaquet*. The French resistance was very stubborn, and the allies lost more heavily than the defeated enemy. Very few important results attended this triumph, and for the rest of the war the campaign in the Netherlands languished. The English now made their chief efforts in Spain, where, in 1708, General Stanhope captured the important island of *Minorca*, and in 1710 again occupied Madrid. Again the

The battle of Malplaquet, 1709.

loyalty of the Spaniards to Philip v. made the allies triumph a short one. Before the end of the year Stanhope was defeated, and forced to surrender with most of his troops at *Brihuega*.

Brihuega, 1710.

Henceforth Philip of Anjou reigned over Spain. Only the Catalans continued to uphold the archduke Charles. And in 1711 the allies themselves became lukewarm in Charles's service, for in that year Charles became emperor on his brother's death. Henceforth his accession to Spain seemed nearly as likely to upset the balance of power as the rule of Philip v. The war was waged with decreasing energy, and neither side scored any remarkable successes. The conquest of the Netherlands by the allies and the exhaustion of France were balanced by the establishment of Philip both in Italy and Spain. At last a change in the political conditions of England made our country anxious to put an end to the war.

10. For the first few years of Anne's reign, Godolphin and Marlborough ruled England as the heads of a Tory ministry. Their great anxiety was to carry on the war, and for that reason they strove to keep on friendly terms with the Whig leaders, who were the natural supporters of a spirited foreign policy. To conciliate the Whigs they had to check the zeal of the High Tory party for upholding the Church at the expense of the Dissenters. The *Highfliers*, as they were called, were anxious to make law a *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, which was to prevent Dissenters qualifying for office by receiving once in the way communion in Church. Marlborough and Godolphin hesitated to pass a measure that would have utterly alienated the Whigs and Dissenters. Before long they opposed it, whereupon Nottingham resigned office in disgust, and raised the cry that the ministry was hostile to the Church. Besides this, Marlborough was gradually finding out, like William, that only the Whigs were really to be depended upon for supporting his war policy. Accordingly, he filled up vacancies with Whigs, and in 1706 gave the office of secretary of state to his son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, the son of the old adviser of James II. and William III. Sunderland was a strong Whig and closely allied to the chiefs of the Whig *Junto*, who were still excluded from office. Gradually the Tory element in the ministry was pushed into the background. In desperation the Tories intrigued against their colleagues, and strove to win court favour by undermining the influence of the duchess of Marlborough with the queen. Robert Harley, the Tory secretary of state, obtained a place at court for his cousin,

Party contests, 1702-1708.

Mrs. Masham, whose placable and easy temper soon won Anne's confidence, especially as she was getting tired of the overbearing duchess. Mrs. Masham taught the queen that the Whigs were plotting against the Church.

11. It was clear that either the Whigs or the Tories must go. Marlborough and Godolphin definitely went over to the Whigs, forced the reluctant queen to turn out Harley and his Tory colleagues, and replaced them with Somers, Orford, and the lords of the Junto. Among the younger Whigs now taken into office was the capable Norfolk squire, Robert Walpole, who succeeded Henry St. John, the most brilliant of the Tories, as secretary at war. From 1708 to 1710 Marlborough and Godolphin retained power through the help of their old opponents. Foreign policy now really divided Whig and Tory. It became the party interest of the Whigs to prolong the French war, and for this reason they rejected, as we have seen, the offers of peace which Louis XIV. made in the days of his worst distress. After the campaigns had ceased to be successful and the accession of Charles VI. to the Empire, they were still anxious to continue the struggle. Henceforth war or peace depended less on the armies in the field than on parliamentary struggles and court intrigues. It was soon made clear that the Whigs were playing a factious game in the hope of maintaining their power, and plain men became disgusted that a bloody and unprofitable war should be continued indefinitely to meet the interest of a place-loving ministry.

Marlborough's Whig ministry, 1708-1710.

12. Once more the cry was raised that the Church was in danger. Anne, now altogether under Mrs. Masham's influence, became extremely suspicious of her ministers' doings, and a Tory parson, named Dr. Sacheverell, won extraordinary influence by his political sermons against the Whigs. The Whigs unwisely made a martyr of Sacheverell by impeaching him, though his offence was so technical that even the Whig House of Lords could inflict upon him no worse punishment than three years' suspension from preaching. This was enough, however, to make the doctor a popular hero, and an effective electioneering agent for the Tories. Anne began to consult Harley and remove the Whigs from office. The general election of 1710 returned a strong majority of Tories and High Churchmen to the House of Commons. The result of this was that the Tories remained in power for the rest of the queen's life.

The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, 1709.

13. Robert Harley, who became in 1711 earl of Oxford and lord high treasurer, was now the chief minister. He was a skilful party manager and a dexterous intriguer, but was timid, hesitating, a poor speaker, and of somewhat ordinary temperament. Far more brilliant and attractive was Henry St. John, the secretary of state, who soon became Viscount Bolingbroke. He was a man of fashion and a famous writer, of wonderful eloquence, and clear insight into English character. But he looked upon politics as a mere game, and had little real earnestness or conviction. Under the influence of these two, Marlborough was dismissed from the command of the army, and charges of corruption and peculation brought against him. His successor as general-in-chief was the duke of Ormonde, an incompetent nobleman, who withdrew from all active share in the war. The Whig majority in the House of Lords was broken down by creating twelve Tory peers, one of whom was Mrs. Masham's husband. The Tories now showed as much factious zeal in hurrying forward the conclusion of peace as the Whigs had manifested in refusing to end the war. They threw over the emperor altogether, and in 1713 united with the Dutch to make a separate treaty with the French and Spaniards at Utrecht. It was only in the following year that Charles VI. was reluctantly forced to end the war by the *treaty of Rastadt*.

The Tory ministry, 1710–1713.

14. The chief condition of the *treaty of Utrecht* was that Philip V. should be recognized as king of Spain and the Indies, even the Catalans, who had fought so well for Charles, being forced to accept his rule. The emperor was compensated in Italy, where Milan, Naples, and Sardinia were ceded to him. Charles VI. had also hoped to get the Netherlands and Sicily, but the Netherlands were handed over to the Dutch, who were only to resign them to the emperor when he had concluded with them a *barrier treaty*, by which the fortresses on the French frontier were to be permanently garrisoned by Dutch troops. Sicily escaped Charles altogether, being given to Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, with the title of king. England received some reward in the recognition of the Protestant succession, the cession of Newfoundland and Acadie (Nova Scotia) by France, and the surrender of Gibraltar and Minorca by Spain. Important commercial advantages were also secured to England and Holland. The commerce of the Netherlands was ruined to please the Dutch, and Spain made with England a contract called the *Asiento*, which gave the English the lucrative monopoly of supplying her American

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

EUROPE
in 1713
Austrian dominions in 1720.....
Prussian ,, ,, ,, ...
Sardinian ,, ,, ,, ...
British Possessions underlined...Gibraltar
Marlborough's march in 1704....
Dublin
R. Boyne
Limerick
Cork
Blenheim
Palace
Beachy Hd.
Forbay
la Hougue
Brest
Ushant
Quiberon
Versailles
Paris
FRANCE
Dunkirk
Ryswick
Klosten Zeven
Utrecht
Minden
Berlin
POLAND
Courtruydenburg
Rossbach
Oudenarde
Ramillies
Aachen
Dresden
Eontenoy
Malplaquet
Dettingen
Worms
Schellenberg
Lines of Stollhofen
Blenheim
Vienna
(after 1718)
1718-1720
Milan
Turin
Parma
VENICE
Venice
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
TURKEY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Brihuega
Madrid
Lisbon
CATALONIA
Barcelona
Corsica
(1769 French)
Rome
Naples
CASTILE
Almanza
Minorca
(1708-1756)
and
(1762-1782)
Sardinia
(Austrian 1713
exchanged for Sicily 1718)
Seville
Tangier
(time of Charles II)
Gibraltar
(1704)
Sicily
(To Savoy 1713
exchanged for Sardinia 1718)
C. Passaro
Ionian Is.
(to Venice)
Emery Walker sc.

colonies with negro slaves. Spain also permitted England to send one ship a year to trade with Portobello, in South America.

15. The treaty of Utrecht marked an epoch both in the history of Europe and of England. It completed the downfall of the over-

End of the age of Louis XIV.

great power of Louis XIV., who died in 1715, after having outlived the glories of his age. It brought about the revival of Spain and the beginning of the European importance of the two new monarchies of Brandenburg-Prussia and Sicily-Savoy. It witnessed the establishment of England in the prominent position won for her by Marlborough's victories, and gave her great commercial advantages, fresh colonies, an establishment in the Mediterranean, and the status of the supreme maritime power in the world. It was, however, concluded in such a hurry that the Whigs complained with reason that the government had neglected to secure many advantages which Louis might have yielded, if the English had shown more caution in the conduct of the negotiations. The treaty was denounced as a party move, and the Tories were held up to shame as having neglected the interests of their country in their desire to play the game of their faction. It is impossible to justify the way in which England threw over her allies or hurried on the treaty. But it was a good thing to make peace, and it would not have been to the permanent interest of England to have humiliated the French any further.

16. Oxford and Bolingbroke looked forward to a long lease of power. The peace was popular and the country prosperous. The

The Tory ministry and the Protestant succession.

High Church party was won over by passing the *Act against Occasional Conformity* in 1711, to which was added, in 1714, the *Schism Act*, which prevented any Dissenter from becoming a schoolmaster. A new general election returned another Tory House of Commons, and the good-will of the queen was absolutely secured for them. But Anne's health was now breaking up, and, as the electress Sophia, who was over eighty years of age, died at this time, it looked as if the throne would soon pass, according to the Act of Settlement, to her son, George, elector of Hanover. George was an enemy of the treaty of Utrecht and a friend of the Whigs, and Bolingbroke feared lest his accession should involve the expulsion of the Tories from office. Above all things, Bolingbroke was a strong party man, and he began to think that his party could only be kept in place by overthrowing the Act of Settlement. He had no faith in divine right or arbitrary power, but he preferred a Stewart to a foreign king, and put the interests of his party first

of all. There were still many Tories and High Churchmen who upheld the divine right of the old line of kings, and Anne herself was not unwilling to secure the succession for her half-brother. The main obstacle in the way was the fact that James was a Roman Catholic, and that he would not deny or dissemble his faith.

17. Bolingbroke threw himself with eagerness into his reasonable policy. He won over some of his colleagues, but his chief difficulty was with Oxford, who was too cautious and timid to embark upon great risks, and was jealous of the personal ascendency of the brilliant secretary. The result was a fierce quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford, which culminated in an unseemly altercation before the sick queen. Anne took Bolingbroke's side, and on July 27, 1714, deprived his rival of office. Bolingbroke then had everything his own way, and prepared for a revolution. His plans were still but half ready when, on July 30, the queen was smitten with apoplexy. All was now confusion, and the cabinet met to decide what was to be done. While they were deliberating, the Whig dukes of Argyll and Somerset demanded, as privy councillors, to be admitted to share their deliberations. The law knew nothing of cabinets, and they claimed that one privy councillor had as much right to be consulted as another. One of the ministers, the duke of Shrewsbury, backed up their claims, and they insisted that he should be made Oxford's successor as treasurer. The three dukes now took everything upon themselves, and ignoring the ministers, summoned to the council all the privy councillors, the majority of whom were Whigs. When Anne died on August 1, they proclaimed the accession of the elector of Hanover as George I. Bolingbroke shrunk from open resistance, and set down his misfortune to the sudden death of the queen. "In six weeks more," he said, "we should have put things in such a condition that there would have been nothing to fear. But Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday! What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!"

The fall of Oxford and the death of Queen Anne, 1714.

18. Under Queen Anne the parliamentary union of England and Scotland was happily accomplished. Since the collapse of the Darien project, there had been much ill-feeling between the two countries. It had been hoped that the revolution had set the northern kingdom free to work out its own destinies. But the Darien failure had shown that Scotland, as the weaker power, was still obliged in important matters to follow the lead of England, and

Strained relations of England and Scotland, 1699-1702.

that as long as Scotland remained under a separate government, Scotsmen were shut out from all the sources of wealth which were making England the greatest commercial country in the world. It was clear that things could not go on as they were, and that there must either be complete separation or fuller union. Wise men like William III. saw in the latter course the best way out of the deadlock. But a patriotic party grew up in Scotland, led by Andrew Fletcher, of Salton, who wished for absolute separation between the crowns, and the restoration of Scotland to the position of independence it had enjoyed before 1603. Largely through Fletcher's influence, the Scots rejected William's overtures for a union, and the need of providing for the succession after Anne's death gave him the chance of vindicating the freedom of his country.

19. It had been expected that just as in 1689 Scotland had followed the lead of England, and had dethroned James in favour of William, so after 1701 she would pass a new Act of Succession on the lines of the English Act of Settlement. Fletcher was resolved that Scotland should take up her own line, and in 1703 brought forward a *Bill of Security*, by which on Anne's death the Scottish throne was to go to some Protestant descendant of the royal house, but excluding the successor to the English throne, unless he accepted a series of *Limitations*, by which all the power of the crown in Scotland was permanently handed over to a committee of the Scottish Parliament. It was the moment of the crisis of the Spanish succession war, and Godolphin dared not risk a conflict between England and Scotland. After once refusing the royal assent to the Bill of Security, Anne accepted it in 1704.

The Act of Security, 1703-1704.

20. The Act of Security was in substance a declaration of war. The English not unnaturally retaliated by cutting off all trade with Scotland, denying the Scots all rights in England, and by massing troops on the Borders. But gradually the Scots became more prudent. If they quarrelled with England, they lost all chance of a share in English trade, and there was a real danger lest they became the tools of the Jacobites and endangered Presbyterianism and Protestantism. A middle party arose, called the *Flying Squadron*, which, while professing to hold the balance between Fletcher and the English party, showed a willingness to accept reasonable proposals for union. Godolphin then took up a moderate line, and in 1706 commissioners from the two nations were empowered to draw up the conditions of a treaty.

The Flying Squadron and the negotiations for the union, 1704-1707.

In 1707 an *Act of Union* was laid before the two Parliaments. Accepted easily by the English parliament, it also passed through the Scots estates by a small majority, though Scottish national feeling was bitterly opposed to it.

21. By the Act of Union it was agreed that there should be one parliament, one privy council, one government, and the same law of succession to the united monarchy. The United Kingdom was to be called Great Britain, with a national flag—the "Union Jack," made of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George combined. Scotland was to be represented in the united parliament by forty-five commoners, chosen by the shires and burghs, and by sixteen peers, elected by the whole body of Scottish nobles. The Presbyterian Church system was declared the only government of the Church within Scotland, and every monarch was required on his accession to take an oath to protect it. The Scottish law courts and law were continued, though there was now an appeal from the Court of Session at Edinburgh to the House of Lords. Complete commercial equality between the two countries was established, so that Scots might trade with the English colonies. This last clause was very important, because it soon gave the Scots such material advantages from the union that they were content to put up with the rest of it. Moreover, the wise care taken to safeguard the Scottish Church and the Scottish law blunted the sharpest edge of hostility. Yet the union remained intensely unpopular in Scotland, and even in England was looked upon with but little favour. The best sign of the hostility of the Scots to the new system was soon to be found in the fact that within forty years of the Act, the fervid Protestants of the north twice stood aside and allowed the Highlanders to proclaim popish pretenders.

The parliamentary union of England and Scotland, 1707.

CHAPTER VIII

GREAT BRITAIN UNDER THE STEWARTS

1. In the course of the Stewart period England became the greatest colonizing and commercial nation in the world. We have seen how she established colonies in North America and the West Indies, and trading stations in Africa and India, which spread English commerce and influence over distant lands. While the Stewarts were still on the throne, England made up for the lateness with which she had entered in these fields by the superior energy and vigour with which she outdistanced Portugal and beat Holland after a severe struggle. The last Stewart reigns saw the carrying trade of the Dutch transferred to England. Our colonies became more important than those of any European state save Spain, and infinitely superior to those of the Spaniards in all that makes new lands great. The same age witnessed the first triumphs of England over France, and the beginnings of the long process that was to bring the trade and colonies so laboriously established by Louis XIV. under the control of the English state. After the Revolution and the treaty of Utrecht, England had established herself firmly as the chief trading power of Europe.

Colonial and commercial development.

2. The effects of this expansion on England were numerous and important. The growth of trade resulted in increased weight being given to commercial questions, enhanced the wealth and influence of the trading classes, and profoundly affected our foreign policy. It enabled a larger national income to be levied without inconvenience to the taxpayer, and thus made it possible to equip the navy which contested with the Dutch and French for the supremacy of the seas, and the great armies which, under William III. and Marlborough, broke down the supremacy of Louis XIV. Banking and finance became important, as was shown by the establishment of the Bank of England. Men began to give serious thought to the problems arising from commerce, and to those questions

Results of the growth of trade on England.

concerning the production and distribution of wealth which are called *economic*. The theory of trade which now held the field was called the *Mercantile System*. This taught that the advantage of foreign trade depends upon the amount of gold and silver which it brought into a country. If a trade thus brought in bullion, the *Balance of Trade* was said to be in our favour; if not, then the balance was against us. It was, therefore, a matter of supreme concern to make exports exceed imports, and the growth of exports involved the increase of manufactures and commerce.

3. Manufactures became more numerous and important, though England still remained a commercial and agricultural rather than a manufacturing country, and depended upon France, Holland, and the East for the finer wares which our own craftsmen were still unable to produce. A great impetus was given to our industries when the persecutions of the French Protestants by Louis XIV. drove to Britain as to other Protestant lands a large number of skilled Huguenot mechanics and craftsmen. Agriculture was so prosperous that farmers and landlords alike throve, and the demand for more land led to great schemes for draining swamps and fens, of which the most important was that carried out by Dutch engineers in the fen district of northern Cambridgeshire, where vast tracts of country were turned from their old condition of an unhealthy desert into the best corn-growing land in England.

Manufactures.

4. The peasantry shared in the increased prosperity, and pauperism, so terrible a trouble under the Tudors, became less burdensome under the Stewarts. Yet it still remained a real evil, and the unequal distribution of the poor made their relief very burdensome to those districts where the poor chiefly congregated. Hoping to remedy this, the Restoration Parliament passed the *Act of Settlement of 1662*. By it, each parish was allowed to remove a new-comer, likely to become chargeable to the rates, to the place where he had previously had a legal settlement. The act gave a great blow to vagrancy, but by tying down the workman to the spot of his birth, prevented him from transferring himself freely to the district where his services were most wanted.

The poor and the poor law.

5. Population grew, but not rapidly. Towards the end of the century there were perhaps five million inhabitants of England and Wales. The north was still poor and scantily peopled, and the increase was still mainly in the east and south. London, which had perhaps half a million inhabitants, was the only really large

town, the next to it being Bristol and Norwich, with about thirty thousand inhabitants in each. It followed from this inequality that London had immense influence on politics, fashion, and opinion. Nearly all the ablest men lived in or near it; nearly all the printing of the nation was done there. It had grown so enormously since Elizabeth's days that men grew alarmed, and feared that it would soon prove impossible to feed, govern, and keep healthy so great a mass of human beings. Yet the measures taken to prevent the growth of London proved entirely ineffectual, and great suburbs arose on every side of the city of London, which did not extend its ancient narrow limits. A fashionable quarter grew up round the court to the west, while manufacturing and commercial regions extended eastwards of the city down the course of the Thames. The new districts were less overcrowded than the city, and free from the antiquated rules of the city companies, which restrained rather than encouraged the trades they were meant to protect. The sanitary condition of city and suburbs alike was deplorable. Until the reign of James I. all drinking water came from the Thames or from shallow wells, until the *New River Company* brought a wholesome supply of running water from the streams of Hertfordshire. Plague was seldom long absent, and the wooden, closely packed houses were in constant danger of fire. After the Great Fire in the city, brick replaced wood as a building material, but no attempt was made to rebuild the town on an intelligent plan, or with streets and public places of adequate size. The streets were badly paved, dirty, and ill-lighted; the police was very ineffective; robbery and violence were common, and after dark bands of gentlemen amused themselves by assaulting and insulting the passers-by.

London and the towns.

6. With all its drawbacks, life in London had plenty of attractions. Until 1642 the playhouses were in full swing, but they were then closed by order of parliament, and were not reopened until the Restoration. After that event plays were represented with much more attention to scenery and spectacular effects than in the days of Elizabeth and James I. Women for the first time acted in the female parts, and ballet-dancing, brought in from France, became popular. Gentlemen exercised themselves at the riding-school or with fencing, tennis, and a game at ball called *pall-mall*. They amused themselves with the fashionable sports of cock-fighting, horse-racing, and gambling. It was a sign of the progress of refinement that the old national amusements of bull- and bear-baiting were no longer approved of

Amusements.

in polite circles, though still extremely popular with the people. The bear-gardens were also used for boxing and prize-fights with swords. Two features of the Restoration period were the opening of public gardens, of which Vauxhall was the most famous, and the growth of *Coffee-houses*, which served the purpose of modern clubs, and were centres of gossip and society. Coffee and tea were first drunk in Charles II.'s time, and these beverages did something to change social habits and make life more refined, though drunkenness was still very common in all classes of society. Charles II. was famous for bringing in a more elegant way of living, but foreigners still complained of the grossness of English repasts. There was still only two meals a day. Dinner was at one o'clock, and few took anything earlier but a "morning-draught" of beer, with some bread-and-butter.

7. Despite the badness of the roads men flocked to London, and fashionable people spent their holidays at inland watering-places, such as Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Harrogate, or Buxton. Coaches, which were a rare luxury under Elizabeth, became common, though active people, who wished to travel quickly, still preferred to go on horseback. Carriers' waggons began to replace pack-horses as means of transporting goods, especially in the south. Stage-coaches began under the Commonwealth, and under Charles II. flying-coaches, as they were called, managed to travel about fifty miles a day. Hackney-coaches, plying for hire in the streets, first began under the Commonwealth, and the same period saw the establishment of a government *postal system*, which the Restoration adopted and improved.

Communications.

8. Dress underwent a complete revolution during the century. The dignified costume of the gentlemen depicted in Van Dyck's portraits of the contemporaries of James I. and Charles I. became more fantastic and extravagant towards the middle of the century, and afforded reasonable grounds for Puritan attack. Some simplification resulted for a time from Puritan influence, though it is an exaggeration to suppose that the politics of a gentleman during the Civil War could at once be discerned by the cut and colour of his clothes. Under Charles II., the doublet and long cloak ceased to be worn, and in their place men dressed in the garments which ultimately became the modern coat and waistcoat, and in loose knee-breeches. Low shoes superseded boots, and a lace cravat took the place of bands. Early in the reign men shaved their heads, and used wigs instead of their

Dress.

own hair. Up to this time moustaches and a pointed beard had been generally worn, even by bishops like Laud, but with the introduction of the periwig the face began to be clean-shaven. Ladies' dress underwent similar changes. The beauties of Charles II.'s court wore trains and low dresses, and, like men, many of them adopted wigs, while others wore "puffs" of false curls, extended on wires, that made their heads look very wide. Patches also came into common use.

Education.

9. In fashionable circles education became more and more the learning of good and graceful manners, and for this, as for more solid things, every one, after the Restoration, looked to France for guidance. Gentlemen of fashion were content with a superficial smattering of elegant French culture, and the average lady of quality could neither spell nor express herself correctly. Yet there were many scholarly and learned men in the chief professions, and even among the higher classes. In the great world the elements of knowledge became more widespread, and the growing taste for reading encouraged the multiplication of books, pamphlets, and newspapers. Since the days of Whitgift and Laud the universities had been purged of all Puritan leanings, until, under the Commonwealth, they were reformed on Puritan lines. The expulsion of many men of learning because of their views led to evil results, despite the high character of the Puritan scholars who replaced them. Things were made worse when the Restoration brought about more ejections on political and religious grounds. Both Oxford and Cambridge were strong supporters of Church and king, but the violence of their politics did not prevent the prosecution of serious study. In particular they became the centres of the strict investigation of nature, which was a marked feature of the time.

Natural science.

10. The revolt of the Reformation against the Middle Ages had led to an utter contempt for its theories of natural science. The *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon, though of little influence on scientific workers, expressed with brilliant eloquence the high expectations which gifted minds had formed of the fruitful results to be expected from the scientific methods of observation and experiment. The great British men of science of this age were the Scottish laird, Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of *logarithms*, and William Harvey, Charles I.'s physician, who demonstrated the *circulation of the blood*. About the middle of the century the diffused interest in experimental science led to the periodic meeting

together of a little band of able men devoted to its pursuit. This society was incorporated in 1662 under the name of the *Royal Society* by Charles II., who was himself much interested in these studies. Among the early members of this body was Isaac Newton, a professor of mathematics at Cambridge, whose famous mathematical and physical discoveries raised him to a unique position among English men of science. By the labours of these men the foundations of modern English science were securely laid.

11. The steady progress of science stands in strong contrast to the necessary fluctuations of art. Under James I. nobles built their great country houses on lines which are not readily distinguishable from those of the age of Elizabeth, but two new impulses came in early in the century, when the Laudian school revived the use of Gothic architecture, notably at Oxford, and when the work of the Welsh architect, Inigo Jones, brought into England a taste for the classical buildings which the example of the Italian designer, Palladio, had already made fashionable in Italy. After the Restoration, Sir Christopher Wren carried out still further the work begun by Inigo Jones. The Great Fire of London gave him a unique opportunity. His new St. Paul's and a crowd of noble city churches have immortalized his name. His eye for proportion made the interior of many of his churches beautiful works of art, conspicuous among them being St. Stephen's, Walbrook. A special feature of his work were the graceful spires and towers which, grouped round the great dome of St. Paul's, still give the characteristic feature to all views of the modern city of London. His pupils carried on his traditions far into the eighteenth century, and Queen Anne's Act for building fifty new churches round London gave them opportunities of showing their skill. Domestic architecture found its best models in the brick-built houses of Holland, and culminated in the picturesque and convenient "Queen Anne" style, which has been largely revived in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Architecture.

12. There was more taste for painting and sculpture in England under the Stewarts than under the Tudors. Charles I. was a discerning patron of art, and, despite his scanty means, made a fine collection of pictures. Though no Englishman made a great name for himself as a painter or sculptor, many distinguished foreign artists took up their residence in England, and produced there many of their best works. Conspicuous among these were the magnificent Flemish

Painting, sculpture, and music.

colourist, Peter Paul Rubens, and his best pupil, Antony Van Dyck, both of whom were dubbed knights by Charles I. Puritan intolerance worked havoc with all forms of art. Charles I.'s pictures were sold and dispersed, though the sound taste of Cromwell saved some of the most precious of them for the country. Peter Lely, a shrewd Dutchman, came to England during the Commonwealth, and for forty years did an excellent business in painting all manner of men and women, from the Lord Protector to the ladies of Charles II.'s court. His successor was another foreigner, Godfrey Kneller. Very important was the work of the incomparable Dutch wood-carver, Grinling Gibbons, whose tasteful and delicate work adorned the interior of many of Wren's churches. Music received a peculiarly heavy blow from Puritan ascendency, especially by reason of the hostility of Puritans to the dignified worship of the cathedrals, whose choirs had always been the best schools of English vocal art. Yet two of the foremost Puritans, Cromwell and Milton, were sincere lovers of music, and the cathedral choir, revived after the Restoration, produced in Henry Purcell a great English composer, whose untimely death cut off the prospect of the growth of a really English school of musicians. Under the Commonwealth and Charles II., Italian *opera* was first introduced into England, and Purcell himself wrote notable operas. This form of art, though ridiculed by Addison as foreign and womanish, became popular, and did something by its combination of poetry and music to compensate for the decay of the *masque* of the early seventeenth century.

The drama.

13. The revolution in taste and feeling which the Stewart period showed is strikingly illustrated in its literature. Under James I. we were still in the Elizabethan age. The first years of the reign of the first Stewart witnessed the production of the most sublime of Shakespeare's dramas. But about 1611 Shakespeare retired with a fortune to Stratford, where he died in 1616. Seven years after his death, in 1623, the *First Folio*, the earliest collected edition of his works, was published by his friends and fellow-actors. His place as a dramatist was in some measure taken by his friend, Ben Jonson (1573–1637), a rough, strong, and learned playwright and an admirable critic, who, as he grew old, became the oracle of the chief literary society of his time. After Jonson the chief dramatists of James I.'s reign were Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, who wrote many plays in partnership, and John Webster, a man of mighty tragic genius. Under Charles I., Philip Massinger and John Ford carried on the

Elizabethan tradition. But the character of the drama changed slowly but surely, becoming more fantastic, extravagant, and profligate. Yet good pieces were still written until the closing of the playhouses in 1642, and James Shirley, the last of the "Elizabethan" dramatists, lived to see the theatres reopened in 1660. After the Restoration dramatic fashions changed, though the plays of the great period were still admired and acted, and John Dryden (1631–1700), the foremost man who wrote for the stage, based the style of his later dramas on the Elizabethans. However, in his earlier pieces Dryden had imitated the classical French school, and had adopted the heroic rhyming couplet as his dramatic metre. The theatre now became limited to bombastic and empty "heroic" tragedy, and to bright and witty but coarse comedies of manners, the work of the so-called *Restoration dramatists*, whose main work was done towards the end of the seventeenth century. The famous attack of the Non-juring divine, Jeremy Collier, on the profligacy of the stage, was written under William III. in 1698. Under Queen Anne, Joseph Addison attempted, with no great success, to bring into England the severe and stately forms of the classic French drama. The stage, still popular as an amusement, failed to play the part in the life of the later Stewarts which it had taken before the Civil Wars.

14. The poets of the early Stewarts worthily continued Elizabethan tradition, and a remarkable aftergrowth of the Elizabethan spirit was to be seen in the delicate school of lyric poets which flourished in the middle of the century, and whose most charming representative was Robert Herrick. The Laudian revival produced a school of religious poets, whose best-known work is to be seen in the quaint piety of "holy George Herbert." A deeper and more individual note was struck by John Milton (1608–1674), a London scrivener's son, whose early verse, sweet, musical, and strong, produced between 1629 and 1637, would in itself entitle him to a great place in our literature. Called away from poetry by travel and politics, he wrote no verse, save a few masterly sonnets, for more than twenty years, lavishing his great powers on his routine work as Latin secretary to the council of state set up after Charles I.'s death, and only employing his pen on political pamphleteering, the acrimony and narrowness of which are redeemed by its splendid eloquence. The Restoration sent the Cromwellian partisan into a retirement which was made more irksome by his blindness and domestic troubles. His austere and somewhat impracticable character had kept him aloof from his

Milton and the poets.

age even in the days of his pamphlet-writing. He was doubly lonely when, amidst the riot of the Restoration, his genius attained its loftiest heights in *Paradise Lost*, which wedded the severest and sternest spirit of Puritanism to the most exquisite and scholarly music. Yet sound critics, like Dryden, at once recognized the unique greatness of the Puritan epic, and to men who loathed his politics and religion, Milton's solitary figure represented all that was most characteristic of English literature.

15. After Milton's death, Dryden represented the prevailing tendency in our poetry. He stood as literary oracle to the end of the century in much the same position as Ben Jonson had attained in a previous age. His generation was largely influenced by the dominant classic school of France. The spontaneous poetry of emotion was now succeeded by the studied poetry of the intelligence, and it was characteristic that Dryden's most famous verses, *Absalom and Achitophel*, and *The Hind and the Panther*, dealt with such subjects as the Popish Plot and the religious controversies excited by James II.'s attempt to win back England to Rome. For the naturalness and freshness of the older poetry we have now to go from the fashionable versifiers to such works as the vivid and life-like allegories of the village preacher of the Baptists, John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress*, published in 1678, sets forth the Puritan ideal with a dramatic force and vividness that make it a real prose poem. Bunyan's were the first great books in modern English literature written by a man of the people for the people.

Dryden and the poetry of the Restoration.

16. Prose thus advanced while poetry declined. Early in the century a noble standard of good prose-style was set almost unconsciously by the committee of scholars who drew up the *Authorized Version* of the Bible. The majestic but involved periods of Elizabethan prose still formed the model of the stately periods of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, of the poetic and luscious eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, and of the rich meditative soliloquies of Sir Thomas Browne, the Norwich physician. As men read more widely and more hurriedly, the style of books began gradually to assimilate itself to the spoken speech. A crowd of pamphlets and newspapers, produced by the Civil Wars and the fierce party strife of the later seventeenth century, helped forward the creation of a natural prose. Dryden's famous critical works first gave the new prose the stamp of a high style and the sanction of a great name. French influence is as decisive on the development of our prose as on the new

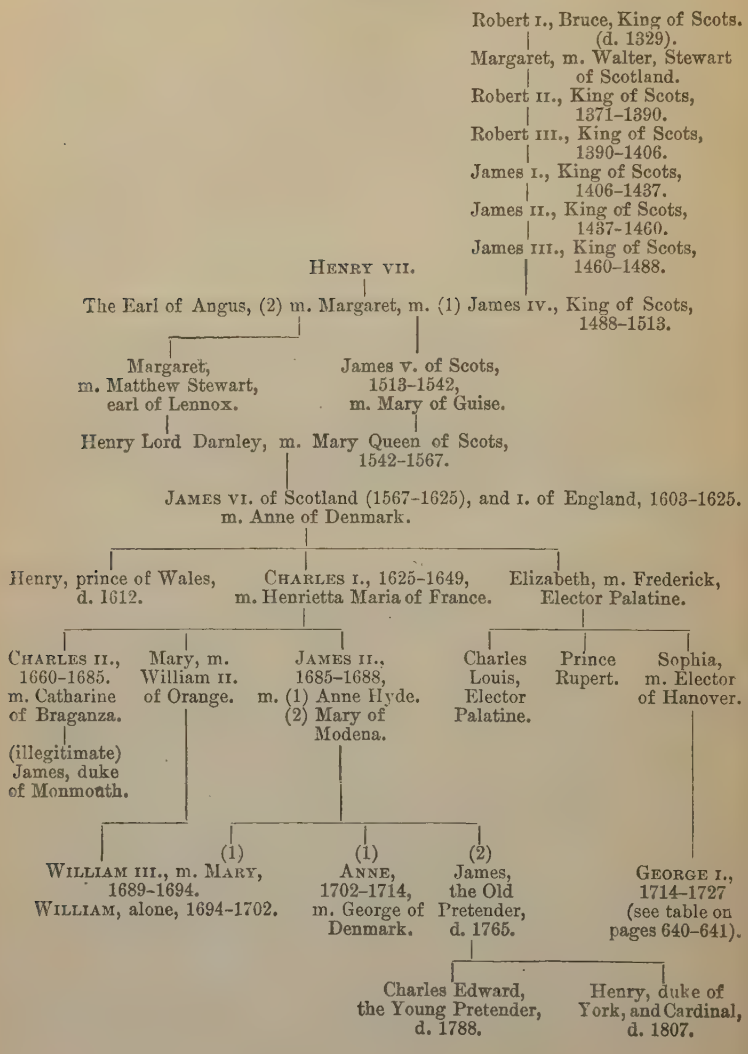
Establishment of a modern prose-style.

departure in our poetry. Before the end of the century, a nervous, simple, and idiomatic standard of composition had become established which greatly raised the level of all the journeyman work of literature and of the books whose importance rests in facts and arguments rather than in their style. It attained its culmination in the age of Queen Anne, when the periodical essay which began with Steele's *Tatler* in 1709, became famous when Addison joined him in 1711 in starting the *Spectator*, which "brought philosophy out of closets, libraries, and schools, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and coffee-houses."

Books recommended for the Further Study of the Period 1603–1714

S. R. Gardiner's elaborate investigations cover the period 1603–1656, and are detailed, careful, impartial, and authoritative. His work is published as *History of England to the Outbreak of the Great Civil War*, 1603–1642 (10 vols.), *History of the Great Civil War*, 1642–1649 (4 vols.), and *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 1649–1656 (3 vols.). It is continued in C. H. Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate*, 1656–1658 (2 vols.). Gardiner's short books, the *Puritan Revolution*, the *Thirty Years' War* (both in "Longmans' Epochs of Modern History"), and *Cromwell's Place in History*, give briefly some of his chief conclusions. C. H. Firth's *Oliver Cromwell* ("Heroes of the Nations") and *Cromwell's Army* are of great importance. Airy's *English Restoration and Louis XIV.*, and Morris's *Age of Anne* (both in "Epochs of Modern History"), are useful for the latter part of the period. For ecclesiastical history, Frere's *History of the English Church under Elizabeth and James I.*, W. H. Hutton's *History of the English Church from Charles I. to Anne*, W. A. Shaw's *History of the Church during the Commonwealth*, and H. Wakeman's *The Church and the Puritans 1570–1660*. The Oxford translation of Ranke's *History of England in the Seventeenth Century* (6 vols.), and J. R. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy* (2 vols.), are of special value for foreign policy. Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* and the *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (4 vols.) throw light on English society of the Puritan period; while Pepys' and Evelyn's *Diaries* illustrate the social life of the age of the Restoration; and Macaulay's *History of England* tells with great detail and picturesqueness the history of the reigns of James II. and William III., and G. M. Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts* ably sketches the general tendencies of the period. The period is covered by three volumes of Longmans' *Political History of England*, vol. vii., 1603–1660, by F. C. Montague; vol. viii., 1660–1702, by R. Lodge; and vol. ix., 1702–1760, by I. S. Leadam.

GENEALOGY OF THE STEWART KINGS IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND


Robert I., Bruce, King of Scots. (d. 1329).
Margaret, m. Walter, Stewart of Scotland.
Robert II., King of Scots, 1371–1390.
Robert III., King of Scots, 1390–1406.
James I., King of Scots, 1406–1437.
James II., King of Scots, 1437–1460.
James III., King of Scots, 1460–1488.
Henry VII.
The Earl of Angus, (2) m. Margaret, m. (1) James IV., King of Scots, 1488–1513.
Margaret, m. Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox.
James V. of Scots, 1513–1542, m. Mary of Guise.
Henry Lord Darnley, m. Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1567.
James VI. of Scotland (1567–1625), and I. of England, 1603–1625. m. Anne of Denmark.
Henry, prince of Wales, d. 1612.
Charles I., 1625–1649, m. Henrietta Maria of France.
Elizabeth, m. Frederick, Elector Palatine.
Charles II., 1660–1685. m. Catharine of Braganza.
Mary, m. William II. of Orange.
James II., 1685–1688, m. (1) Anne Hyde. (2) Mary of Modena.
Charles Louis, Elector Palatine.
Prince Rupert.
Sophia, m. Elector of Hanover.
(illegitimate) James, duke of Monmouth.
(1) William III., m. Mary, 1689–1694. William, alone, 1694–1702.
(1) Anne, 1702–1714, m. George of Denmark.
(2) James, the Old Pretender, d. 1765.
George I., 1714–1727 (see table on pages 640–641).
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, d. 1788.
Henry, duke of York, and Cardinal, d. 1807.

BOURBON KINGS OF FRANCE

Henry IV.,
1589–1610
(formerly duke of Bourbon and king of Navarre; descendant in male line of Robert, sixth son of Louis IX.)

- Louis XIII., 1610–1643.
  - Louis XIV., 1643–1715.
    - Louis the Dauphin.
      - Louis, duke of Burgundy.
        - Louis XV., 1715–1774.
          - Louis the Dauphin.
            - Louis XVI., 1774–1792.
              - Louis the Dauphin, called Louis XVII.
            - Louis XVIII., 1814–1824.
            - Charles X., 1824–1830.
  - Henrietta Maria, m. Charles I. of England.
- Philip, Duke of Orleans.
  - Philip, duke of Orleans, Regent after 1715, great-grandfather of Louis Philippe, king of the French, 1830–1848.

LIST OF MINISTRIES AFTER 1689

1689–1696. Mixed Ministry of Whigs and Tories.
1696–1701. First Whig Ministry of the *Junto*.
1701–1708. Mixed Ministries of varying character under Marlborough and Godolphin.
1708–1710. Whig Ministry under Marlborough and Godolphin.
1710–1714. Oxford and Bolingbroke Ministry (Tory).

BOOK VII

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER AND THE RULE OF THE ARISTOCRACY (1714–1820)

CHAPTER I

GEORGE I. (1714–1727)

Chief Dates:

1714. Accession of George I.
1715. Jacobite Revolt.
1716. The Triple Alliance.
1717. The Whig Schism.
1718. Battle of Cape Passaro.
1720. South Sea Bubble.
1721. Walpole becomes Prime Minister.
1725. First Treaty of Vienna.
1727. Death of George I.

1. GEORGE, elector of Hanover, was more than fifty years old when he became king of Great Britain, He was a slow-minded, heavy man, with fixed habits. He understood foreign politics, though he always looked at them from the point of view of his electorate, which he had ruled well as a despot, and to which he was sincerely attached. He never took the trouble to learn English, and was ignorant of English politics and English ways. He knew, however, that he owed his throne to the Whigs, and was content to entrust them with the government of his kingdom. He got rid of the Tory ministers of Queen Anne, against whom the Whigs clamoured for vengeance. Oxford was impeached and imprisoned in the Tower. Bolingbroke fled to France, where he became the secretary of state of the pretender. Ormonde followed him into exile, and sentences of attainder were passed against both. The Tory party was destroyed by the treason of its chiefs. Plain Englishmen thought that the Tories wished to bring back despotism

The accession of George I., 1714.

and popery, and no longer gave them their support. The times were changing, and the strong High Church feeling which had been the main strength of the Tories rapidly declined. For two generations the Whigs had a great majority in both Houses of Parliament as well as the favour of the crown. From 1714 to 1761 none but Whigs held office.

The long Whig rule, 1714-1761.

2. During the long Whig rule the full effects of the revolution of 1688 worked themselves out. Cabinet government, which had made great strides both under William III. and Anne, was finally established, owing to the harmony of policy between the Whig leaders and the two foreign kings who now governed England in succession. The result of this was that a much greater change was brought about in the working of our constitution than by any of the new laws which had been passed as the direct result of the expulsion of the Stewarts. The formal *law of the constitution* remained as it had been, but there gradually grew up a new *custom of the constitution* which effected a real revolution. By law the executive power still remained in the hands of the king and his advisers. But the custom grew up which in practice compelled the king to choose as his ministers the leaders of the party which possessed the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons. These ministers formed the *Cabinet*—that is, a small body of men agreeing on all the main questions of the day, and having at its back the support of the House of Commons. The king acted mainly by the advice of his cabinet, and was often compelled to follow its recommendations, whether he agreed with them or not. The result of this was twofold. Many legal rights of the crown fell into disuse. For instance, it ceased to refuse its consent to laws which had passed through parliament. The main power of the crown, the power of governing the country, imperceptibly passed away from the king and went to his advisers. Henceforth the power of the king became much diminished, though the authority of the crown, as exercised by its constitutional advisers, was continually growing. The result was that the Commons, not the king, had the ultimate voice in the government of England. For the Commons' control over the public purse kept the Lords as well as the crown in subjection. The House of Lords gradually lost co-ordinate authority with the Commons, and became a regulating, checking, and revising chamber, compelled to give way before the strongly expressed opinion of the popular representatives.

The law and custom of the constitution.

The cabinet system.

The supremacy of the Commons.

3. The House of Commons thus became supreme, but the result of this change was to make England an *aristocracy* rather than a *democracy*. There were two chief reasons for this: one was to be found in the temper of the people, and the other in the fashion in which the House of Commons was elected. Few Englishmen troubled themselves about politics except lords, country gentlemen, and rich merchants. The ordinary man thought it quite natural that the landlords should govern the country, and was quite content to follow their lead and receive his opinions from them. Moreover, since the failure of Cromwell's reformed plan of elections, the House of Commons remained chosen after the same fashion that had prevailed since the Middle Ages. Few members were really appointed by the people. The counties, which returned two members each, whether they were big or little, rich or poor, populous or desolate, were looked upon as the freest electing bodies, though none but landholders had votes in county elections. The boroughs were far worse, for while some great towns returned no members at all, many small places, of the sort afterwards called "rotten boroughs," elected their two representatives each. It was not hard under these circumstances for rich people to buy estates which included boroughs of this description, and then return what members they chose. Even the counties and the larger boroughs could be influenced by the great landholders, or by the government of the day. Bribery or intimidation came in when influence was not enough. It was found that with these narrow constituencies it was easy for a ring of politicians to return a large proportion of members through their personal influence. *Electioneering*, or the management of elections, became a regular system, and side by side with it arose the arts of *parliamentary management*, by which the ministry kept its hold by flattery or corruption on the members who were returned to parliament. Skill in these arts made the Whig nobles the real rulers of the country. They owned the small boroughs and controlled the counties; they dictated the king's policy; their favour alone opened up the road to power and place both in Church and state. Thus for fifty years the Whig aristocracy governed the country, owing to their control over king and Commons. It was natural that they should forget their old popular cries. Thinking that the country had got all it wanted by the revolution, they became very conservative, opposing all new and sweeping changes. But they gave England a long period of sound and careful rule, during which the fierce religious and

The Whig aristocracy.

political passions of the Stewart period gradually died away. Under their prudent but uneventful government, England grew more rich and prosperous, and neither king nor Commons really saw how they were both alike in the hands of an aristocratic clique.

4. The Tories were powerless and unpopular, and the Jacobites, seeing that the way of bringing back the pretender by intrigue had failed, made a half-hearted effort to upset the throne of the Hanoverian king by open revolt. In 1715 a Jacobite conspiracy was formed to excite rebellion both in England and Scotland. Ill-luck attended every step of the desperate movement. Louis XIV., from whom much was hoped, died at this time, and the regent, Philip, duke of Orleans, who governed in the name of the little Louis XV., the late king's great-grandson and successor, wished to be on friendly terms with George I., and would give the Jacobites no help. The pretender was dull and ignorant. He had so little confidence in Bolingbroke, his only able adviser, that the exile before long gave up his cause in despair, and strove to make his peace with the new king. Prompt measures nipped in the bud the English conspiracy. A *Riot Act* was passed which gave the ministers increased power to put down popular disturbances. The plotters' plans were discovered, and the leading Jacobites were arrested before they could do any harm. The result was that it was only in Northumberland that the English Jacobites were able to rise in revolt, and here the rebellion was insignificant. A few hundred country gentlemen and their retainers rose in arms under the incompetent leadership of Thomas Forster, the member for Northumberland. But the mass of the people would not join them, and they wandered about aimlessly, not knowing what to do.

The Jacobites, 1715.

The Riot Act, 1715.

5. In Scotland the rebellion was much more serious. In the hills of the south the Jacobite lords and gentry took arms under Lord Kenmure, and, crossing into Northumberland, joined Forster and his followers. But the combined forces were insignificant, and the real danger to Hanover came, not from the south, but from the north. Beyond the Grampians and the Firth of Clyde the Highland clans still retained their ancient freedom. The union made no practical difference to them, and the clan chieftains still ruled over their kinsfolk and tribesmen, as careless of the government at Westminster as their fathers had been of the government at Edinburgh. The Highlanders were poor and rude; they lived in miserable turf-walled cots; their only wealth was in cattle, and their only

The Highlands of Scotland.

language was Gaelic. They were passionately devoted to their native glens, and fervently loyal to their chieftains. They knew nothing of the disputes of Whig and Tory, Prelatist and Presbyterian. Many were avowed Catholics, and most were ignorant, superstitious, and fickle. Their good qualities were their politeness, devotion to old poetry, their simplicity, bravery, and contentment; but they were idle, untruthful, revengeful, and quick to shed blood. Rival clans waged constant war against each other, but would sometimes unite to raid the farms and plunder the cattle of their Saxon, or English-speaking, neighbours in the Lowlands. The gentry were often educated in France, and were thus made good Catholics and loyal partisans of the house of Stewart. Besides their traditional patriarchal influence over their clansmen, they enjoyed in many cases a *grant of regality*, or of royal powers, which enabled them to exercise an hereditary jurisdiction over their district. The greatest clan was still that of the Campbells, whose head, now duke of Argyll, was a great Lowland noble, as well as the first of the Highland chieftains. As in the days of Montrose, the Campbells were still Whigs, Presbyterians, and enemies of the Stewarts. This made the lesser clans Tories, Jacobites, and foes of the Protestant succession. They had long feared the aggressions of the Campbells, and their alarm was now the greater since the Campbell chieftain was one of King George's most trusted councillors. Their interests, their sympathies, and their love of adventure combined to make the Tory clans, as they were called, as ripe for revolt as they had been when their forefathers followed Montrose or Dundee to battle for the Stewarts.

The Jacobite rising of 1715.

6. The signal for revolt was given by John Erskine, earl of Mar, sometime a member of Bolingbroke's Tory ministry, but so weak and changeable a politician that he was nicknamed "Bobbing John." On September 6, 1715, he raised the standard of James VIII. in Braemar, and at once rallied the Macdonalds, the Camerons, the Stewarts, the Frasers, the Mackenzies, and the other Tory clans to the Jacobite cause. Save in the west, where Argyll kept the country loyal to King George, the whole of the Highlands was soon under Mar's power, and with a little more energy, he might easily have made himself master of the Lowlands, where disgust at the union made even Whigs and Presbyterians lukewarm for the cause of King George. As it was, Mar reached no further south than Perth, where he uselessly lingered while Argyll collected an army against him. Hearing, however, that the southern insurgents

were hardly pressed, Mar despatched Brigadier Macintosh, with nearly two thousand men, to swell their numbers. This force marched right through Fife and the Lothians without meeting any opposition, and joined Kenmure and Forster, who were now in Scotland, at Kelso. After much indecision, the united forces resolved to invade England, and marched through Cumberland and Lancashire. On November 9 they reached Preston, but armies of superior strength surrounded them on every side, and they were ill-disciplined and badly led. After a mere show of resistance, the whole force surrendered on November 13.

7. On the day of the capitulation at Preston, Mar and his Highlanders, who at last had moved south from Perth, engaged in battle with Argyll on the *Sheriffmuir of Menteith*, near Dunblane. The fight was indecisive, the right wing of each army defeating the left wing of the enemy, and neither Mar nor Argyll had the skill or resolution to profit by the measure of success that they gained. The fruits of victory remained, however, with the Hanoverians. Mar retreated to Perth, and on the approach of winter many of the clansmen went back to their homes. There was a slight rally towards the end of the year, for on December 22 the pretender himself landed at Peterhead. But the Highlanders lost all heart when they found that the silent, melancholy prince had neither courage to lead them nor faith in his own cause. Early in 1716 Argyll drove the Jacobite army out of Perth, its headquarters, and a few days later both the pretender and Mar slunk back to France. The Highlanders disbanded after the flight of their leaders, and no attempt was made to punish them. The vengeance of the government fell rather upon the English and Lowland lords, taken prisoners at Preston. Several of these, including Kenmure, were executed; while others, among whom was Forster, escaped death by breaking out of prison.

Battle of Sheriffmuir, 1715.

Collapse of the rebellion.

8. According to the Triennial Act a general election should have been held in 1716, when the country was still excited by the recent revolt. Knowing that their success was due rather to the unpopularity of the Stewarts than to the merits of the new dynasty, the ministry feared to risk a general election at so critical a time. They repealed the Triennial Act, substituting for it the *Septennial Act*, increasing the length of Parliament to seven years, which remained law till 1911. This measure made the House of Commons more independent of its constituents, and so made it easier for the Whig lords to manage it.

The Septennial Act, 1716.

9. From George I.'s accession to 1717 the ministerial history was uneventful; but the older generation of Whig statesmen passed away, and Marlborough, though still alive, was broken in health and trusted by nobody. Their removal left Viscount Townshend, a Norfolk nobleman, who held one of the secretaryships of state, the chief of the ministers. Under him were his brother-in-law, Robert Walpole, chancellor of the exchequer, General Stanhope, the sometime commander of the English forces in Spain, the other secretary of state, and Sunderland, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Dissensions, however, soon arose among the Whig magnates. One section, chief among whom were Stanhope and Sunderland, clung to the foreign policy held by the Whigs of Anne's time, and sympathized with George's efforts to continue it.

The Whig ministry, 1714-1717.

10. In 1716 Stanhope went with George to Hanover, and became responsible for a Triple Alliance, which George there concluded with Holland and France. Townshend and Walpole, who, like the Tories under Anne, disliked unnecessary foreign complications, denounced the treaty as Hanoverian, and resigned office in 1717. They united with George, prince of Wales, who was on bad terms with his father, in a furious opposition to the king and the ministers of his choice. Their removal broke the Whig party into two.

The Whig schism of 1717.

11. Stanhope became first lord of the treasury, and Sunderland secretary of state, the other secretaryship falling to Joseph Addison, the famous Whig essayist and pamphleteer. The policy of the new government was more active than that of Townshend. At home they showed a more aristocratic spirit than any other ministry of the time. Anxious to retain power for the existing peers, they introduced, in 1719, a *Peerage Bill*, which provided that only six new peers should be added to the existing number, and only allowed the king to exercise his right of calling fresh members to the House of Lords on the extinction of existing peerages. The authors of the measure hoped to make the Whig majority in the Lords secure against a Tory ministry filling the Upper House with new peers, as they had done under Anne. They also sought by it to protect the independence of the House of Lords of the king just as the Septennial Act had made the Commons more independent. The effect of the measure would have been to hand over the government to a ring of great families, whose power could only be overthrown by revolution. However, the opposition of Walpole and the Tories

The Peerage Bill, 1719.

wrecked the bill in the Commons, after it had easily passed the Lords. In ecclesiastical matters the Stanhope ministry showed a great dislike to the High Church party. They repealed the Act against Occasional Conformity and the Schism Act, and thought of abolishing the Test and Corporation Acts. Before they could do this, they were driven from power.

12. The foreign policy of the Stanhope ministry was active and enterprising. The government, as we have seen, owed its origin to the *Triple Alliance* of 1716. This was a union of England and Holland, now often described as the Maritime Powers, with France to maintain the peace of Europe on the basis of the treaty of Utrecht. It was strange that France should have joined with its old enemies, England and Holland, in upholding a treaty by which France had lost so much. But Philip, duke of Orleans, the regent of France for Louis XV., was very jealous of Philip of Spain, and anxious to secure the throne of France for himself to the exclusion of Philip in the event of the death of the sickly young king. Moreover, Philip of Spain, guided by his Italian adviser, Cardinal Alberoni, was making a great effort to win back for Spain its old position in Europe. The first step towards this was to restore the Spanish power in Italy. To do this was, of course, a violation of the Utrecht settlement. Hence the French king of Spain broke away from his fellow-countrymen, and disturbed all Europe by efforts to upset the treaty. Finding no support among the chief powers, Alberoni turned to two famous men whose rivalries had long distracted northern Europe. These were Charles XII., the last great king of Sweden, and his successful rival, Peter the Great, the first great tsar of Russia. The old enemies were persuaded to unite against the parties to the Triple Alliance, and there was talk of the Swedes landing in Scotland to stir up a new Jacobite revolt. Nothing came of these wild projects, but a serious attack was made upon the recent acquisitions of Austria and Savoy in Italy. The Spaniards conquered Sardinia and Sicily, but their further progress was stopped when Admiral Byng won for the English fleet the supremacy in the Mediterranean in the battle of *Cape Passero* in Sicily (1718). The Emperor Charles VI., who had been holding aloof from the maritime powers, because of his dislike of the Barrier Treaty, was now forced by fear for Italy to join them and France. His inclusion converted the Triple Alliance into a *Quadruple Alliance*. In 1719 Alberoni fell by a court intrigue, and next

Foreign policy, 1717–1720.

Alberoni.

Battle of Cape Passero, 1718.

year peace was secured. The chief result of the troubles was that the emperor obtained Sicily, forcing Victor Amadeus to accept the less fertile and wealthy island of Sardinia. Henceforth the duke of Savoy was called *king of Sardinia.*

13. The year 1720 was marked by a great commercial crisis, known as the bursting of the *South Sea Bubble.* Ever since the treaty of Utrecht trade had been particularly brisk, and many people were looking out for good investments for the money they had saved. In these circumstances joint stock companies were floated in large numbers, and found their shares eagerly taken up. Conspicuous among such undertakings was the *South Sea Company,* a body of merchants formed by Harley in 1711, and to which had been given all the rights of trade with Spanish America granted to England at Utrecht. The company was successful in its commerce and paid good dividends. Though much was said about the great wealth to be gained by trade with the South Seas, Spanish jealousy strictly limited the operations of the society, and it sought to increase its business in other directions. In particular, the South Sea Company entered into competition with the Bank of England for the conduct of government financial business and the management of the National Debt. The ministers gladly accepted the large sum of money which the directors offered to the state for these privileges. The company sought to get its return by persuading holders of government stock to exchange their state bonds for South Sea stock, holding out as the inducement the vast profits they were likely to make. The plan was successful; there was such a run on South Sea shares that their price went up tenfold. The speculation in them fomented the gambling spirit which now seized upon all classes of society. All sorts of companies were started, and people were found to invest their money in the most foolish of them. Among them were companies for making salt water fresh, for importing jackasses from Spain, and for "an undertaking which should in due time be revealed."

The South Sea Bubble, 1720.

14. Before long the reaction came. The South Sea Company was so afraid of the effect of the bubble companies on its own shares that it prosecuted some of them. A panic soon set in. The fraudulent ventures collapsed altogether, and the value of the shares of even the soundest undertakings went down so rapidly that those who had bought them when they were artificially inflated, found themselves ruined. There was everywhere panic, suspicion, and distress. There was a loud

The bursting of the bubble.

outcry for the punishment of those who had lured the dupes on to ruin. The directors of the South Sea Company were disgraced and stripped of their property. Indignation rose high when it was discovered that many of the ministers had made large sums by speculation, and some had received bribes from company promoters to further their criminal ends. The ministers were fiercely attacked in parliament. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, was turned out of the House for corruption; and one guilty minister committed suicide. Stanhope died suddenly; and Sunderland, after being acquitted of the charges of malversation brought against him, retired from office, and soon afterwards died.

15. The misfortunes of their rivals gave the leaders of the Whig schism of 1717 a chance to win back place. In the general distress of the nation, it was thought wise that the party should again present a united front. Townshend and Walpole came back to office, and in 1721 Walpole became the chief minister as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. He was the ablest financier of his generation, and his judicious measures soon restored public credit and confidence.

Walpole prime minister, 1721.

16. A long calm succeeded the storm of 1720. Walpole (Sir Robert Walpole after 1725) remained in power for the rest of the old king's reign, and under him England again became peaceful and prosperous. In 1727 George I. died, when on a visit to Hanover, and was succeeded by his son George, prince of Wales.

Death of George I., 1727.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE II. (1727–1760)

Chief Dates:

1727. Accession of George II.
1731. Second Treaty of Vienna.
1737. Porteous Riots.
1738. Third Treaty of Vienna.
1739. War with Spain; beginnings of the Methodist movement.
1742. Fall of Walpole.
1743. Battle of Dettingen; England joins the war of the Austrian succession.
1745. Jacobite revolt; battle of Fontenoy.
1746. Battle of Culloden.
1748. Treaty of Aachen.
1754. Death of Henry Pelham.
1756. Beginning of Seven Years' War.
1757. Pitt's Ministry formed; battle of Plassey.
1759. Battles of Quebec and Minden.
1760. Death of George II.

1. GEORGE II. was over forty when he became king, and was almost as much of a German as his father, though he could speak English fluently, and had more knowledge of British affairs than George I. He was regular, business-like, straightforward, just, a brave soldier, and a shrewd observer of foreign politics. He was small-minded, vain, selfish, hot-tempered, greedy for money, and a despiser of learning. He was under the influence of his clever wife, Caroline of Anspach, who showed her good sense by inducing her husband to keep Walpole in power, though George disliked him because he had been the faithful minister of his father. The result of this was that Walpole remained in office for more than twenty years.

George II. and Caroline of Anspach.

2. The long ministry of Walpole best illustrates the strong and the weak points of the rule of the Whig aristocracy. He was a shrewd man of business, whose aim was to keep his party in power and retain for himself the chief position in his party. He was no orator, but a skilful debater, who thoroughly understood the

management of men, and had a complete insight into the temper of the House of Commons. He was a successful administrator and a very able financier. He disliked violent changes, and was careful not to rouse up opposition by attacking vested interests. "Let sleeping dogs lie" and *quieta non movere* were his favourite sayings. In this spirit he sought to conciliate the Dissenters without irritating the Church. The Dissenters demanded the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and Walpole professed every sympathy with them. But he kept putting them off from year to year, and at last refused to carry out their wishes. He was afraid to stir up the fierce ecclesiastical passions which had brought such harm to the Whigs in the days of the trial of Sacheverell. But any measure that helped the Dissenters without annoying the High Churchmen met his entire approval. Though he would not repeal the Test Act, he passed every year an *Indemnity Act*, by which the penalties imposed on those who broke the Test Act were remitted. This curious compromise went on from 1727 to 1828. All that time the Test Act remained the law, but the Dissenters who held office in defiance of the law were excused by annual acts from the punishment they had incurred for breaking it.

Character and policy of Walpole, 1721-1742.

3. Walpole practised with great skill the arts of managing elections and controlling the House of Commons. He took care to conciliate public opinion and to please the average Englishman. But he was quite willing to bribe or to browbeat, when more legitimate measures were not sufficient for his purpose. He had no high ideals, but was coarse, callous, and corrupt. Under him bribery became a regular system, and many members of parliament were kept faithful to the government by sinecure places and even direct payments of money. Yet crooked as were his means, Walpole's ends were patriotic and honourable. He saw that the country required rest after the storms through which it had passed, and aimed at giving it what he knew was best for it. He brought the country gentry round from Jacobitism to support the new dynasty. He kept the merchants and tradesmen Whigs by his sound commercial and financial measures. Many more high-minded statesmen have done less good to their country than this sagacious worldling.

Parliamentary management.

4. Walpole was so much the strongest of the ministers that he was able to assume a position of superiority over his colleagues that no previous minister had aspired to. It took a long time to reconcile Englishmen to the idea of a cabinet; but they were

even more suspicious of the notion of a *Prime Minister*, thinking that such an office threatened both the supreme position of the crown and the right of all the chief ministers to be regarded as equal associates with each other. Under William III. and Anne, the monarch presided at cabinet councils, but when the Hanoverian kings absented themselves from a body whose deliberations they could not readily follow, it was found necessary for some one minister to take the chair and direct the debates. Moreover, the growth of the party system made a leader a necessity, to whom the party could look up for direction and encouragement. Walpole's great ability and masterful disposition combined to make him the first real prime minister that English history knows. Yet, even when exercising the power, Walpole disclaimed the name of prime minister, because his enemies regarded it as a matter of reproach that he seemed to dictate the whole policy of the government, and degrade colleagues who should have been his equals into subordinates compelled to carry out his orders.

Walpole the first Prime Minister.

5. Walpole had to exert all his skill to keep order among the ministers. Every servant of the crown resented his chief's habit of domineering, and was indignant that his own power was so circumscribed. It had been common in earlier days for one minister to intrigue against another, but Walpole thought that the party system required from all ministers loyalty to the prime minister, and a general acceptance of his policy. His colleagues cherished their independence, and strove hard to undermine his influence. The result was that minister after minister was brought into conflict with him, and, being worsted, was driven from power. So early as 1724 he dismissed Lord Carteret, the king's favourite minister, from the office of secretary of state, because Carteret did his best to prevent Walpole establishing a cordial alliance with France. Pulteney, the chief Whig orator, also broke with him, and Walpole came into conflict with his brother-in-law, Townshend, who was annoyed at his increasing ascendency. Walpole himself put the real cause of the quarrel clearly enough when he said, "As long as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed, but when the firm became Walpole and Townshend, everything went wrong." Townshend maintained that as secretary of state he was responsible to the king only, and not to the first lord of the treasury. As he could not gain his point, he resigned office, and retired into private life. The majority of the fallen ministers, however, plunged

The opposition to Walpole.

into furious opposition, and denounced Walpole for ambition and corruption. They called themselves the *Patriot Whigs*, and took a very high line in everything. Walpole treated them with great contempt. "All these men," he said, "have their price." But he did not choose to pay the high price necessary to buy back the support of the factious seceders from his party. He preferred to go on ruling with the help of men of less brilliant parts but of more trustworthy character. Conspicuous among those who still adhered to him were Thomas Pelham, duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and his brother, Henry Pelham.

The Patriot Whigs.

6. Walpole took little pains to conciliate the younger generation of politicians, and most of the rising men joined the Patriots in opposing him. In his scornful way Walpole laughed at them, calling them the "Boys," and affecting to despise them. But one of the "boys" was a man of far loftier ideals and more power to move men than Walpole had ever possessed. This was William Pitt, whose impassioned eloquence, unswerving honesty, and contempt for jobbery and the tricks of the politician's trade, had already won for him a unique position. Like the Patriots, Pitt and the Boys were all professed Whigs. Since the fall of Bolingbroke the Tory party had been represented in the House of Commons by two or three score of country gentlemen, despised for their want of ability, and suspected of being more friendly to the pretender than to King George. However, a revival of the Tory party was now brought about by the same restless genius that had formerly destroyed it. Convinced by his personal relations with the pretender that Jacobitism was a lost cause, Bolingbroke made his peace with the House of Hanover, and in 1723 was suffered to return to England. Henceforth he devoted all his social charm and literary skill to building up a new Tory party, purged of all suspicion of Jacobitism. So loyal was he now to the German dynasty that he loudly professed his wish to save the monarchy from its dependence on the Whig faction and to inspire it with a mission to lead the people and to exercise to the full all its prerogatives. Though the old king was not won over, Bolingbroke found a disciple in his son Frederick, prince of Wales, who was on as bad terms with his father as George himself had been with George I. Frederick was a shallow, worthless man, but he was pleased to pose as a true English prince, and glad to annoy his father by associating himself with the opposition to Walpole Round his court at Leicester House the chief enemies of Walpole

The "Boys" and William Pitt.

Bolingbroke and the New Tories.

met on common ground, and Bolingbroke cleverly suggested the part which Frederick was to play by his pamphlet *On the Idea of a Patriot King*. Most of the men of letters lent their pens to the opposition. Among them was the poet James Thomson, who wrote his *Rule Britannia* as the popular song of the new national party. In a few years a powerful but heterogeneous opposition had at least this much unity of policy that it agreed in assailing the prime minister. But despite Patriots, Boys, New Tories, and the prince of Wales, Walpole still commanded a parliamentary majority, as well as the vigorous support of the king, though he lost a sturdy friend in 1737 by the death of Queen Caroline.

7. Gradually the opposition began to make head against the minister. Its first triumph was in 1733, when its unreasonable clamour forced Walpole to give up his *Excise Scheme*, on which he had set his heart. This was a plan to turn the customs duties, first on tobacco and afterwards on wine, into excise duties—that is to say, to convert taxes levied at the ports when the commodities came into the country into internal dues, paid at the warehouse when the goods were required for consumption. One of Walpole's chief motives for effecting this change was the wide prevalence of smuggling by which customs duties were evaded. Another object that he had was to make England a central market where all nations could buy and sell freely, without their trade being hampered by the necessity of paying outport charges. The scheme was a wise one, and Walpole believed that, without adding to the burdens borne by taxpayers, it would so largely increase the revenue that he would be able to conciliate the country gentry by reducing the land tax. Unluckily the name "excise" was an unpopular one, partly because it suggested the visiting of every man's house by prying excisemen, and partly because it had been borrowed from the Dutch, who were still far from being loved. The opposition made an unscrupulous use of the weapon which prejudice put into their hands. They said that Walpole was preparing the way for a general excise, and that his excisemen would rob Englishmen of their liberty by violating the sanctity of their homes. Walpole held his ground for a time, but saw that even if he could carry his plan through parliament, he could only enforce it on the people at the risk of bloodshed. At last he reluctantly withdrew the scheme, convinced that, however wise his design was, it was not expedient to carry it out.

The failure of Walpole's excise scheme.

8. Four years later, in 1737, Walpole received another check. The Edinburgh mob, irritated at the harshness of Porteous, the

captain of the city guard, broke open the *Tolbooth*, or city prison, and hanged Porteous in the public place of execution. Walpole proposed to punish this lawless act by taking away the charter of Edinburgh. Again the opposition was up in arms against this attack on the liberties of a great city. Even the Scotch members, who received a regular salary to vote for the government, refused to support the bill, and Walpole dropped the essential parts of it. A proposal to give a pension to the murdered man's widow got through parliament with the greatest difficulty.

The Porteous riots in Edinburgh, 1737.

9. Walpole's foreign policy opened up easier chances of attack than his prudent and unadventurous domestic administration. The prime minister remained faithful to the principles he had upheld when Stanhope drove him from office, and in the fulness of his power had the courage to break with the bad Whig tradition of excessive interference with the affairs of Europe. All through his tenure of office the peace of Europe was endangered by the persistent efforts of Philip v. of Spain to upset the treaty of Utrecht. Urged on by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese, a princess of Parma by birth, he strove to establish their children in Italian principalities at the expense of Austria. Besides that, Charles vi., who still resented the Barrier Treaty, continued very angry with England and Holland, or, as they were called, the maritime powers. Charles, though hating his old rival in Spain, had a common grievance with Philip in his dislike of the treaty of Utrecht. At last, in 1725, a clever Dutch adventurer, named Ripperda, who had, like Alberoni, won the confidence of Philip and his wife, persuaded the king and the emperor that they could best attain their ends by forgetting their old feuds and making a treaty of alliance. This was done by the *first treaty of Vienna* of 1725. Thereupon the maritime powers, inspired by Walpole, united with France, then ruled by Cardinal Fleury, in the *treaty of Hanover* of 1726, which aimed at upholding the treaty of Utrecht against Spain and Austria. Europe was threatened with a general war, and in 1727 there was some half-hearted fighting between England and Spain. But the firebrand Ripperda fell suddenly from power like Alberoni, and Walpole and Fleury struggled so earnestly for peace that hostilities were soon suspended. Spain and England signed, in 1729, the peace of Seville, and in 1731 the *second treaty of Vienna* completed the pacification of Europe. It was a great triumph for Walpole to have avoided without dishonour a European war.

The two treaties of Vienna, 1725 and 1731.

10. Two years later another war broke out, called the *War of the Polish Succession*, though in reality one of the chief objects for which it was fought was to establish Don Carlos, the son of Philip v. and Elizabeth Farnese, on the throne of Naples by the expulsion of the Austrians. France and Spain again united, and Spanish troops drove Charles vi. out of Naples and Sicily. It was a glaring violation of the treaty of Utrecht, but Walpole steadily refused to take any part in it. "This year," he boasted, "ten thousand men have been slain in Europe, but not one of them was an Englishman." He was as anxious for peace with France as ever, even though he knew that Philip v. and Louis xv. had signed a *Family Compact* by which they bound themselves to act against England. The result was that Austria had to give way and sign, in 1738, the *third* or *definitive treaty of Vienna*, which set up a third Bourbon monarchy in favour of Don Carlos in Naples.

The Third Treaty of Vienna, 1738.

11. Many Englishmen, who had no love of war, thought that Walpole's desire for peace had carried him too far in not opposing Spain in this business. The revival of the Spanish power made politicians exceedingly suspicious of Philip v., and commercial difficulties soon arose which strained the relations between England and the Peninsula. The Spaniards, who claimed a monopoly of all traffic with their colonies, bitterly resented the limited right of trade with them given to England at Utrecht, and had good reason to complain of the immense system of smuggling which English sailors established under cover of the commercial clauses of the treaty. They carefully searched English vessels for smuggled goods, and loud complaints were raised of the harshness with which the Spanish officials exercised their right of search at the expense of British subjects. At last a great cry arose that British honour must be vindicated by a declaration of war with Spain, and Walpole was bitterly attacked by the opposition for his carelessness and contempt of his country's interests. The demand became so persistent that Walpole saw that he must either submit or resign office. In 1739 he declared war against Spain. However, he conducted it so sluggishly that the opposition had good reason for denouncing his half-heartedness.

Outbreak of war with Spain, 1739.

12. In 1740 new troubles arose on the death of the Emperor Charles vi. A European coalition was formed to break up the Austrian monarchy and to prevent Charles's daughter, Maria Theresa, succeeding to her father's inheritance. Again Walpole

refused to interfere, and once more there was bitter denunciation of his neglect to uphold British interests and treaty obligations. By this time the minister's position had become much weakened. The opposition grew in strength, and after the general election of 1741, it commanded a majority of the House of Commons. The king, who disliked his pacific policy, went against him, and early in 1742 he was forced to resign. There was talk of impeaching him, but the day was past when a triumphant opposition could glut its spite by the judicial condemnation of its beaten rivals. The king made him earl of Orford, and he still had friends in office to save him from all serious attack. He died in 1745. With all his faults he had given England peace, both at home and abroad, for more than twenty years.

The Austrian succession, 1740, and the fall of Walpole, 1742.

13. There was no great change of policy at home after Walpole's fall. The opposition agreed in nothing but in attacking the common enemy, and neither the Tories nor the Boys were suffered to hold office. The ministry remained purely Whig, and Walpole's chief friends, the Pelhams, retained their offices. George put into Walpole's post an incompetent courtier named Lord Wilmington, on whose death, in 1743, Henry Pelham himself became prime minister. More powerful than Wilmington was Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville), who was secretary of state. He was the ablest and most attractive statesman of his day, and knew more about foreign affairs than any other English politician. He was a special favourite of the king, because he could talk German, and sympathized with his foreign policy. But he was irregular, dissipated, unbusinesslike, and contemptuous of routine. The Pelhams gradually undermined his influence, and, despite the favour of the king, he was forced to resign in 1744. His retirement, even more than Wilmington's death, set Henry Pelham free to govern the country after his own fashion. A thorough disciple of Walpole, he ruled England in accordance with Walpole's ideas. But he learnt from his master's mistakes the need of conciliating every strong interest, and therefore formed what was called a *Broad Bottom Administration*, which took in every section of the Whigs, and even found room for one or two Tories. Nothing but George's personal dislike kept William Pitt out of office, and in 1746 Pelham forced the king to give way and make the eloquent orator paymaster of the forces. From this time to the death of Pelham in 1754, there was no further ministerial

The Carteret ministry, 1742-1744.

The Pelham ministry, 1744-1754.

crisis. The disciple of Walpole healed the Whig schism that followed his fall, as effectively as Walpole himself had reunited the party after the collapse of the South Sea scheme.

14. A great European war made it desirable that England should be at peace with itself. Since 1739 there had been fighting at sea between England and Spain, and since 1743 George II. and Carteret had involved England in the *War of the Austrian Succession*, which raged on the continent from 1740 to 1748. Troubles began with the death, in 1740, of the Emperor Charles VI., the Archduke Charles of the succession war in Spain. Having no sons, Charles had drawn up a document, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which declared that the various states which constituted the Austrian dominions should never be broken up, and that his elder daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, had the right to succeed to the whole of them. He had persuaded nearly every European power to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, but his death was followed by a general attempt to partition his territories. The lead in this was taken by Frederick II. (the Great), who had become king of Prussia in 1740, and who soon showed a daring but unscrupulous statecraft and a matchless insight as a general, which were ultimately to win for his little kingdom a permanent position among the chief powers of Europe. Frederick laid violent hands upon Silesia, and his success encouraged Bavaria and Saxony to invade Bohemia. Spain and Sardinia threatened the Austrian power in Milan; and behind all these powers was the sinister influence of France. Maria Theresa held her own with extreme difficulty. Her territories were overrun; her subjects of doubtful loyalty; and she had the mortification of seeing her husband, Francis of Lorraine, rejected by the electors, who preferred to choose her rival, the elector of Bavaria, as the Emperor Charles VII. It was the first time for three hundred years that an emperor had been appointed outside the house of Hapsburg.

The war of the Austrian succession. 1740-1748.

15. In 1743 England sent large subsidies to Maria Theresa, and George II., who was eager for fighting, took command of a large army of English and Hanoverian troops, which moved into Central Germany, so as to threaten Bavaria and turn the Bavarians and their French allies from the invasion of Austria. On June 27 George won a battle over the French at *Dettingen*, on the Main, between Aschaffenburg and Frankfort. It was the last battle in which an English king commanded in person. The consequences of George's victory

Battle of Dettingen, 1743.

were considerable. France and England, who had hitherto fought as auxiliaries of the foes and friends of Maria Theresa, declared war against each other. The result of this was to shift the centre of conflict from Germany to the Netherlands and the ocean. Maria Theresa was forced by the English and Dutch to resign Silesia to Prussia. She hated doing this, but had no alternative, as her allies would not support her until she had bought off the enemy they chiefly feared. At this price she secured the succession to the rest of her father's lands, and, on the death of Charles VII., even Frederick of Prussia voted for her husband as emperor. With the accession of Francis I. to the empire, the attempt to break up the Austrian dominions substantially failed.

16. The struggle about the Austrian succession was soon blended with a contest of England with Spain and France for maritime and colonial supremacy. The land war was now mainly concentrated in the Southern Netherlands, out of which the French made desperate efforts to drive the Austrians and Dutch. To assist her allies, England now sent to that region a strong force, commanded by William, duke of Cumberland, George II.'s second son. On May 11, 1745, Cumberland was beaten in the hard-fought battle of *Fontenoy*, near Tournai. The French then began to capture the great barrier fortresses, a task soon made more easy by the withdrawal of most of the English troops to suppress rebellion at home.

Battle of Fontenoy, 1745.

17. Jacobitism revived as a result of the breach of the long friendship of France and Britain. The French thought that a good way of diverting the English from defending the Netherlands was to excite a rising in favour of the Stewarts. The pretender was now getting an old man, but his son Charles Edward, called the *Young Pretender* by his foes and the prince of Wales by his partisans, was twenty-five years of age, and was more fitted to stir up enthusiasm for his cause than his melancholy and incompetent father. The French planned an invasion of England, which Charles Edward was to accompany. But, in 1744, a terrible storm destroyed the fleet destined to take the young pretender to the throne of his ancestors, and after that the French neglected him. Weary with delay, the gallant prince resolved to take his fortunes into his own hands. He collected what money he could, hired two ships, and, without the knowledge of either the French government or his father, sailed for the Highlands, and on July 25, 1745, landed with only seven companions near *Moidart*,

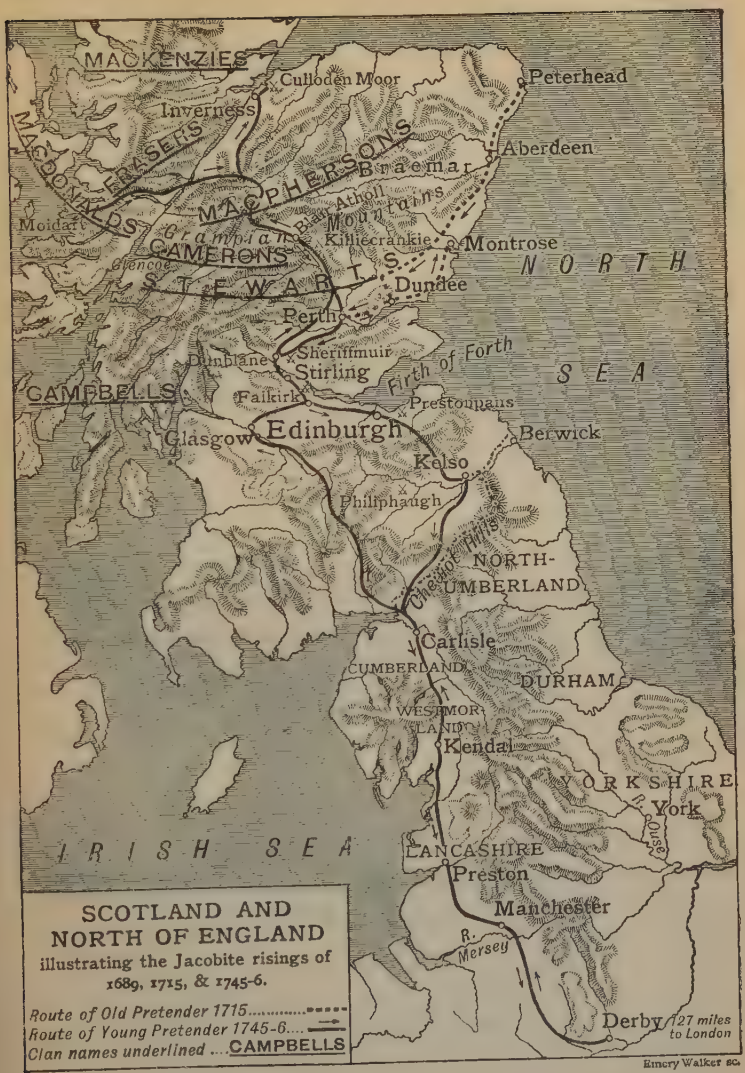
The Jacobite revolt of 1745.

on the west coast of Inverness-shire. He called upon the clans to follow him, but even the Highland chiefs, his loyal and chivalrous supporters, were aghast at the rashness of his enterprise, and advised him to go back to France. But a trifling success over two companies of soldiers, sent out to apprehend the invaders, stirred up the enthusiasm of the Highlanders. The marquis of Tullibardine, who had forfeited his duchy of Atholl for his treason in 1715, appeared in the Perthshire Highlands, and roused the Stewarts of Atholl to the Jacobite cause. Before long Macdonalds, Camerons, and other Jacobite clans mustered by the thousand round the prince's standards. General Cope, commander of King George's troops in Scotland, managed matters so badly that Charles Edward soon found the way to the Lowlands open before him. In September he marched into Edinburgh, and proclaimed his father as James VIII. from the market cross of the capital. Thence he marched out against Cope, who had taken up a position at *Preston Pans*, a few miles to the east. On September 21 he easily won the battle of Preston Pans.

The march to Derby, 1745.

18. For two months Charles Edward kept his court at Holyrood, and his personal charm and gallant bearing won him much devotion and support. But most Lowland Scots remained indifferent to the claims of a popish pretender, supported by a rabble of plundering Highlanders. Great efforts were made by the government to suppress the rising, and Charles saw that if he waited, doing nothing at Edinburgh, the game would soon be up. The wise rashness that had led him to land at Moidart now inspired him to attempt an invasion of England, though his counsellors denounced the enterprise as madness. Before the end of November the Highlanders were again on the march. They captured Carlisle very easily, and proceeded without opposition through Cumberland and Lancashire. Bitterly to Charles's disappointment, the Tories and Churchmen of Northern England showed as little zeal for his cause as the Whigs and Presbyterians of Southern Scotland. He gained very few recruits; his greatest success was at Manchester, where a force of some two hundred men was levied under a Catholic Lancashire squire. But he pressed on as far south as Derby, though armies far stronger than his own were gathering on every side, and the Highlanders, unaccustomed to prolonged warfare, were growing weary of their absence from home and of the discomforts of a winter campaign.

19. On December 6 Charles was, against his better judgment,


MACKENZIES
Culloden Moor
Peterhead
Inverness
MACDONALDS
FRASERS
MACPHERSONS
Aberdeen
Braemar
Moidart
Grampian Mountains
Ben Athol
Killiecrankie
Montrose
Glencoe
CAMERONS
STEWARTS
NORTH SEA
Dundee
Perth
Sheriffmuir
Dunblane
Stirling
Firth of Forth
CAMPBELLS
Falkirk
Prestonpans
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Berwick
Kelso
Philiphaugh
Cheviot Hills
NORTHUMBERLAND
Carlisle
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WESTMORLAND
Kendal
YORKSHIRE
York
Ouse
IRISH SEA
LANCASHIRE
Preston
Manchester
R. Mersey
Derby
127 miles to London
SCOTLAND AND NORTH OF ENGLAND
illustrating the Jacobite risings of 1689, 1715, & 1745-6.
Route of Old Pretender 1715.....
Route of Young Pretender 1745-6....
Clan names underlined ....CAMPBELLS
Emery Walker sc.

forced by his advisers to retrace his steps. He made his way safely back to Scotland, only to find that in his absence most of the Lowlands had been won back by the Hanoverians. He had still to retreat before them back to the Highlands. A last gleam of success shone on his cause on January 17, 1746, when he inflicted a severe check on General Hawley at the *battle of Falkirk*. Cumberland, recalled from the Netherlands, now took up the command of the king's troops, and Charles fled before him beyond the Grampians. At last, on April 16, the Highland army was attacked by Cumberland at *Culloden Moor*, near Inverness. Experience had at last taught the soldiers how to meet the fierce rush of the Highland charge. They stood with fixed bayonets, reserving their fire until the enemy was close upon them, and then firing a volley, which inflicted terrible execution. Thrice the gallant clansmen rallied to the charge, but each time they were driven back with loss. Then the soldiers charged in their turn, and slew many at the bayonet's point. No quarter was given, and the rebels were punished so brutally that Cumberland won the nickname of the *Butcher*. Great efforts were made to capture Charles Edward, and a huge reward offered for his apprehension. But the poor Highlanders kept with remarkable loyalty the secret of his hiding-places, and, after many hairbreadth escapes, he succeeded in escaping to France. Disappointment soured his better nature, and he showed a weakness of character that could not bear adversity with dignity. He became a confirmed drunkard, and, though he lived till 1788, lost all influence. On his death, his brother Henry, a Churchman and a cardinal, called himself Henry IX., but he was so poor that he was forced to take a pension from George III. Jacobitism had become a mere sentiment long before this last representative of the ill-fated house of Stewart died in 1807.

Battles of Falkirk and Culloden, 1746.

20. The suppression of the Highland revolt was followed by the putting down of the old Highland anarchy that had made the rebellion possible. The clans were disarmed, and forbidden to wear their national dress. Great efforts were made to break down the warm attachment felt for the clan chieftains. The friends of Charles were driven into exile, and the Episcopalian and Catholic clergy cruelly persecuted. Hard roads connected the garrisons established to keep the clansmen down, and schools were established to spread a knowledge of English. Within a generation the whole social condition of the Highlands was changed. The Celtic chieftain

The subjugation of the Highlands.

became like the Lowland landlord, and the clansman became a discontented crofter, paying a huge rent for a little farm that would hardly maintain his family. Some of the more daring spirits joined the Highland regiments which parliament caused to be raised. Later on there was a great emigration to America. The Highlands became peaceful and law-abiding, but in the process many of the finest features of Gaelic life had been destroyed.

21. The continental war still went on, and the French had taken advantage of the withdrawal of the English troops from the Austrian Netherlands to conquer the greater part of that district, and to threaten the United Provinces with invasion. But, as in 1672, the Dutch resolutely repulsed the invader. In other fields the French had not been successful. They had lost many colonies, and their fleets had been defeated by the English and Dutch. An English sailor, Captain Anson, plundered the Spaniards in the Pacific, like another Drake, and, like Drake, completed his hazardous expedition by circumnavigating the world (1740–1744). At last both England and France were willing to make peace, and Maria Theresa was forced to fall in with their wishes. The war was ended by the *Treaty of Aachen* of 1748, by which England and France mutually restored all conquests, and France accepted the Protestant succession in England, and agreed to expel the pretender. The Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed, but Maria Theresa, besides the loss of Silesia, was forced to give a slice of the Milanese to Sardinia, and to yield up Parma as a duchy for Philip v.'s younger son Philip. She was, therefore, very indignant with the English and Dutch, who, she believed, cared little for her interests as long as their own were secured. In the peace between England and Spain, the question of the "right of search," which had started the war in 1739, was not so much as mentioned.

The treaty of Aachen, 1748.

22. The years that succeeded the peace of Aachen were marked by great prosperity. Henry Pelham, the prime minister, governed the country prudently and well. Like his master, Walpole, he disliked great changes, and he was even more prudent than Walpole in conciliating all opposition. The chief features of his administration were useful measures of domestic reform, such as the adoption of the *New Style* of reckoning dates according to the improved *Gregorian Calendar*, so called from Pope Gregory XIII. (1572–1585), in whose days it was first devised, and which most continental nations had already accepted. There was eleven days' difference of time

Pelham's domestic reforms, 1748–1754.

between the old and the new calendars. Another important improvement was the consolidation, after the peace, of the various loans which the government had borrowed into a single stock, paying the uniform rate of three per cent. These were the *three per cent. consols* which remained famous for more than a century.

23. The quiet times continued until Henry Pelham's death in 1754. "Now," said George II., "I shall have no more peace."

The Newcastle ministry and the Whig schism, 1754-1756.

This was true enough, for the declining years of the old king were marked by a revival of domestic faction and foreign war. Dull and commonplace as Henry Pelham had seemed, he had shown wonderful tact, skill, and dexterity in preserving peace both at home and abroad, and on his death there was no one who could step into his place. His brother, the duke of Newcastle, became prime minister, but he was fussy, incompetent, and so greedy of power that he would not trust the other ministers. Newcastle's strongest point was wonderful craft in wirepulling and intrigue, but his blunders soon broke up the ministry. He had to appoint a leader of the House of Commons in succession to his brother, but he was too jealous to give him a free hand, and found that the stronger politicians would not hold office on the terms that he offered. For a time he strove to rule the Commons with the help of a dull diplomatist, Sir Thomas Robinson, but the members so soon got out of control that he was compelled to get rid of Robinson and give his office to Henry Fox, on terms that made Fox a colleague and not a mere subordinate. Fox was a very able man, the best debater in the House of Commons, and a skilful party manager, but he was selfish, corrupt, and unpopular. He was quite content to hold a lucrative office and to pile up a fortune for himself.

24. Very different to the position of Fox was that of William Pitt, who from 1746 to 1754 had been a subordinate member of the Pelham ministry. On Pelham's death, Pitt soon broke with Newcastle, and once more his eloquent voice was raised in opposition to the government. He was so different from the other statesmen of the day that his very singularity marked him out as a person apart. He had never lost that command of the popular ear which he had won when he first thundered against the corruption of Walpole and the Hanoverian foreign policy of Carteret. His birth excluded him from the little circle of great families which divided between each other the government of England. His lofty and imperious disposition raised him above the timid place-hunters and self-seeking

William Pitt and the Whig opposition.

jobbers who made politics a race after the spoils. He appealed from the venal politicians in Parliament to the unrepresented masses of the English people, so that, though distrusted at court and feared by place-hunters, he was the one popular hero among the statesmen of the day. His withdrawal from Newcastle's ministry weakened it immensely in public opinion.

25. Newcastle's unstable position would not have mattered if peace had continued; it became important, since England was drifting into a fresh war. The earlier stages of this found England unprepared and Newcastle incompetent to grapple with the situation. Discontent rose high out-of-doors, and faction became intense in Parliament. In 1756 Newcastle resigned, and the duke of Devonshire, a great Whig magnate who had quarrelled with him, became head of a new government, and gave high office to Pitt. But the Pitt-Devonshire ministry only lasted until the next year. Without Newcastle's command over votes, the ministers were unable to carry their measures through parliament. Things seemed at a deadlock, when, in 1757, Devonshire and Pitt resigned. But it was no time for English statesmen to quarrel when disasters were falling thickly upon our colours in every part of the world. It was at last found possible to make a coalition between Pitt and Newcastle, by which they jointly became sharers of power. This arrangement worked well, and outlasted the reign of George II. Newcastle confined himself to intrigue, parliamentary management, and the details of administration. Scornfully indifferent to such sordid cares, Pitt threw his whole soul into the conduct of the war, and under his guidance, a struggle that had begun disastrously for England soon became one of the most glorious wars that this country has ever waged.

The duke of Devonshire's ministry, 1756-1757.

The Pitt-Newcastle ministry, 1757-1761.

26. The war, called the *Seven Years' War*, had, like the war of the Austrian succession, a twofold origin. One source of it was a contest with France for commercial, colonial, and naval supremacy; the other was provoked by the questions of the balance of power in Europe. Though independent in their origin, the two conflicts soon became blended in a single struggle, which raged for seven years over America, India, and the ocean, as well as upon the continent of Europe.

Origin of the Seven Years' War.

27. Ever since the revolution, England had been growing steadily richer by foreign trade, and was now become the foremost

commercial, colonizing, and naval power. Holland, her rival in the seventeenth century, was beaten in the race and content to be her satellite; but France, her nearest rival, watched her progress with constant anxiety. In this commercial competition, even more than in jealousies about European affairs, lay the true cause of the long conflict which, save in the days of Walpole, made England and France remain almost permanent enemies from 1688 down to the battle of Waterloo. India, America, and the ocean were the chief fields of this hostility, and circumstances now sharpened the conflict in all these directions.

Commercial and colonial rivalry of France and England.

28. India had been, since the early sixteenth century, a great source of attraction to European traders. The English East India Company was among the most successful of the associations of foreign merchants whose members acquired great wealth by the trade with the East. The company had long had trading stations or factories in India, of which *Fort William* (Calcutta), *Fort St. George* (Madras), and *Bombay* were the most important. Since the days of Louis XIV. it had found its chief European competitor in the French East India Company, whose principal factory on the mainland was at Pondicherri, south of Madras. But the rivalry hitherto had been that of men of business competing in the same markets. India was ruled by the great Mohammedan *Mogul* Empire, whose emperors at Delhi governed Northern and controlled Southern India. The Moguls were strong enough to prevent any European society of merchants aspiring to establish its rule over any wide tract of India outside their own factories. But in 1707 Aurangzeb, the last great Mogul emperor, died, and at once the Mogul power broke up. A similar state of things occurred in India to that which had happened in Europe after the downfall of the Roman empire. The *Nawábs*, or viceroys of the emperor, became practically independent and hereditary princes. The Hindus, who had borne with impatience the domination of the Mohammedans, began to throw off their yoke and set up independent *rájás* and *mahárájás* of their own race and creed. In particular, the warlike Maráthás, of the regions surrounding Bombay, established great and powerful states. Yet India was plunged into extreme confusion. Any warlike adventurer had the chance of making himself a king, though he often found it hard to maintain himself in his precarious sovereignty.

European traders in India under the Mogul empire.

29. The break-up of the Mogul Empire first gave the companies

of European traders a chance of profiting by the anarchy in India to aspire to share its sovereignty with the native rulers. The first European to see this was a Frenchman. *Dupleix*, governor of Pondicherri, perceived that by setting one prince against another, he might take a leading part in Indian affairs. He grasped that India was not a nation but a continent, and that immense differences in religion, language, civilization, and race kept the various peoples of the peninsula hopelessly apart. He soon also realized that the more warlike of the tractable and intelligent races of India might, if officered and disciplined by Europeans, become such good soldiers that they could easily defeat the ill-disciplined armies trained after the native fashion. Hence it was not impossible with Indian gold and Indian arms for a mere handful of Europeans to dominate millions of Hindus. In these visions Dupleix saw the whole future history of India, though in the long run it was not his country that was to demonstrate the practicability of his ambitions.

Dupleix' plans.

30. Already, during the Austrian succession war, Dupleix began to carry out his schemes. In 1746 he captured Madras, and this conquest, though surrendered by the peace of Aachen, increased the reputation of the French throughout India. The years of peace between France and England were no time of peace for India. Dupleix took up the cause of one claimant to the great post of nawáb, or viceroy, of the Karnátik, the region in which both Madras and Pondicherri were situated. It was inevitable that the English should take up the cause of the other pretender. The English at Madras were clerks and merchants, while the French at Pondicherri were soldiers and statesmen; yet among the clerks of the English factory a man was found fully equal to cope with Dupleix. This was Robert Clive, the son of a poor Shropshire squire, who had been sent out to India because his turbulent disposition seemed to unfit him for most careers at home. Clive had become a soldier in the days of Dupleix' conquest of Madras, and now urged that the best way to counteract the French schemes was to seize Arcot, the capital of the Karnátik. He was entrusted with the task, and easily captured the town. Then, in 1751, he stood a siege with such determination that in the end Dupleix withdrew discomfited from the walls which Clive and his sepoys so gallantly defended. The result was the collapse of Dupleix' schemes, soon to be followed by his recall in disgrace. Thanks to Clive, the

England and France in India, 1740-1755.

Clive and the siege of Arcot, 1751.

factory at Madras controlled the Karnátik, through its nominee the nawáb.

31. A few years later the nawáb of Bengal, Siráj-ud-Daulá, formed an alliance with the French, captured Fort William, and shut up the little band of Englishmen who held it in a small prison, afterwards called the *Black Hole of Calcutta*, where nearly all died of suffocation in the course of one tropical night. Clive was sent to restore the English influence in Bengal, and on June 23, 1757, utterly defeated the vast army of Siráj-ud-Daulá at the *battle of Plassey*. The nawáb was dethroned, and an English dependent set in his place. Henceforth Clive's genius ruled supreme in Bengal as well as in the Karnátik. But before this England and France were at open war, and the French sought to revive Dupleix's schemes in Southern India. Again they were defeated. Colonel Coote won the *battle of Wandewash* in 1760, which was as decisive for the Karnátik as Plassey for Bengal. In 1761 he annihilated French influence by the capture of Pondicherri. Thus the foundations of the British power in India were laid. Clive and Coote had learnt the lesson of Dupleix so well that they had won for England the great position in the East that the Frenchman had hoped to secure for his own land.

The battles of Plassey, 1757, and Wandewash, 1760.

32. A similar struggle between France and England for supremacy in North America also disturbed the years of nominal peace. After the treaty of Utrecht, which ceded Newfoundland and Acadie to England, there was a continuous line of English settlements, extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Carolina. Acadie was colonized by British settlers, and renamed *Nova Scotia*, in commemoration of the recent union with Scotland, which had made English colonies accessible to Scotsmen also. In 1731 the British sphere had been pushed southwards to the frontier of the Spanish colony of Florida by the establishment of *Georgia*, named after George II. This series of English colonies was rapidly growing in wealth, population, and energy; but the various colonies were very different in climate, population, character, and industry, and were not in the habit of co-operating with each other. Moreover, they were surrounded on the north and the west by lands over which the French had claims, and some of which the French were effectively occupying. *Canada*, which stretched from the great lakes down the course of the St. Lawrence, was the most important French settlement. Besides this, the French

France and England in North America.

islands of St. John (Prince Edward's Island) and Cape Breton still gave to Breton fishermen a large share of the Newfoundland fisheries. More dangerous still was the gradual growth of the French colony of *Louisiana*, which, starting from its capital of New Orleans, stretched northwards up the valley of the Mississippi. Though the French colonies were thinly inhabited and badly governed, the population was hardy, adventurous, and skilful, and, as in India, the governors formed wide schemes for extending French power. It became French policy to build a line of forts from Louisiana up the Ohio valley, and thence northwards to the great lakes of Canada. By this means it was hoped to open out the whole Mississippi valley to French settlement, and shut in the English colonists between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic.

33. The key to the French system of frontier posts was *Fort Duquesne*, on the Alleghany river, a tributary of the Ohio. Alarmed at the French advance, the colony of Virginia fitted out, in 1754, an expedition of the local militia, at the head of which was Major George Washington, a young Virginian planter, who now first had the chance of showing his great talents for leadership. Washington attacked Fort Duquesne, but failed badly, and was compelled to surrender to the French. Next year English and French regulars were both sent to take part in the struggle, but for long the tide of war flowed in favour of France.

Fort Duquesne.

34. A European war soon complicated the struggle of England and France for India and America. A European coalition was formed, primarily against Prussia, but partly against England also. A great change in the relations of European states had taken place after the treaty of Aachen. Maria Theresa was so disgusted with England making her give up Silesia to Prussia that she broke away from the traditional alliance of Austria and England, and made friends with France, the hereditary enemy. Russia, now ruled by the Empress Elizabeth, a true daughter of Peter the Great, joined the alliance, which many smaller states, in their jealousy of Prussia, also gladly entered into. Prussia was thus forced to struggle for her very existence, but Frederick the Great showed a wonderful coolness and energy in the face of danger. Up to now George II. had been very jealous of Prussia, but he saw that the interests of Prussia, England, and Hanover were the same, and in 1756 made a treaty with Frederick which gave Prussia at least one ally. In 1756 what

The European coalition against Prussia and England, 1756.

is properly called the *Seven Years' War* broke out, when Frederick II. anticipated attack from his enemies by beginning the war himself. In the same year the tidings of disputes in India and America forced England and France into open hostilities. From that date the two struggles were combined into a single war.

British disasters, 1756-1757.

35. It was a time when England, divided against itself by ministerial dissensions, was quite unready to fight. From the Far East came the news of the Black Hole of Calcutta, while from the Far West arrived the tidings of disasters on the Ohio and the St. Lawrence. Things were even worse in Europe, where Frederick II. was holding his own with extreme difficulty against overwhelming odds, while the duke of Cumberland was defeated by the French, who overran Hanover, and compelled him to sign the *capitulation of Kloster Zeven*. By this treaty Hanover was abandoned to the French, so that they were left free to attack Frederick. Even at sea England was now beaten. Minorca, which had been English since 1708, was attacked by a French force, and the English admiral, Byng, son of the victor of Cape Passero, sailed away without daring to fight a battle, and abandoned the island. It was expected that the French would invade England, and that Austria and Russia would wipe out Prussia from the map of Europe. A disgraceful panic seized upon the English people. The unlucky Byng was made a scapegoat of the popular fury. Condemned by a court-martial for neglecting to fight, he was shot on the quarter-deck of his flagship (1757).

Pitt as the inspirer of victory, 1757-1760.

36. It was at this crisis that the coalition between Pitt and Newcastle ended the struggles of faction in parliament, and gave Britain the strong government that it needed. Pitt himself took the direction of the war, while Anson, the circumnavigator, became first lord of the admiralty. The great commoner set to work with a sublime self-confidence that was fully justified by results. "I am sure," he declared, "that I can save the country, and I am sure that no one else can." He boasted that he was called to office by the voice of the English people. He drew up brilliant schemes, and sought out subordinates whom he could inspire with something of his lofty spirit. India was too far off for him to be able to do much for it, and Plassey had been fought at the moment of his advent to power. But he saluted Clive as a "heaven-born general," and did all that he could to encourage him in his career of conquest. He threw to the winds his old hatred of German alliances and foreign subsidies. The old foe of Hanover struggled manfully to recover from the

NEW ENGLAND
and
NEW FRANCE
1755-1783
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300
CANADA
Quebec
Montreal
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
R. Allegheny
Saratoga
NEW YORK
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW ENGLAND
Concord
Lexington
Bunker's Hill
Boston
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
New York
Brooklyn
NEW JERSEY
Philadelphia
Ft. Duquesne
(Pittsburg)
PENNSYLVANIA
R. Ohio
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
R. St. Lawrence
Gulf of
St. Lawrence
Newfoundland
I. St. Jean
(Prince Edward I.)
Ile Royale
(C. Breton I.)
Louisburg
Nova Scotia
Halifax
The Environs of
QUEBEC
FRENCH ENTRENCHMENTS
I. of Orleans
R. St. Charles
St. Lawrence
R.
Heights of
Abraham
Quebec
St. Lewis
Wolfe's landing place
Emery Walker sc.

French George's hereditary dominions. He repudiated the capitulation of Kloster Zeven, and pushed the continental war forward with great energy. In 1759 the deliverance of Hanover was secured by a victory at *Minden*. Pitt's subsidies to Prussia enabled Frederick to carry on his heroic struggle. Yet, with all his zeal for conquest in Germany, he never forgot that the real mission of England was colonial and maritime predominance. "America must be conquered in Germany," was his answer to those who were alarmed at the immense expense of his German campaigns. He showed wonderful skill in selecting the right men to be admirals and generals. In 1759 his favourite admiral, Hawke, put an end to all fears of invasion by annihilating the French navy in a battle in *Quiberon Bay*, off the south coast of Brittany. This restored to England the command of the sea, and enabled the British fleets to conquer French colonies and trading-stations all over the world. We have seen how by this time French influence was annihilated in India. Of even greater moment for the future was the extinction of French power in North America by Wolfe, Amherst, and Howe, three generals of Pitt's own choosing.

37. Even before England had thrown its energies into the struggle, the French in North America had ceased to win victories.

The conquest of Canada, 1758-1760.

Amherst conquered Cape Breton and destroyed the fortress of Louisburg, which had long dominated the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The English colonists united as they had never united before, and drove the French from Fort Duquesne, which became an English settlement, and was renamed *Pittsburg* by the grateful colonists. This destroyed the French ambition of linking together Louisiana and Canada, and opened out the west to English settlement. Canada itself was now assailed, and though the first effort to conquer it was foiled, when the soul of the expedition seemed to expire on the death of the gallant Howe, Wolfe was sent in 1759 with an expedition up the St. Lawrence to effect the conquest of *Quebec*. The marquis of Montcalm, the French governor, gathered together all the forces of Canada to withstand the English fleet and army. Wolfe made his way up the difficult navigation of the St. Lawrence in safety, and took up a position nearly opposite Quebec. Failing to attack the town on the east side, Wolfe moved higher up the river and planned an attack on Quebec from the west, where high cliffs, overhanging the river valley, were thought to make the city impregnable. In the dead of night the English troops were dropped in row-boats down the St. Lawrence to the foot of the steep rocks.

These they scaled as best they could, and before morning the French found the English arrayed on the *Heights of Abraham* to the west of Quebec. The battle that ensued proved fatal both to Wolfe and to Montcalm, but the French fought badly, and the English won an easy victory. Canada was not yet conquered, but Amherst next year completed the successes half achieved by Wolfe. Montreal capitulated in 1760, and with its fall Canada became English.

38. In the midst of these wonderful successes George II. died in October, 1760. He had lived long enough to see Pitt, whom he had once hated, restore his rule over his own electorate, save Prussia and the balance of power in Europe, win for England the foremost place as a naval, colonial, and trading nation, and create the modern British Empire as one of the greatest sovereignties the world has ever seen.

Death of George II., 1760.

CHAPTER III

GEORGE III. AND THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (1760–1789)

Chief Dates

1760. Accession of George III.
1761. Resignation of Pitt.
1763. Peace of Paris.
1765. The Stamp Act.
1768. The Wilkes Riots.
1770. North, Prime Minister.
1775. Battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill.
1777. Capitulation of Saratoga.
1780. Gordon Riots.
1781. Capitulation of Yorktown.
1782. Rodney's victory off Dominica; Legislative Independence of Ireland granted.
1783. Treaty of Versailles; Pitt becomes Prime Minister.
1788. Trial of Warren Hastings.

1. Frederick, prince of Wales, having died in 1751, George II. was succeeded by his grandson, George III., Frederick's eldest son.

Character and policy of George III.

The new king, who was twenty-two years old when he came to the throne, was slow, serious, good-natured, and well-meaning. He was ill-educated, obstinate, and prejudiced, of narrow intellect and limited outlook. But he was hard-working, religious, and the first Hanoverian king who lived a good private life. He had a strong will, high courage, and a vigorous character. Brought up in the traditions of his father's court at Leicester House, he was anxious to take as his model Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*. Boasting that he was "born and bred a Briton," he loyally accepted the legal constitution as defined after the revolution of 1688, but waged implacable war against the customs of the constitution which, under the first two Georges, had undermined the power of the monarch. Above all, he considered himself free to choose as his ministers whatsoever persons he liked best. He was shrewd enough to see that what stood in the way of his exercising this power was the

ring of great Whig houses that had governed England during the last two reigns. He perceived, therefore, that his first object should be to destroy the Whig connection. With this motive he dissociated himself from parties, and denounced party government as inevitably tending to the rule of a faction. But he made what allies he could in his war against the Whigs, and often closely associated himself with the new Tories of the school of Bolingbroke. Yet George was no Tory king, as his grandfather and great-grandfather had been Whig kings. He strove to be above all parties, and only allied himself with the Tories because they were his most effective helpers in breaking down Whig supremacy. But his chief wish was to create a party of his own, which would vote as he told them, and do his bidding in all things. Gradually there grew up a group of politicians known as the *king's friends*, whose only principle of politics was to obey George. To keep his friends together, George bribed and exercised corrupt influence as unscrupulously as Walpole, and cleverly turned to the ruin of the Whigs all the machinery of jobbery and corruption which they had built up to consolidate their own power. He pursued this policy with extraordinary persistence and courage for more than fifty years, never flinching before the storm of hatred that assailed him, and winning the day in the long run. He was helped by the respect felt for his personal character and the purity of his aims, and still more by the unpopularity of the great Whig houses, their quarrels among themselves, and the corrupt and irresponsible character of the House of Commons. He would have won his way much sooner had he been more intelligent and more scrupulous in his choice of means to carry out his purpose. But when bitter experience taught his slow mind the right way to go to work, he was marvellously successful. Before his political career was over, he had put an end to the Whig power and restored to the king the chief voice of choosing the ministers of the crown. At the same time he won greater popularity as he succeeded better.

George III. and Pitt.

2. At first everything was against George. The ministry of Pitt and Newcastle absolutely dominated the state and won great glory by its naval and military successes. Yet George set to work at once to break up the Whig party by sowing dissension among it, and showed great eagerness to end the war so that he might have more leisure and money to carry out his policy at home. So slow was he of comprehension that he could not see any difference between Pitt and Newcastle, except that he hated Pitt the more because he was the

most powerful and popular of his ministers. Yet there was much in common between Pitt and the new king, and a wiser politician would have made friends with the statesman who agreed with him in hating party, and in disliking the great Whig lords, and was ever exceedingly deferential to the personal opinion of the monarch. Pitt was too great for George to appreciate or understand. The king preferred to be guided by his mother, Augusta, princess of Wales, and by John, earl of Bute, a Scottish nobleman of great wealth and some refinement, but narrow-minded, ignorant of politics, and too much given to intrigue.

3. An opportunity soon came for getting rid of Pitt. Don Carlos of Naples, the old foe of the English, became Charles III. of Spain in 1759, and in 1761 formed a *Family Compact* by which the Bourbon courts of France, Spain, and Italy were united against England. This accession of Spain to the coalition against England seemed the last chance to destroy the wonderful ascendency which Pitt's victories had gained for the country. Pitt gained early intelligence of the Family Compact, and proposed to fall upon Spain before she was ready to fight. But Bute's intrigues had turned his own cabinet against him, and even Newcastle refused to follow his lead. Pitt haughtily declared that he was accountable to the people who had called him to office, and resigned, announcing that he could not remain responsible for measures which he was not allowed to guide. As soon as he was got rid of, Newcastle was attacked in his turn, and driven away from office in 1762. Then Lord Bute became the king's chief minister. His ministry was the first of the series of weak coalitions by which George III., in the early years of his reign, sought to destroy the Whig power and make himself the real head of the ministry.

Pitt driven from office, 1761.

4. Bute tried to make Pitt unpopular by giving him a pension and making his wife countess of Chatham. Though eager for peace, he was soon forced to justify Pitt's policy by going to war against Spain. The Spaniards failed signally to stem the tide of English successes, and soon saw Manila and Havana pass into English hands. All this time, however, Bute, like Bolingbroke in 1713, was pressing hard for peace, and sacrificing the allies of England in his anxiety to score a party triumph. In February, 1763, he concluded with France the *peace of Paris*, which gave England a great deal, but not nearly so much as she had a right to expect. By the treaty France ceded Canada and Cape Breton

The Bute ministry, 1761-1763, and the peace of Paris, 1763.

island to England, but was allowed to keep a share of the Newfoundland fisheries. The Mississippi was fixed as the boundary of British North America and Louisiana, an arrangement which so spoilt the French game that before long Louisiana was sold to Spain. France surrendered Minorca, but Pondicherri and other French possessions in India were restored by England, along with most of her other conquests, though she kept a few more West India islands and African settlements. Florida was ceded by Spain, but England returned her Havana and Manila.

5. Frederick of Prussia was much disgusted at George's abandoning him, and remained very hostile to England for the rest of his life. But he had gained more by a change of sovereign in Russia than he lost by the change of sovereign in England. His enemy, Elizabeth of Russia, died, and power went to a tsar, Peter III., who had an enthusiastic admiration for Frederick. He withdrew from the war, and thus enabled Frederick to conclude peace upon terms that left him Silesia. For the next few years George III. kept aloof from foreign politics in the hope of concentrating his efforts on restoring his power at home. During this period the chief feature of European history was the growth of the northern and eastern powers, such as Russia under Catharine II., Prussia under Frederick, and Austria under Maria Theresa. The old jealousy of England against France and Spain became soon only a secondary consideration in European politics, for France was becoming too weak to do England much harm. But most foreign states looked with jealousy on English trade, and envied England her wonderful successes during the Seven Years' War. Before long George III.'s mismanagement gave them a fine opportunity of revenge.

George III. and foreign politics, 1763-1770.

6. Bute did not long continue in power after the peace. With the help of Pitt's sometime rival, Henry Fox, he used all the illicit power belonging to the ministry to ruin the friends of the Whigs, and George denied office to any but Tories, "king's friends," or Whigs who had quarrelled with Newcastle and the great Whig connection. But all this was done so clumsily that what was an attack upon a greedy faction seemed also to be an attack upon popular liberty, and George and Bute made themselves more unpopular than ever the Whigs had been. Bute soon shrank from the rough work which George had given him to do, and resigned office in 1763.

The resignation of Bute, 1763.

7. George was annoyed at Bute's deserting him, especially as it involved his calling upon at least some of the Whigs to supply

his place. However, a very slight shuffling of the cards was all that was necessary. Since the fall of Newcastle the Whig party had fallen into various separate groups. The chief of these, including the partisans of Newcastle—the great Whig connection, as it was called—was George's special object of dislike. Besides this, there was the personal following of Pitt, and various subordinate bodies. George now made prime minister the leader of one of these groups, George Grenville, a clever lawyer and good parliamentary leader, but a man of little sympathy and insight, and as narrow and pedantic as the king. Grenville was Pitt's brother-in-law, but had quarrelled with him. He soon strengthened himself by a coalition with another separate Whig faction, called the *Bloomsbury Gang*, a name derived from the London house of its leader, the duke of Bedford. Grenville's power seemed to be firmly established. But within three years his want of tact and judgment had infuriated the people, alienated the king, and prepared the way for the revolt of the American colonies.

The Grenville ministry, 1763-1765.

8. Ever since his accession George III. and Bute had been bitterly denounced in the press. Among the most scurrilous of the attacks were those written by John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, in a newspaper called, in derision of Bute, the *North Briton*. In No. 45 of that newspaper Wilkes gave such offence to the court by his criticisms of the king's speech in parliament that Grenville resolved to prosecute him. With his arrest, Wilkes, a clever Londoner of very bad character, became the hero of the people. Excitement ran high when it was found that the government, in its eagerness to punish Wilkes, had gone further than the law permitted. The law courts declared that Wilkes's arrest was illegal, because he had been apprehended on a *general warrant*—that is, a document mentioning no persons, but generally authorizing the imprisonment of the authors, printers, and publishers of the offending number of the newspaper. Wilkes now sued the ministers who had arrested him, and was awarded heavy damages by a sympathetic London jury. He was soon after attacked for publishing a blasphemous and obscene poem, and running away to France, was declared an outlaw, and lived abroad for more than four years.

Wilkes and the "North Briton."

9. Of more importance than the Wilkes episode was the passing by Grenville, in 1765, of the *Stamp Act*, which required that legal documents in America should be liable to a stamp duty. Before

the disastrous consequences of this act had begun to be felt, George drove Grenville from office. Though the king agreed with Grenville in prosecuting Wilkes and taxing America, there was so much similarity between the pedantic, narrow, and hard dispositions of George and his minister that they could not long get on well together. Grenville treated the king with outrageous rudeness, and George could not bear to endure him any longer. The difficulty of the king was, however, in the choice of Grenville's successor. He was not strong enough to rule openly with the help of the "king's friends," and he had quarrelled with every other group of politicians in turn. Finally, he was unwillingly compelled to restore to office the chiefs of the great Whig connection, though, true to his dislike of a party ministry, he insisted upon imposing upon them several of his own friends as their colleagues. Newcastle was now old and feeble, and only held a nominal post in the new government. The leadership of the party passed to the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman of high character but of no strong ability. Rockingham, however, had for his secretary a young Irish man of letters, named Edmund Burke, who was soon to prove himself the greatest writer and deepest political thinker of his day. Henceforth Burke was the brain of the Whig party, though his humble position long kept him from winning a foremost place in their counsels.

The Stamp Act and the fall of Grenville, 1765.

10. Rockingham held office from 1765 to 1766. He repealed the Stamp Act, and put an end for the time to the Wilkes troubles. But he was detested by the king and secretly attacked by the "king's friends." The Whig connection was not strong enough to hold its own long against the ill-will of the court and the jealousy of rival factions. Pitt, whose support might have given Rockingham the popular backing which he lacked, obstinately held aloof, being resolved to have no more dealings with Newcastle and his party, and the Whigs themselves disliked the "great commoner" so much that they took no pains to induce him to change his decision. Pitt was now approached by the court, and his sympathy with some of George's views, as well as his dislike of the Whigs, made him fall without much difficulty into the king's plans. Having won over Pitt, George abruptly turned Rockingham out of office, and called upon Pitt to form a new administration.

The Rockingham ministry, 1765-1766.

11. The second ministry of Pitt was in strong contrast to his previous one. Ill health made it impossible for him to take the chief place or endure the fatigue of attendance in the House of

Commons. George accordingly made him earl of Chatham, and gave him the nominal post of lord privy seal. But his acceptance of a peerage made him very unpopular. "The joke is," wrote a critic, "that he has had a fall upstairs, and will never be able to stand on his legs again." Moreover, in harmony with the dislike of party government which he shared with George, Chatham invited men of all schools to serve with him. Burke truly described his ministry as "such a piece of mosaic, such a tesselated pavement without cement, patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, that it was indeed a curious show, but unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on."

The Chatham ministry, 1766-1768.

12. Chatham formed great schemes for carrying out his ideals. He wished to transfer the government of India from the company to the crown. He strove to remedy the evil results of George's disregard to foreign affairs by building up a northern alliance, including Russia and Prussia, against the house of Bourbon. He desired to remedy the misgovernment of Ireland. But his weak nerves soon forced him to withdraw altogether from politics without accomplishing anything, and in his absence the "king's friends" controlled the ministerial policy. Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, imposed fresh taxes on America. When Wilkes came back to England, he was thrown into prison by the government, and thus once more made a martyr. The freeholders of Middlesex returned him to the House of Commons, but the ministers persuaded parliament to defy the electors and annul his election more than once. These ill-judged measures involved king and ministers in much unpopularity. In 1768 there were dangerous riots in Southwark, outside the prison in which Wilkes was shut up.

The renewal of the Wilkes troubles.

13. The ministry was bitterly attacked in the press, notably by an anonymous writer named *Junius*, and by Edmund Burke, whose famous pamphlet on the *Thoughts of the Cause of the Present Discontents* defended the Whig system of party government against both George and Chatham. Long before discontent reached its climax, Chatham partly recovered his health, and abandoned in disgust colleagues who had used his name to set at naught his most cherished principles. On his retirement the duke of Grafton kept on the ministry from 1768 to 1770, when he too resigned.

Burke and Junius.

The Grafton ministry, 1768-1770.

14. George then appointed Lord North first lord of the treasury.

North's task seemed an impossible one, but a profound calm soon followed the storms of the early years of George's reign, and North had tact and dexterity enough to retain office for twelve years. He was the first avowed Tory to be chief minister since the days of Queen Anne, but he was still more a "king's friend" than a Tory. He permitted George to have the general direction of the policy of the government, so that the king, and not North, was the real prime minister. The king's ambition to choose his own ministers was thus at length realized. It was to no purpose that Chatham thundered against the ministers, and declared that the only remedy for the slavish dependence of the House of Commons on the king and his agents was parliamentary reform. But he still stood aloof from the Whigs, and the divisions of the opposition weakened their influence out-of-doors. George was much more popular than he had been in the early years of his reign, and many of his people were better pleased to be ruled by the king than by the Whigs. One good resulted from the exclusion of the Whigs from power. They became more liberal and less corrupt than in the days of their long monopoly of office. Inspired by Burke and led by Charles James Fox, son of Chatham's old rival, Henry Fox, they began to purge themselves of the old leaven of Walpole and Pelham. But they were still factious, violent, and unpatriotic, and their narrow outlook increased the hold of the king and North on office. Unluckily the king misused his power; he showed a blindness and selfishness at least as great as that of the Whigs. From the king's triumph sprang the troubles which lost England her North American colonies, and gave her enemies in Europe their best chance to seek revenge for the victories of England during the Seven Years' War.

The North ministry, 1770-1782.

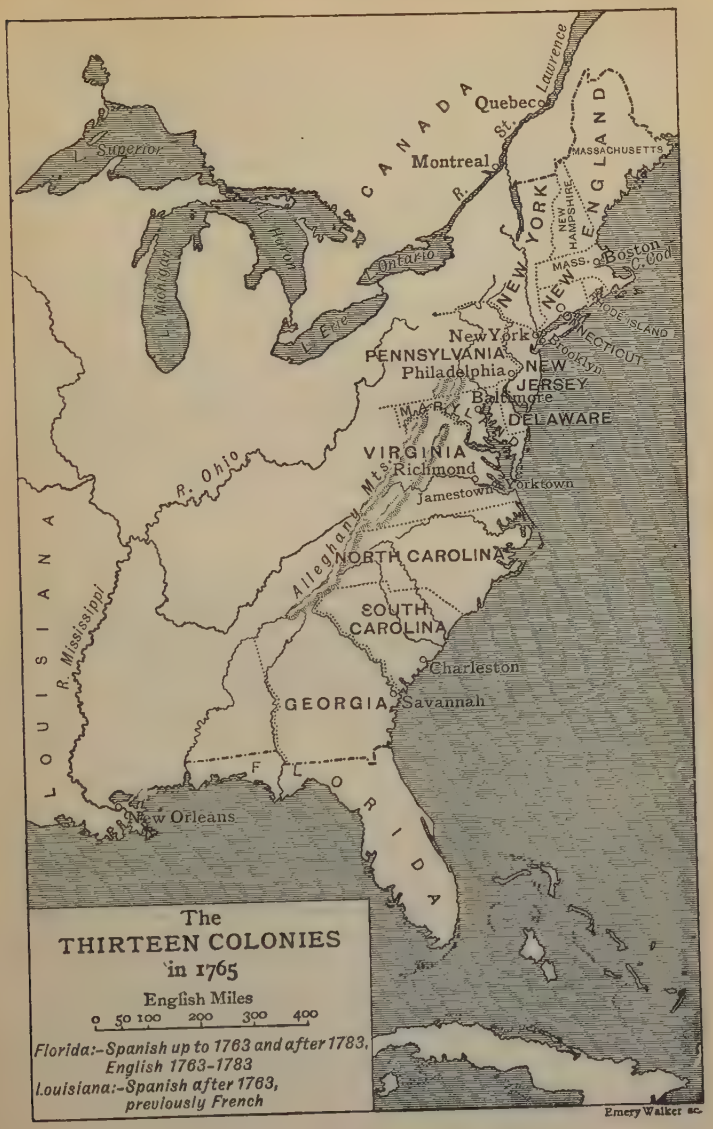
15. The troubles between Britain and her American colonies flowed directly from the expulsion of France from Canada. The result of this was that the thirteen colonies no longer stood in need of English protection, and some of the leading colonists began to look with impatience on the control which the mother country exercised over them. Politically the Americans had no deep grievances; they ruled themselves as freely as do the Canadians or the Australians of the present day. They had, however, real cause for dissatisfaction at the commercial policy of the mother country. By the Navigation Act all the foreign trade of the colonies and Europe was to be exclusively conducted in English ships, and Britain did what it

Origin of the American revolution.

could to prevent the growth of manufactures in America lest their competition should do harm to English traders. Things grew worse after George III.'s accession, for the new king abandoned the easy policy of the Whigs, who had left the colonies to themselves, and, guided by George Grenville, insisted upon the strict execution of the commercial laws which gave Britain a monopoly of American trade. Resistance to this policy first excited general discontent among the Americans. Things became worse when, in 1765, Grenville passed his Stamp Act. This was a measure which required that all legal documents and formal acts in America should be written on stamped paper, the proceeds of the duty going to the imperial exchequer, and the tax being imposed by authority of the English parliament. Grenville had no thought of lessening the liberties of America when he brought in the measure. He wished to keep up a permanent army in America, and thought that the Americans ought to bear a part of its cost. As each colony had a separate government of its own, there was no way of passing a law binding upon the whole thirteen, save by bringing it through the parliament at Westminster. This had often been done previously without the colonies raising any objection. But circumstances had now changed, and the weak point in Grenville's policy was that he thought of nothing but the legal aspect of the question. Common sense would have shown him that it was unwise to rouse the suspicion of America at a moment when it was already irritated about other matters.

16. The Americans took up a high ground. They declared that taxation and representation went together, and as they had no share in choosing members for the British parliament, it was against their privileges as Englishmen to be taxed without their consent. They refused to use the stamped paper, and raised such an outcry that, in 1766, the Rockingham ministry repealed the Stamp Act altogether. This did not, however, end the trouble. Rockingham passed at the same time a *Declaratory Act*, maintaining that the British parliament had the right to make laws binding on the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Pitt alone among prominent English statesmen objected to the Declaratory Act. He maintained that England had no right to tax the colonies without their consent; but by right he meant moral right, which was true, and not legal right, which was false. Worse was soon to follow. While Pitt, now Lord Chatham, was incapacitated by illness, Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer of his own

Townshend's customs duties and the American resistance, 1768-1770.


CANADA
Quebec
St. Lawrence R.
Montreal
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
Ontario
NEW YORK
NEW ENGLAND
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Boston
Mass. Bay
C. Cod
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
New York
Brooklyn
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Baltimore
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Yorktown
Jamestown
R. Ohio
Alleghany Mts.
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
LOUISIANA
R. Mississippi
FLORIDA
New Orleans
The
THIRTEEN COLONIES
in 1765
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Florida:–Spanish up to 1763 and after 1783, English 1763–1783
Louisiana:–Spanish after 1763, previously French
Emery Walker sc.

ministry, was foolish enough to irritate the Americans afresh by imposing new duties on glass, colours, paper, and tea imported into America. The result was a fresh agitation among the colonies, and a general determination on the part of the Americans not to pay the new taxes. In 1770 there were riots in Boston, and some British soldiers fired upon the mob and shot several of the rioters. The colonists denounced this as a bloody massacre, and became very bitter against the mother country.

Lord North and the tea duty, 1770.

17. Lord North strove to continue Townshend's policy. Not seeing that the real objection to the duties was on the score of principle, he thought it would make things easier if he lessened the amount of them, while retaining a small tax so as to insist upon the right of England to levy revenue in America. In 1770 he repealed all Townshend's duties except that on tea. This made the Americans more angry than ever. What they objected to was not the amount of the imposts, which was insignificant, but the principle involved in taxation without representation. At last in 1773, when a fleet of tea-ships sailed into Boston harbour, laden with taxed tea, a mob, dressed up as Red Indians, boarded the vessels, and threw their cargo into the water. The government regarded this as rebellion, and as the magistrates of Boston declared that they could not discover the offenders, it was resolved to punish the whole city for the disorderly acts of the rioters. A British act of parliament closed the port of Boston to all commerce, and soon afterwards another act deprived the great colony of Massachusetts of its representative institutions, and put its government in the hands of crown officials sent out from England.

Failure of conciliation.

18. This last act brought things to a crisis. Delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies met at Philadelphia in order to organize a common resistance to the British government. It was now clear that America meant to resist by armed force, if the attempts to control its independence were insisted upon. Chatham and Burke urged upon parliament the vital importance of conciliating America, but a deaf ear was turned to their pleadings. At last, in February, 1775, North himself made concessions to American opinion. He carried a bill by which such colonies as made a grant towards the expenses of the Empire should be freed from all imperial taxation. But this concession was too small and came too late. Within two months of his partial change of front, open war had broken out between the colonists and the mother country.

19. A considerable force of British troops had already been despatched to America and was concentrated at Boston. The Massachusetts assembly, which refused to disperse when parliament decreed its dissolution, called out the local militia, and began to collect military stores in order to resist King George's soldiers. One of the chief of the colonists' magazines was at Concord, and a detachment of British troops was sent from Boston to destroy it. Having accomplished their mission, the soldiers were making their way back to Boston, when, on April 19, 1775, they were attacked at *Lexington* by a body of colonial militia, and forced to retreat with some loss before their assailants. This was the beginning of the war of American independence. The victorious colonists were soon strong enough to blockade Boston. They took up a commanding position on *Bunker Hill*, a small height overlooking the town. On June 17, General Gage, the British commander, made an attack upon their entrenchments. After three unsuccessful attempts, Gage managed to capture the position. But the Americans fought so well that the battle of Bunker Hill gave more encouragement to the colonists than to King George's troops.

Beginning of the American war.

Lexington and Bunker Hill, 1775.

20. The congress at Philadelphia now assumed the position of the supreme authority in America, and levied an army. It appointed as its commander-in-chief, George Washington, a Virginian planter, who had taken a leading part in the war against the French, and already held a considerable military reputation. Washington was a wise and prudent soldier, cheerful, resourceful, and moderate. He reached Massachusetts after the battle of Bunker Hill, and soon inspired the disorderly colonial levies with some of his spirit and energy. He at once renewed the blockade of Boston, and pressed Gage so hard that, in March, 1776, the British army fled by sea to Halifax, leaving the great port of Massachusetts in Washington's hands. On July 4, 1776, the congress, now representative of all the thirteen colonies, took the decisive step of renouncing all allegiance to King George. It issued on that day the famous *Declaration of Independence*, which claimed that the thirteen colonies were free and independent states, free from all political connection with Great Britain. The new federal republic took the name of the *United States of America*.

The Declaration of Independence, 1776.

21. The War of American Independence was of more political than military importance. The armies on both sides were small,

half-hearted, and badly led, and the profound differences felt both in England and in America as to the justice and wisdom of the war, had a paralyzing effect upon those entrusted with its conduct. George III. showed plenty of spirit, and did his best to secure victory, but he was hampered by the Whigs, who rejoiced at the successes of the Americans, and he could not pick out the right men as generals, as Chatham would have done. Washington also had grave difficulties to encounter. There was a large minority, especially in the south, which had no wish to break off the English connection, and his soldiers were ill-trained and badly disciplined. But every advantage was on the side of the colonists, for the English never understood how hard a task lay before them in conquering so vast a country. At first, however, the trained British troops proved superior in battle to their enemies. Sir William Howe won, in August, 1776, the *battle of Brooklyn*, the first fight in the open field, and drove Washington from New York, which then became the English headquarters for the rest of the war. But Howe, unlike his dead brother, Pitt's favourite, was a poor general. He was not active enough to push home his successes, and wasted the cold season in winter quarters at New York. In the summer of 1777 he again took the field, drove the congress from Philadelphia, and took possession of that city. Meanwhile General Burgoyne, more conspicuous as a man of fashion and a playwright than a general, led an expedition from Canada southwards in the hope of joining Howe. His army was too feeble for the task it undertook, and in October, 1777, Burgoyne was surrounded and forced to surrender with all his troops to the American general, Gates, at *Saratoga*, on the Hudson. This great failure more than counterbalanced Howe's victories, especially since Howe once more wasted the winter in idleness at Philadelphia. Though Washington's army was reduced by disease, desertion, and bad weather to a few thousand dispirited men, Howe made no attempt to attack it, and so lost the last chance of success.

Characteristics of the American war.

The capitulation of Saratoga, 1777.

22. The capitulation of Burgoyne made a greater impression in Europe than even in America. Foreign nations, that had long envied England the position she had won during the Seven Years' War, thought that she was now involved in a losing struggle, and eagerly took the opportunity of revenge. Before long Britain had to face not only her revolted colonies, but a coalition of half Europe against her.

The European attack on Britain, 1778-1780.

France, now ruled by her young king Louis XVI., led the way to the attack, and early in 1778 declared war against England. Next year Charles III. of Spain, true to the Family Compact, followed the French example. In 1780 our old ally Holland also joined them. Besides the active enmity of three strong states, Britain had to face the passive hostility of several others. In the same year, 1780, the northern powers, headed by Catharine II. of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia, formed what was called the *Armed Neutrality*, whose object was to prevent British warships searching the merchant vessels of neutral countries for enemies' goods.

23. When the struggle with Europe became imminent, many Englishmen's thoughts turned to Chatham. Once before he had saved England, and he still seemed the only man who could deal with the situation. Chatham remained a conspicuous friend of the Americans. He had resisted American taxation with all his might, and he urged that Britain should abandon the attempt to coerce America, and throw all her energies into the struggle against her foreign foes. He hated, however, the notion that the Empire which he had done so much to establish should be rent in twain, and still hoped for reunion through the voluntary action of America. The result of this policy was that he could not work with the king, who was eager to crush American resistance, or with the Whigs, who had declared in favour of recognizing American independence. At last George was induced to offer him a post in the ministry, but he declined to take office unless an entirely new government was formed under his leadership. George refused to do this, and in truth it was too late for Chatham to be of any help. His health had broken down hopelessly, and he was nearing his end. Anxious to dissociate himself from the unpatriotic Whigs, he went down to the House of Lords to protest against "the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." He fell back in a fit when he had finished his speech, and died, a few weeks later, in May, 1778. With him expired the last faint hope of regaining America.

Chatham and American independence.

Death of Chatham, 1778.

24. In the earlier days of the European war England lost the command of the sea. It was impossible to prevent a swarm of French volunteers flocking over to help the Americans, and difficult to defend our scattered colonies and possessions. Yet George stuck bravely to his task, and the American war was now prosecuted with a vigour that had not been shown in the earlier stages. A

competent British general was at last found in Lord Cornwallis, who conquered Georgia and the Carolinas, where the loyal element was strong. In 1781 Cornwallis sought to add Virginia, the home of many of the American leaders, to his conquests. But he had not enough soldiers for so great an undertaking, and, after some preliminary successes, was compelled to make his way to *Yorktown*, a seaport, where he hoped to be joined by the English fleet. Unluckily, the navy was not there, having been driven into port to refit after a disastrous action with the French commander, Admiral de Grasse, who soon made common cause with Washington in his attack on the British. Masters over both land and sea, the enemy surrounded Cornwallis on every side, and on October 17, 1781, forced him to surrender with all his men. This second capitulation of a British army practically put an end to the war. The Americans reconquered the southern states, and ere long only New York upheld the British flag. The independence of the United States was thus assured, and a great migration of persecuted loyalists to Canada completed and made permanent the fall of British influence.

Yorktown and the end of the American war, 1781.

25. Great efforts were now made to restore the English supremacy at sea. In the beginning of the struggle our position was so insecure that a bold American privateer, named Paul Jones, plundered the British coasts; our commerce suffered severely in every part of the world; Minorca and Gibraltar were closely besieged; and many colonies, including most of the British West India islands, passed into the enemies' hands. After the fall of Yorktown, Grasse transferred himself from the American coast to the West Indies, and planned the conquest of Jamaica. But in April, 1782, Admiral Rodney won a decisive victory over Grasse near *Dominica*, in which he managed to effect the operation of breaking the French line. This saved Jamaica and restored the naval preponderance of England. Though Minorca fell, Gibraltar was relieved before the end of the year by Admiral Richard Howe, brother of the two generals.

Rodney restores British naval supremacy, 1782.

26. The French took advantage of the weakness of England to form plans for recovering their influence in India. Haidar Alí, sultan of Mysore, became their ally, devastated the Karnátik to the walls of Madras, and strove to make himself the chief power in southern India. At the same time the Maráthá confederacy took arms against the English, and defeated the Bombay army. A great French admiral, the *bailli* de Suffren, obtained the mastery

of the Indian Ocean. Luckily the governor-general of India at the time was Warren Hastings, the greatest man after Clive among the founders of British India. He rose to the height of the occasion, and, after a fierce struggle, succeeded in restoring the supremacy of England. In 1781 Haidar Alí was beaten by Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran hero of Wandewash, at *Porto Novo*; Bombay was saved from the Maráthás by troops sent by Hastings from Bengal; Suffren's career of victory was stayed; and with the restoration of the English command over the ocean, the worst of the dangers to British India passed away.

Warren Hastings restores British supremacy in India.

27. Troubles at home complicated the difficulties of England abroad. North's ministry was incompetent to conduct so mighty a struggle; the king, though brave, was narrow and blind; and the Whig opposition showed great want of patriotism. A well-meant attempt of North to help the Roman Catholics led to serious "no popery" riots in London in 1780, where the mob, led by the fanatical and half-mad Lord George Gordon, burnt Catholic chapels, opened the prisons, plundered the town, and fought against the soldiers with such effect that the disturbances were only put down after serious loss of life.

The Gordon riots, 1780.

28. The worst of Britain's troubles was in Ireland, where a systematic attempt was made to imitate America and cast off British ascendency. There the danger came, not from the Catholic Irish, but from the dominant Protestant minority. Since the revolution of 1688 the penal code established by the conquerors had deprived the Catholics of all political rights, and had driven the bravest and best of Irishmen to seek abroad the career cruelly denied them at home. The mass of the Irish Catholics were peasants, reduced to misery by a hard land system, and paying an exorbitant rent for the little patch of ground which they cultivated. But the Protestants also had their grievances. The best posts in Church and state were given to Englishmen; the administration was entirely conducted in the interests of England; Irish manufactures were stopped lest they should compete with those of Britain; and the Irish parliament, though exclusively a Protestant body, was not allowed to make what laws it liked, for Poynings' Act, passed under Henry VII., was still maintained, which enacted that no law should be even brought forward in the Irish parliament until it had been approved by the English privy council. Under George III. things became worse than before. The king saw in the great Protestant landholders a

Ireland imitates America.

body not unlike the hated Whig connection, and strove to break down their power with such energy that the leading men in Ireland were bitterly inflamed against him. Accordingly, when the American troubles broke out, the Irish Protestant leaders showed a strong inclination to imitate the colonists in their resistance to England. Chief among them was the eloquent Henry Grattan, who obtained a wonderful hold over the Irish parliament. Taking advantage of the fear of invasion, and the fact that the island had been stripped of regular troops, they enrolled volunteers among the Protestants, and soon had an armed force ready to carry out their demands. A convention met at Dungannon in imitation of the congress at Philadelphia. At last, in 1782, a *declaration of legislative independence* was unanimously passed through parliament in which Ireland repudiated the control which England had so long exercised over the Irish parliament. And the attack on England became the more dangerous when Grattan passed Catholic relief acts, which began to relax the severities of the penal code and associate the dumb millions of Irish peasantry with the policy devised by their masters.

The legislative independence of Ireland, 1782.

29. With all these difficulties to meet, there was no wonder that England lost America, and it was a great proof of her vigour and tenacity that she kept her continental enemies in check, won back the command of the sea, and maintained her Indian empire. But the struggle was a severe one, and though the king never lost his courage, Lord North, an easy, good-natured, weak man, had long wearied of the thankless task of acting as minister, and in March, 1782, suddenly resigned office. The king was bitterly incensed with North, and looked upon him as a deserter. His anger became even more intense when he found that he had no alternative but to give office to the hated Whigs. Rockingham became first lord of the treasury and Charles Fox secretary of state. But George was strong enough to insist on some of the "king's friends" retaining their posts, while he further tempered the Whig preponderance by giving the second secretaryship of state to the earl of Shelburne, an accomplished and broad-minded man, but distrusted for his bad temper and habit of intrigue. Shelburne was now the leader of the little band of Chathamites which still kept alive the principles of Pitt.

The second Rockingham ministry, 1782.

30. Rockingham's chief business was to get England out of her many difficulties. At home he strove to put down the political

corruption which the Whigs had introduced, but which the king had now cleverly turned against them, by a scheme of what was called *Economical Reform*. Burke, who was only put in inferior office, was entrusted with bringing in this plan, but it was made less sweeping than he wished, in order to conciliate the king. The Irish disturbances were appeased by the surrender of the chief demand of Grattan's party. Poynings' Act was repealed, and the legislative independence of the Dublin parliament fully recognized. But the greatest work of the new ministers was entering upon negotiations for peace both with America and with our European enemies. However, before these were ended, a violent quarrel between Fox and Shelburne threatened the stability of the ministry. Rockingham died soon after, and George, who was eager to get rid of the Whigs, took the decisive step of putting Shelburne in his place. In July, Fox and the Whigs went out of office, leaving Shelburne at the head of a ministry of "king's friends" and Chathamites. In this Chatham's second son, William Pitt, who had just entered parliament, became chancellor of the exchequer at the age of twenty-three.

Burke and Economical Reform.

The Shelburne ministry, 1782-1783.

31. The first work of Shelburne was the conclusion of peace. In November, 1782, he made a provisional treaty with the Americans, by which England recognized the independence of the United States, and yielded up to them all her claims on the lands to the west of the Alleghanies. There was more delay in settling the terms of peace with France, Spain, and Holland, mainly because of the strong desire of Spain to get back Gibraltar. However, early in 1783, an agreement was made by which Spain was forced to be content with Florida and Minorca. France gained Tobago, Senegal, and Goree, but restored to England most of her conquests. Finally, the formal *treaty of Versailles* was concluded in September, 1783.

The treaty of Versailles, 1783.

32. Before the long negotiations had concluded, Shelburne's ministry had fallen. Shelburne himself was generally disliked, and held office merely through the king's favour and through the disunion of his enemies. There were two chief elements in the opposition: the Tories under North and the Whigs under Fox. Finding that singly they were powerless, Fox and North agreed, early in 1783, to form a coalition to drive Shelburne from office. Few men were prepared for so sudden a change of front. Fox had bitterly

The coalition of Fox and North, 1783.

denounced North for many years, and had publicly declared that the idea of union with him was "too monstrous to be admitted." But though factious hatred of the ministry had too large a share in the league between them, both North and Fox stood at the head of parties and as party leaders were afraid of George's constant endeavour to choose whomsoever he would as his ministers. Moreover, North had so long been subject as minister to George's caprices, that his conversion to the opposition was the more startling because of its unexpectedness. The former agent of the "king's friends" now declared himself against the whole policy of his long ministry. "Government by departments," he told Fox, "was not brought in by me. I found it so, and had not vigour to end it. The appearance of power is all that a king in this country can have." The coalition, on its more respectable side, was an effort to save party government from the disciples of George III. and Chatham.

The coalition ministry, 1783.

33. At first the union of Fox and North carried everything before it. In April, 1783, Shelburne was forced to resign, and George was compelled to accept a ministry that he bitterly hated. His disgust was the greater since his eldest son, George, prince of Wales, now just of age, was a strong partisan of the coalition. The prince was dissipated, extravagant, and reckless, and was only too glad to have the means of annoying his father. In the new government the duke of Portland was the nominal prime minister, but real power was shared by the two secretaries of state, Fox and North. George scarcely treated his new servants with civility, and set to work to undermine their authority by all means at his command. He gained his first success when he forced them to abandon an extravagant scheme they brought forward to provide for their ally, the prince of Wales. Before the end of 1783, George found a better opening to attack them in Fox's *India Bill*. This was a measure devised by Burke to take away from the East India Company all its political power. Accident had entrusted a company of merchants with the management of a mighty empire. The disorders which had attended this system made such a measure highly desirable, but Fox laid himself open to attack when he proposed that India should be ruled by seven commissioners nominated by parliament. The India company denounced his scheme as an infringement of its chartered rights. The king's friends were very indignant at his attack on royal prerogative, and declared that India, if not ruled by the company, should

Fox's India Bill.

be governed, like Britain, by the crown. "If this bill passes," declared Lord Thurlow, the chief of the "king's friends," "the king will take the diadem from his own head and put it on the head of Mr. Fox." Nevertheless, Fox's India Bill easily got through the Commons, and was only stopped in the Lords by an extreme amount of pressure from the king. The House of Lords had now lost its old Whig majority, through the lavish creation of "king's friends" as peers, and rejected the measure. George at once turned the coalition out of office.

34. An extraordinary struggle ensued. Fox had boasted that no one but a madman could venture to form a ministry. But George did not flinch from pursuing his advantage, and called upon young William Pitt to undertake the office of prime minister. Pitt had such difficulties in getting politicians of position to act with him that he could not give a single place of cabinet rank to a member of the House of Commons. He was beaten over and over again, and called upon to resign or dissolve parliament. But he haughtily declared that, as long as he held the king's favour, he would neither give up office nor appeal to the constituencies. Gradually popular opinion began to flow in his favour. His youth, courage, and his father's name all helped him, and, young as he was, he showed remarkable dexterity in the conduct of affairs. The king was altogether on his side, and was now much more popular than in the early years of his reign. Aristocratic feeling was gradually turning towards the Tory policy, and the Tories began to desert North for George. The narrowness of the Whig oligarchy had made it hated, and its unpatriotic action during the late war had brought its reputation to a very low pitch. Even thoroughgoing reformers, like Wilkes, preferred Pitt to the coalition. Gradually Pitt's position became strengthened, and in March, 1784, he felt himself able to risk a general election. The new elections gave him and the king a solid majority, and the constituencies, where the right of voting was most in the hands of the people, were just those which, as a rule, rejected the followers of Fox and North. The king had learnt from the younger Pitt what he would never learn from Chatham. He had at last discovered that the right way to win power was not to strive to fight his people as well as the Whigs, but to put himself at the head of his people against the greedy faction that had so long claimed the sole right of governing the country. Thus the victory of George and Pitt was also the victory of the people. The principles of Chatham

William Pitt's ministry, 1783-1801.

won an easy triumph when allied with the principles of Bolingbroke. For seventeen years Pitt remained chief minister, and at last only gave up office because he had ceased to agree with the king.

35. Pitt was five and twenty years of age when he won his crowning victory. He was tall, thin, stiff in his manner, weak in health, shy and proud, only showing the kinder and brighter sides of his nature to a few intimates. He had but little of his father's genius, but he possessed the tact and business capacity which Chatham had entirely lacked. He was no orator like Chatham, but he was fluent, ready, and impressive as a debater. Though closely bound up with the king, he was too able and too hard-working to become his dependant as North had done. Though the head of a Tory administration, his views were broad and liberal. He had inherited many of his father's views, and advocated parliamentary reform, the relief of the Catholics, the generous treatment of Ireland, the growth of our colonies, trade, and manufactures, and the purification of the administration. His fault was that he was too ready to content himself with making his views known, without taking any vigorous steps to carry them into effect. But there were many difficulties in his way, and he had never quite faith enough in his principles to make the effort to surmount them. Thus he brought forward a *Reform Bill*, but did not pin his faith to it, dropping the measure when he found that the majority of his supporters were unwilling to accept it. In this as in other measures he was hampered by the obstinacy of the king, the subservience of the "king's friends," and the dislike of his Tory followers to alter the laws. But though he made few great changes, he breathed a new spirit into the administration of the country. He reduced expenditure and increased efficiency. He got rid of scandals and put an end to bribery such as the Whigs and George had previously practised. He sought support from the wealthy classes, and was a lavish creator of new peers, believing that all very rich men ought to sit in the House of Lords, and managing after this fashion to encourage the growth of a new Tory aristocracy that made it difficult for the Whigs to win back their old position. He made finance his special care, and devised plans, which were not very successful, for paying off the national debt. He believed in free trade and in the development of our colonies. He made a famous commercial treaty with France, which immensely increased the trade between the two countries. He established the

Character and policy of the younger Pitt.

government of Canada on lines that left the French to themselves and sowed the first seeds of Canadian freedom.

36. Pitt put an end to the worst abuses of the government of India by his *India Act* of 1784, which, though not so thorough as Fox's plan, kept the East India Company in check by setting up a new department of the state called the *Board of Control*, under a president of cabinet rank, whose duty was to supervise all the political acts of the company, while leaving it free to carry on its commerce as it thought proper. The system was a compromise, but it worked fairly well, and lasted until the abolition of the company in 1858. Its success was largely due to the high character and ability of the men selected by king and company to carry out the government of India. A bad result of British interference was the enforced resignation of Warren Hastings in 1784, as a result of Whig attacks, weakly resisted by Pitt. Not content with his fall, the factious Whigs brought charges of oppression and extortion against him. Pitt was horrified at the tales told against Hastings, and gave great offence to the king by supporting the impeachment which was now brought against the great governor-general. The accusations were urged with much eloquence by Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and other Whig leaders, but the majority of them utterly broke down. Though Hastings had committed strong and high-handed acts, he was in no wise guilty of the foul offences which his enemies laid to his charge. The famous trial began in 1788, and after languishing for many years, ended in the much-wronged Hastings' acquittal. During all the proceedings, George III. stoutly upheld Hastings' innocence.

Pitt's India Bill, 1784, and Warren Hastings.

37. Pitt's foreign policy did much to restore for England the position which she had lost during the American War. His commercial treaty with France made our relations much more easy with our traditional enemy. He won back Prussia, which had been opposed to England since 1763, to our alliance, and formed a close league with Prussia, Holland, and some of the northern powers. He was the first English statesman to look with jealousy on the rise of Russia, which, under the great Empress Catharine II., formed designs to destroy the power of Turkey and Sweden, and successfully completed the partition of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia.

Pitt's foreign policy.

38. In 1788 Pitt's position was threatened by the serious illness of the king, who lost his reason so completely that he could not carry on the government. Fox and the Whigs argued that their

ally, the Prince of Wales, had a right to become regent. Pitt maintained the sounder view that parliament had the absolute power of appointing a regent, and proposed to make the prince regent by act of parliament. Luckily the king soon recovered, and his gratitude for Pitt's action made him more closely attached to his minister than ever. Secure of royal favour, master of both houses of parliament, popular with the best of his countrymen, opposed only by a factious and discredited opposition, it looked as if Pitt's power might well endure as long as he lived. The country was peaceful, prosperous, and contented, and rapidly became the chief manufacturing state in Europe. All calculations as to the future were, however, rudely disturbed by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

The regency question, 1788.

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE III.: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE IRISH UNION (1789–1802)

Chief Dates:

1789. Outbreak of the French Revolution.
1793. England declares war against France.
1798. Battle of the Nile; Irish Rebellion.
1799. Napoleon, First Consul.
1800. Union with Ireland.
1801. Resignation of Pitt.
1802. Treaty of Amiens.

1. No event in history has been more gradually prepared for than the *French Revolution*. Even in the great days of Louis XIV., there had been much that was evil in the condition of France. The government was a despotism, but, though the kings had deprived the clergy and the nobles of nearly all share in ruling the state, they still remained privileged orders whose immunities were very burdensome to the mass of the community. Nobles and clergy, for example, paid few direct taxes, and the result of this was that the mass of the national revenue was raised from those who were least able to contribute it. Besides this, many of the peasants were still bound, as in the Middle Ages, to work on their lords' fields, grind their corn at their lords' mills, and mend the highways at their own charges. Though most of the peasants were free, and in many cases owners of the land they tilled, many were still forced to pay all sorts of exactions to the nobles. This was all the more felt as the nobles, having no political power, did nothing in return for what they took from the people. The social exclusiveness of the nobles bore exceptionally hardly on the wealthy and intelligent middle classes who had acquired fortunes by trade. There were the same inequalities in the Church as in the state. A few bishops and abbots derived great incomes from their benefices, while most of the work was done by poverty-stricken parish priests, who suffered almost as many hardships as the peasants to whom they ministered.

France before the Revolution.

2. Under Louis XIV. the French despotism had at least been an efficient one. Things were far otherwise during the long reign of Louis XV. (1715–1774), in which period the French monarchy became hopelessly corrupt and discredited. Louis XV.'s grandson and successor, Louis XVI., though not a bad man, was not intelligent, hard-working, or strong enough to set things right. The failures of France during the American war showed that she was no longer the leading state in Europe. The decay into which the French state had fallen was the more remarkable since France and Frenchmen exercised more influence over the ideas and thought of Europe than they had ever done before. France had long become the centre for the destructive and restless spirit of the eighteenth century. All over Europe men eagerly read the vigorous attacks on the existing order of things which were written by famous French men of letters. Voltaire and his school taught the supremacy of human reason, and attacked all authority and everything that could not give some plain reason for existing. In particular, they were conspicuous for their hostility to the Christian religion, and their influence was so widespread in France that the Church had lost almost all its hold over men's minds, though it was still strong enough to persecute Protestants. An even more powerful influence than Voltaire was Jean Jacques Rousseau, a Genevese settled in France, who preached with religious fervour a new political gospel of the rights of man, and of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He maintained that all government was unlawful that did not depend on the sovereign people.

Voltaire and Rousseau.

3. So widespread was the influence of the French philosophers that intelligent sovereigns in other lands, such as the Emperor Joseph II. and Catharine II. of Russia, reformed their states after French models. It was only in France that there was no attempt to put in practice the teachings of the French reformers. All change was kept off so long that when the movement for reform finally made itself felt, it swept everything before it. At last the government of Louis XVI. fell into such distress that it could only avoid bankruptcy by compelling the privileged orders to bear their share in the national burdens. Too timid to do this himself, Louis XVI. was compelled to summon the *States-General* of France, the body which had the same origin and early history as our parliament, but which had never met since 1614. When the three estates of France assembled on May 5, 1789, the French Revolution began.

The meeting of the States General, 1789.

4. The States-General declared themselves a *National Assembly*, and set to work at once to sweep away all the old institutions of France and build up a new constitution. The leaders of the movement were men of liberal views and much honest zeal for reform, but they had no practical knowledge how to govern a state, and looked for guidance, not to the lessons of history or experience, but to the fine-sounding doctrines of Rousseau. They set up a new constitution which established a limited monarchy, and gave all Frenchmen equal rights. They established religious and civil freedom, and separated the Church from Rome, making it a department of the state. But the new system worked badly from the beginning. As Louis XVI. was always intriguing against it, it was natural that the reformers should cut down his power almost to nothing. The result of this, however, was to make the government too weak to maintain order, and rule soon passed to the Paris mob. Quite early in the movement the people of Paris had shown their power by storming and destroying the *Bastille*, the prison in which political offenders were confined. Later on the mob perpetrated all sorts of atrocities, and forced the king and assembly, which had hitherto sat at Versailles, to go to Paris, where they were no longer free agents. By 1793 the new constitution had broken down, and was superseded by a revolutionary government controlled by the extreme faction, called the *Jacobins*. The king and queen were now tried and beheaded, and a republic established. Priests and aristocrats were hunted down and put to death. The Christian faith was proscribed in favour of the worship of the Supreme Being, and afterwards of the Goddess of Reason. Conspiracies against the Revolution were crushed with merciless severity. This was the period of the *Reign of Terror*.

The new constitution and its failure, 1789–1792.

The Reign of Terror, 1793–1795.

5. Even before Jacobin ascendency and the Reign of Terror had begun, the French Revolution had brought about a general war in Europe. The partisans of the old order in France had emigrated in large numbers, and besought the chief continental sovereigns to fight against the Revolution, because it threatened the whole existing order of society, Church, and state. The emperor and the king of Prussia, to whom they chiefly appealed, were slow to move, and had no wish for war. They enraged the French, however, by issuing a declaration that they would use force to restore Louis XVI. to power, provided that they could obtain the help of the chief states

Europe at war with the Revolution, 1792.

of Europe. The revolutionary leaders in France availed themselves of the indiscretions of the powers to stir up a warlike feeling. They had the faith of zealots in the revolutionary principles, and believed that, if they took up arms against the despots of Europe, they would be welcomed by the peoples whose kings they fought against, and would be able to establish their doctrines everywhere. Early in 1792 France declared war against Austria and Prussia. Thereupon the allies invaded France, but their progress was soon checked by the *cannonade of Valmy*. It was now that the Jacobins became supreme, made France a republic, and put the king to death. The war soon became a war of opinion and ideas. With all their cruelty and fanaticism, the Jacobins were terribly efficient. They not only saved the Revolution in France, but overwhelmed the Austrian Netherlands, Savoy, and Germany as far as the Rhine. Everywhere the soldiers of the Revolution were welcomed as liberators, and a few short campaigns extended the limits of France to the Rhine and the Alps.

England and the French Revolution.

6. At first England showed great sympathy with the French Revolution. Englishmen believed that the French were going to set up a constitutional system like that of England, and hoped that the similarity of government between the two countries would still further increase the good feeling between them which had begun with Pitt's commercial treaty. Pitt himself was friendly to the new movement, and many of his Whig enemies regarded it with unbounded and enthusiastic admiration. Fox, when he heard of the capture of the Bastille, wrote, "How much the greatest event it is that has happened in the world, and how much the best!" Clubs were formed in the large towns to spread revolutionary principles. A new agitation arose for parliamentary reform, and a few extreme men wished to remodel the English government after the fashion of the French. Soon the violence which marked every stage of the French movement began to frighten the more timid. Thoughtful observers perceived that the spirit in which the French worked was better calculated to upset states than to reform them. At last Edmund Burke, the greatest of the Whigs, gave the tone to English public opinion by his famous pamphlet, called *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which was published in November, 1790. In it he showed the great differences between the spirit of the French reformers and the leaders of the English Revolution of 1688. While the latter had limited themselves to correcting abuses in the old constitution,

the French had renounced all their past history, and had suddenly attempted to alter every institution of the nation. With all his wisdom and insight, Burke was violent and one-sided. Before long he broke utterly with Fox, refusing even to be the private friend of a man who retained sympathy with the French. He declared that his last dying words would be, "Fly from the French constitution!" As the excesses of the revolutionary party developed, the great majority of Englishmen followed Burke. A large section of the Whig party deserted Fox, and, in 1794, Pitt admitted some of the Whigs of Burke's school into his government. Henceforth aristocratic influence was dissociated from the Whig policy which it had so long supported. The new Tory aristocracy adhered to George and Pitt in their resistance to revolutionary ideas. The faithful few who still adhered to Fox were powerless in parliament and unpopular in the country. Only in some of the great towns, especially the new factory towns of the north, was there much sympathy with the Revolution.

7. Pitt was not excitable and emotional like Burke, but he gradually came quite round to Burke's way of thinking. Both at home and abroad, fear of the French Revolution profoundly modified his policy. A groundless fear that large numbers of Englishmen wished to imitate the French, drove him into a policy of repression which stood in striking contrast with his old liberal leanings. He ceased to support parliamentary reform, declaring that it was not a time to make hazardous experiments. He suspended the *Habeas Corpus Act;* he put down even lawful agitation with a strong hand; he passed an *Alien Act*, giving the government power to watch or remove suspected foreigners. He put in prison many of the leaders of the political clubs which wished to imitate the French, and strove in vain to get them convicted of treason. Finally, he passed a law which made uttering words against the king's authority to be treason, and exciting hatred against the government and constitution a misdemeanour.

The reaction and Pitt.

8. Despite his fear of the Revolution, Pitt long strove to maintain peace. When France went to war with Austria and Prussia, Burke preached that England also should wage a sort of crusade against the French, as enemies of God and man. Pitt had no wish to draw the sword for an idea, but resented the French interference in English affairs, and finally declared himself willing to fight the French if they invaded the United Provinces,

England joins the war against the Revolution, 1793-1797.

which were closely allied to England. Early in 1793 the French solved all difficulties for him by declaring war against the English and Dutch alike. Even now Pitt did not rightly estimate the gravity of the situation. "It will be a short war," he said, "and certainly ended in one or two campaigns." "It will be a long and dangerous war," was Burke's truer prophecy. In carrying out the struggle, Pitt showed no very great capacity. He joined in the great *coalition* which was formed against the French, and spent in subsidising our allies vast sums which would have been better employed in training British soldiers. He did not know where to strike, and the generals who carried out his policy were often dull and incapable. The result was that the addition of England to the enemies of France made no difference to the general fortune of the war. Nothing could stop the enthusiasm of the Jacobin armies. They defeated George III.'s second son, Frederick, duke of York, a foolish man, and an incompetent general. They conquered all Holland, expelled George's cousin, the Stadtholder, and set up a revolutionary republic in that country. It was to no purpose that Pitt sent expeditions to help revolts that had arisen in France against the Jacobin government. One of these, sent to *Toulon* in 1793, was dislodged from that city by the skill of a young Corsican officer of artillery, named Napoleon Buonaparte, who first showed his conspicuous genius in the conduct of that siege. A larger force, despatched to *Quiberon*, in Brittany, in 1795, was equally unsuccessful. In 1795 Jacobin supremacy was overthrown in France, and a more moderate government, called the *Directory*, was set up. Even before this, Prussia, Spain, and other allies of England were frightened into peace with the victorious republic, and Holland and Spain actually joined the war against England. Affairs now became more critical than ever. In 1796 Buonaparte received his first independent command as general of the army of Italy. In a campaign of unexampled brilliancy and success, he drove the Austrians out of the peninsula, forced them to make a treaty leaving Italy to the French, and arranged for a conference to settle the affairs of Germany. England was thus left single-handed to carry on the struggle against France and her allies.

The suspension of cash payments.

9. Every military enterprise directed by Pitt had failed, and England had only her gold and her ships to rely upon. Now, however, the vast sums lavished by Pitt on untrustworthy allies threw the country into financial difficulties. So much gold had been drained from England that many merchants, though perfectly solvent, could not meet their debts

because there was not enough gold and silver in the country to pay them. This *monetary crisis*, as it was called, was only set right by the Bank of England being authorized by parliament to suspend cash payments. For more than twenty years bank-notes were circulated, though the bank would not exchange them for gold. It shows how little the real credit of the country was touched that the value of bank-notes as compared with gold declined very slightly.

10. In the early years of the war England had been very successful at sea; but when the French had got the help of the Spanish and Dutch fleets, they formed schemes for the invasion of England and Ireland. In 1796 some French managed to land near *Fishguard* in South Wales. Though they surrendered the next day to the local militia, they proved how easy an invasion was. Next year the enemy planned to unite the French and Spanish fleets in the channel, with the view to overthrow our naval supremacy, and thus prepare the way for an invasion on a large scale. To prevent this, Admiral Jervis attacked the Spaniards off *Cape St. Vincent* on February 14, 1797. The English fleet was inferior in size, and the battle was long doubtful. It was at last won by the action of Commodore Nelson, who, on his own responsibility, attacked the Spaniards at close quarters and won a decisive victory. Yet within a few months the righteous discontent of the sailors led to formidable mutinies of the British ships at *Spithead* and the *Nore*. The bad management which had crippled our armies had extended to the navy. Many of the captains were abominable tyrants; the food was unwholesome and bad, the discipline cruel, and the sailors' pay had never been altered since the days of Charles II. After a time, however, both fleets went back to their duty, and, under the popular Admiral Duncan, beat the Dutch off *Camperdown*.

The revolutionary war at sea.

11. The French navy was still unconquered, and fresh schemes of invasion were formed after the peace between France and Austria. One French army was to land in Ireland, which was on the verge of rebellion, while the victorious army of Buonaparte was encamped along the channel in the hope of invading England. This latter scheme was probably little more than a blind to cover an attack on Egypt, which Napoleon had long been meditating. In 1798 the Egyptian expedition took place. On his way Buonaparte took Malta from the Knights of St. John. He then easily conquered Egypt, which he saw to be the key to the East, and the highway to India. There Tipú Sultan, of

Buonaparte in Egypt, 1798.

Mysore, the old enemy of the English, had made an alliance with the French republicans against British ascendency.

12. Buonaparte's head was filled with all sorts of wild schemes. He dreamed of conquering Turkey, of destroying the English power in India, and finally of taking Europe in the rear. Sir Horatio Nelson, the real conqueror at the battle of St. Vincent, now sought to destroy the fleet which had taken Buonaparte to the East. On August 1, 1798, he found the French anchored in *Aboukir Bay*, close in shore, and protected by strong batteries. With great daring he managed to place part of his fleet between the French and the coast. While these vessels attacked the French from within, the remainder of the English fleet assailed them from seaward. The battle, which began at sunset, raged the whole night, and ended in the complete destruction of the French fleet. The *battle of the Nile*, as it was called, established British supremacy over the Mediterranean, and put an end to Buonaparte's visions of Eastern conquest.

The battle of the Nile, 1798.

13. The same period saw the destruction of the French designs for restoring their influence in India. In 1799 the Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India, sent a force which besieged and stormed *Seringapatam*, and Tipú died during the struggle. In the same year Buonaparte left his troops in Egypt to shift for themselves, and escaped to France in a fast cruiser. Troops from India and England now poured into Egypt, and Buonaparte's deserted soldiers were defeated in the battle of Aboukir. Soon after Egypt was evacuated and restored to the Turks.

The Mysore war, 1799.

14. In 1799, while Buonparte was absent in Egypt, the general war had been renewed in Europe. A conference which met to settle German affairs could not agree, whereupon Pitt formed the league called the *Second Coalition*, of which Austria, Russia, and England were the chief members. In one year's fighting France lost nearly all the conquests which she had gained during the revolutionary wars, and was threatened with invasion. At that moment Buonaparte came back on the scene. In 1799 he put an end to the Directory by force of arms, and drew up a new constitution, by which he was made First Consul with almost unlimited powers, and the sovereignty of the people reduced to a sham. The Revolution thus culminated in a military despotism, and the greatest of the soldiers of the Revolution, like another Cæsar or Cromwell, became master of the state. The French were now so tired of change that they welcomed

The war of the Second Coalition, 1799-1801.

the Corsican's accession to power, and Buonaparte's magnificent energy and ability won for him a remarkable series of successes. He persuaded the Tsar Paul of Russia to abandon the coalition. He crossed the Alps, and crushed the Austrians at the *battle of Marengo*, June 14, 1800, a victory which restored French supremacy in Italy. Despairing of further resistance, Austria made the *treaty of Lunéville* with France, by which it recognized all French conquests, including the Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine.

Battle of Marengo, 1800, and the treaty of Lunéville, 1801.

15. England was then again forced to fight single-handed against France. Her danger became more extreme since Paul I., the half-mad tsar, manifested a great friendship for Buonaparte, and in 1801 stirred up against England an *Armed Neutrality* of the northern powers, conspicuous among which were Sweden, Denmark, and Russia. As in the days of the previous Armed Neutrality of 1780, the northern powers did not directly declare war against England, but announced their refusal to be bound by the claims of England to search neutral vessels with the object of finding French goods. To meet this new foe a fleet was sent to the Baltic, though pedantic regard to seniority gave the chief command to a commonplace admiral named Parker, under whom Nelson was to act as second. The English attacked the Danish fleet and batteries in the *battle of Copenhagen*. Parker grew alarmed when the Danes resisted obstinately, and ordered Nelson to retire. Nelson disregarded his superior's commands, and went on fighting until he had won the day. Copenhagen was now open to the English attack, and the Danes were forced to make an armistice. About the same time the Tsar Paul was murdered, and his successor, Alexander I., dropped the principle that the flag covers the cargo. Thus the Armed Neutrality came to an end, and with it Buonaparte's last hope of overthrowing the naval supremacy of England.

The Armed Neutrality and the battle of Copenhagen.

16. There was now little left for England and France to fight about. Buonaparte was supreme on land, and could do what he liked with the European powers. England, however, was supreme at sea, and Nelson had frustrated all the French attacks on our ships, colonies, and commerce. Both countries were exhausted by the long struggle, and Buonaparte himself wished for a short period of repose, during which he could build up his despotic power.

The Addington ministry, 1801, and the treaty of Amiens, 1802.

Negotiations were accordingly begun, and their progress was made easier by the resignation of Pitt, who had offended George III., and gave up office in the spring of 1801. Nearly all the able ministers went out with their chief, and Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons, a dull and incapable man, made up what sort of government he could with the rank and file of the Tory party. Addington, in his anxiety to end the war, did not trouble himself about the balance of power in Europe. In March, 1802, he concluded peace with the French in the *treaty of Amiens*. By it England abandoned most of the conquests she had made from France and her allies beyond sea, though Spain gave up Trinidad, and Holland, now called the Batavian republic, surrendered Ceylon. Malta, which after Nelson's victory had been taken from the French, was to be restored to its former owners, the Knights of St. John.

17. The wars against the French Revolution were thus, like the Revolution itself, at an end, though not before the old state of society had been shattered and the old political balance of Europe completely overthrown by the First Consul of France. England had struggled bravely and constantly, though with little intelligence. Under Pitt she had weathered the storm of revolutionary action, but had paid a heavy price by losing much of her liberty and suffering much distress from high prices and heavy war taxes. If she had escaped revolution at home, the chief reason was not to be found in Pitt's repressive policy, but in the fact that the people of England were after all much better off than the people in France, and were therefore much less tempted to advocate violent changes than the French had been.

The pilot that weathered the storm.

18. During the whole war against the French Revolution, Britain's position had been further imperilled by the discontent and distress of Ireland. Since 1782 Ireland had possessed a parliament independent of imperial control. But the Irish parliament, though more powerful since Grattan's reforms, remained an exclusively Protestant parliament, and represented only the Protestant minority. However, it did much better than before 1782, and in particular it repealed many of the worst laws which had oppressed Roman Catholics since the Revolution of 1688. Yet even the Protestants were not all satisfied with what had been done. Some of them, including Grattan, wished to see the Catholic gentry sitting in parliament, and in this Pitt agreed with the Irish leader. Others, however, refused to give any

Ireland under Grattan's Parliament, 1782-1800.

political power to the Catholics, seeing that if it were once conceded Ireland would soon fall under their control. The Catholic question soon broke up the unity of the Irish Protestants. The eloquence of its orators gave distinction to the Dublin parliament, but its members were factious and quarrelsome. No attempt was made to deal with the real root of Irish trouble, the miserable poverty of the mass of the peasantry. Moreover, the government of Ireland was still controlled by the English ministry, and the system of bribery and jobbery was still continued in order to keep a majority of the Dublin parliament supporters of the king's representatives.

19. The outbreak of the French Revolution soon complicated the Irish situation. Among the Presbyterians of Ulster and the freethinkers of the great towns revolutionary ideas won many supporters, and in 1791 Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant lawyer, set up a society called the *United Irishmen*. Its professed object was to join together Irishmen of all creeds and classes to agitate for parliamentary reform and complete Catholic emancipation. Its leaders, however, soon looked beyond these aims towards asserting the complete independence of Ireland from the English connection, and their methods were largely borrowed from those of the French Revolution, for which they expressed the warmest admiration. In opposition to the United Irishmen, the extreme Protestants formed clubs, called *Orange Lodges*, in memory of William of Orange. From this they derived their name of *Orangemen*.

The United Irishmen and the French Revolution.

20. Between the revolutionaries and the bigots stood the Catholic party, representing the mass of Irishmen. The Catholics' position was a strong one, since Pitt and Grattan sympathized with them, and the United Irishmen bade heavily for their help. As a rule, however, only the educated Catholics looked to the government for support, while the ignorant masses fell blindly into the plans of the United Irishmen. Unluckily, the government had no settled policy. Sometimes the liberal instincts of Pitt prevailed, as in 1793, when the *great Catholic Relief Act* was passed, which gave the Roman Catholics a vote at elections without the right of being returned members. In 1794 Pitt appointed Lord Fitzwilliam, one of the new Whig ministers, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and a further attempt was made to conciliate the Catholics. But Fitzwilliam's zeal for purity and reform frightened every place-hunter in Ireland, and a loud outcry was raised against

The Relief Act of 1793, and the government of Fitzwilliam, 1794.

him. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, the Irish chancellor, persuaded George III. that he would break his coronation oath if he permitted the Catholics to sit in Parliament. Fitzwilliam was recalled; Grattan's Reform Bill was rejected; and the failure of the moderates left the way open to the United Irishmen.

21. Tone and his associates now prepared for revolution. Their first idea was to get the French to send a fleet and army to Ireland, but the victories of Nelson and Jervis prevented much danger of invasion, and forced the United Irishmen to fall back upon local resources. In 1798 civil war broke out, but, despite the revolutionary aims of the leaders, they found their following almost exclusively in the Catholic peasantry, and nearly all Protestants united to uphold their ascendency and the English connection. The vigour of the Government prevented a rising in Ulster, and the prompt arrest of the leaders deprived the rising of its natural chiefs. There was, however, a formidable struggle in Leinster, where a great army of peasants took the field, under the leadership of some of their priests. For some time the insurgents held nearly all Wexford, but at last General Lake stormed their camp at *Vinegar Hill*, near Enniscorthy. After this the rebel army broke up into small bands, which gradually melted away. The revolt was soon put down so completely that when, a few months later, a considerable French force managed to land in Connaught, very few dared join it, and it was soon forced to surrender. Unluckily, the triumphant Protestants avenged themselves on the defeated Catholics by atrocities equally cruel and far more widely spread. The lack of regular troops forced the government to make large use of the Protestant yeomanry in putting down the rebellion, and most of the worst misdeeds were due to their bigotry and spirit of revenge.

The rebellion of 1798.

22. Pitt sent Lord Cornwallis, formerly general of the English army in America, to Ireland as lord-lieutenant. His task was to prevent the Irish of the two factions from attacking each other, and he soon convinced himself that Ireland could only be justly ruled by men free from the prejudices of either party. He held that the rebellion had proved the failure of the rule of the Protestant minority, and that the true solution of the difficulty lay in the parliamentary Union of Ireland with Great Britain. Pitt cordially agreed with him, and sought to make the Roman Catholics favourable to this scheme by proposing to combine with the Union a plan of complete Catholic emancipation, by which Roman Catholics were to be admitted into parliament

Pitt's Irish policy.

and suffered to hold office under the State. Pitt so far succeeded that the chief opposition to his plans came from the Protestants, who still controlled the parliament at Dublin. To them the Union meant the loss of all their privileges, and, headed by Grattan, they bitterly opposed Pitt's proposals. The only way to carry the Act of Union through the Irish parliament was by buying off the owners of rotten boroughs by heavy compensation, and by lavishing titles, pensions, and even direct bribes on all members who were willing to sell their votes for a consideration. The corrupt Irish parliament was brought round by this policy to pass the measure in 1800. It had already been easily got through the parliament at Westminster.

23. By the *Act of Union* the separate Irish parliament was abolished. Instead of this, four Irish bishops and twenty-eight temporal peers were to sit in the House of Lords for the United Kingdom, while one hundred members of the House of Commons, two for each shire, the rest for the boroughs, were henceforth to represent Ireland at Westminster. Absolute freedom of trade between Great Britain and Ireland was established. The Irish Church and army were united to those of England, but the separate law courts, the lord-lieutenancy, and a distinct executive government were retained.

The Union, 1800.

24. Pitt now prepared to fulfil his promises to the Irish Catholics by laying before the cabinet a plan for *Catholic emancipation*. One of his colleagues betrayed his intention to the king, and plied the monarch with arguments against it. George had already been convinced by Fitzgibbon that it was impossible for him to accept the policy, and declared, "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes such a measure." Thereupon Pitt brought his suggestions before George, declaring that he must resign if they were not accepted. George vainly endeavoured to persuade him to say nothing more about them. Pitt's answer to this was to offer to resign. This event was delayed by George being driven by the excitement produced by the crisis into another fit of insanity. On his speedy recovery, Pitt, out of pure compassion, informed the bewildered king that he would not trouble him with further advice on the Catholic question. England was still engaged in her life-and-death struggle against Napoleon, and Pitt saw that it was even more important to keep George in health and courage than to set free the Catholics. Then, in March, 1801, he laid down the seals of office. His resignation was another triumph of the indomitable will of George III. It weakened the

Failure of Catholic emancipation and resignation of Pitt, 1801.

administration at a period of difficulty, and soon destroyed the hopes that had been formed as to the results of the Irish Union. This measure, unaccompanied by emancipation, resulted in effect in a prolongation of Protestant ascendency in Ireland, and a continuance of the legitimate grievances of the Catholics. Inevitably the Catholics resented the trickery by which their support of the measure had been won. They grew more disgusted with the Union than the Protestants had ever been, and were henceforward its chief enemies. The result was that the one-sided Union failed either to conciliate Ireland or promote its prosperity. The blame of this was, however, due, not to Pitt, but to George III.

CHAPTER V

GEORGE III. AND NAPOLEON (1802-1820)

Chief Dates:

1803. Renewal of war with France; battle of Assaye.
1804. Pitt's second ministry.
1805. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz.
1806. Death of Pitt and Fox.
1807. Treaty of Tilsit; beginning of the long Tory rule.
1808. Battle of Vimiero; beginning of the Peninsular War.
1809. Battles of Wagram and Talavera.
1810. Battle of Busaco.
1811. Regency established; battles of Fuentes de Oñoro and Albuera.
1812. Battle of Salamanca; failure of Napoleon's Russian campaign; war with America.
1813. Battles of Leipzig and Vitoria.
1814. First fall of Napoleon.
1815. Battle of Waterloo and final fall of Napoleon; Peace of Paris and Congress of Vienna.
1819. The Manchester massacre.
1820. Death of George III.

1. The treaty of Amiens was little more than a truce. Though the English looked forward to a long period of repose, a permanent peace was no part of the designs of the First Consul of France. All that Buonaparte wanted was a short breathing-time while he built up his great fabric of despotism. But he soon fancied himself so strong that he became indifferent as to England's action. He had now made his peace with the pope by the *Concordat*, which restored the Roman Catholic Church in France, and enabled Buonaparte to pose as the protector of religion, which had been almost overthrown by the Jacobins. Already he began to make fresh aggressions on the continent. He seized Piedmont and Parma, and sent his troops to occupy Switzerland. No continental power ventured to oppose him, for Alexander of Russia was his ally, and Germany was plunged into confusion. The treaty of Lunéville had necessitated the reconstitution of the whole of Germany, and Austria and Prussia were angrily quarrelling as to their share of the plunder.

The rupture of the treaty of Amiens, 1803.

Secure on the continent, the First Consul took up a high line with England. He had not forgiven her for frustrating his plans in Egypt, and he was shrewd enough to see that his European position could not be secure so long as she retained the command of the sea. He was anxious to recover the lost French colonies, to increase the maritime commerce of France, and to make its navy the first in the world. England, and England only, stood in the way of the accomplishment of these objects, and Buonaparte thought that his commanding position made it desirable for him to attack her as soon as possible, since there was little immediate prospect of her winning any continental allies. Accordingly, he took every opportunity of picking a quarrel with England. He complained that the royalist emigrants settled in England were libelling him in a newspaper which they published in London. He demanded the expulsion of the Bourbon princes, and angrily resented the refusal of the English to carry out the treaty of Amiens by the evacuation of Malta. He took up so offensive an attitude that even the weak government of Addington felt that it had no alternative but to renew hostilities. In May, 1803, Britain declared war against France, less than fourteen months after the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

The Napoleonic War, 1803-1814.

2. The war lasted without a break from 1803 to 1814. It was fought for very different objects to those which England had fought for from 1793 to 1802. It was waged to maintain the balance of power and the liberties of Europe, which were threatened by the despot who had already put down the freedom of his adopted country. During this long period there were many changes on the continent. The never-ceasing aggressions of Napoleon compelled the continental powers on several occasions to draw the sword against him. In no case could they resist him for any length of time. His military genius easily enabled him to overthrow their armies, and their subjects were indifferent to their defeat, even welcoming the French conquerors as the apostles of the ideas of the revolution. With England, however, Buonaparte had to fight, not only against the government, but against the whole people. It was England which first taught the conqueror of so many governments how hard it was to conquer a nation. Gradually, as his designs became clearer, England succeeded in rousing the continent to defeat his designs of universal monarchy. It was natural that Napoleon should manifest an extraordinary hatred against the one state which successfully blocked his march towards the monarchy of the world.

3. Buonaparte wished to end the war rapidly by pouring an army of overwhelming force into England. He collected all his available troops along the north coast of France, and filled every harbour from Antwerp to Le Havre with a fleet of flat-bottomed boats, with which he hoped to carry what he called the army of England over the Channel. He took up his headquarters at Boulogne, and waited for an opportunity of evading the English fleet and invading the country. At the same time he sought to distract English attention by stirring up trouble within her own empire. The attack began in Ireland, where in July, 1803, Robert Emmet, brother of one of the rebel leaders of 1798, was incited by Buonaparte to attempt a rising in Dublin, hoping that the disappointment felt among the Irish Catholics at the failure of Catholic emancipation would make the disturbances general. Emmet's attempt failed. All that he could do was to provoke a riot in Dublin, during which the mob murdered the chief justice of Ireland. The disturbances were put down, and Emmet was taken and hanged.

Emmet's rebellion, 1803.

4. Buonaparte was more successful in India, where he stirred up the warlike Maráthás to resist the English power. The Marquis Wellesley, who had already frustrated a similar alliance between revolutionary France and Tipú of Mysore, was still governor-general, and took prompt measures to defeat the Maráthás clans. He despatched two armies against the chiefs of the Maráthá states. One of these, which operated in the south, was commanded by the governor-general's younger brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had just shown, in a subordinate position during the Mysore war, his great qualities as a general. In 1803 Wellesley won two brilliant victories, at *Assaye* and *Argaum*, over the southern army of the Maráthás; while General Lake, who operated in the north, conquered Delhi, and released the descendant of the Mahommedan emperors from his dependence on the Maráthá confederacy. The Maráthá lords were forced to make peace, to dismiss the French officers sent to train their soldiers, and to surrender large portions of their territory. The governor-general concluded with them, the puppet emperor of Delhi, and other Indian chieftains, *subsidiary treaties*, which bound them to formal vassalage to the East India Company. By his enormous annexations of territory, the Marquis Wellesley established for the first time the direct rule of Britain over vast tracts of Indian territory. By his system of subsidiary treaties he extended the

Wellesley establishes British supremacy in India, 1798-1805.

The subsidiary treaties.

British power over the most formidable of the native states. After Warren Hastings, he is the second founder of our Indian empire. Like Hastings, he found his services little appreciated. The Whigs denounced his subsidiary system, and the directors of the company disliked to have so much responsibility and cost forced upon them. He was recalled in 1805, but nothing could destroy the fruits of his triumphs, and, all against its will, the company was forced by irresistible facts to rule half India and be suzerain of the rest.

5. In England the Addington ministry was quite incompetent to meet the national danger involved in Napoleon's threats of invasion. A great cry arose for the return of Pitt to power, and not even the king's friendship could keep Addington long in office. In May, 1804, he had to give way to Pitt, who thought that, in the face of the enemy, his duty was to save the state rather than bewilder the half-mad king with advice on the Catholic question. Pitt thought that at this period of national peril a broad ministry should be formed, in which all parties could unite for the defence of the country. His plan was, however, frustrated, because the king absolutely refused to give office to Fox, the Whig leader. Pitt made no heroic attempt to struggle against the king's will. He gave up Fox as he had given up the Catholics, and built up a ministry out of his Tory followers. Before long, Addington himself joined the government, and was made Lord Sidmouth. Fox almost justified the king's action by his factious opposition to the government, and by his fatuous belief in the benevolence and pacific wishes of Buonaparte.

Pitt's second ministry, 1804-1806.

6. Pitt restored confidence by his zeal in meeting the threatened invasion. As soon as the war began, a great volunteer movement had broken out, and more than three hundred thousand Englishmen joined in it. Pitt now encouraged the volunteers, and strengthened the army and navy. Nearly every step he took was bitterly opposed by Fox and his followers.

The volunteer movement.

7. In May, 1804, Buonaparte declared himself Napoleon I., emperor of the French. For more than a year his "army of England" had waited with no results on the coast of the Channel, and the invasion seemed further off than ever. It became clear that his original scheme of evading the English fleet was impracticable. The English command of the seas was so complete that there was no chance of the French slipping over the Channel. Gradually Napoleon realized that the only way

The army of England and the supremacy of the seas, 1804-1805.

of conquering England was to defeat the English fleet. As the French alone were not strong enough to do this, Napoleon forced his dependent, Charles IV. of Spain, to build a great navy and add it to that of France. Pitt got early intelligence of the Spanish scheme, and declared war against Charles IV. in December, 1804. Immense efforts were now made to collect all the Spanish and French men-of-war in the Channel in order to overpower the English by their numbers. It was, however, very difficult to effect this, as the chief French fleets were in port at Brest and Toulon, blockaded by superior English squadrons, and the Spaniards were mostly at Cadiz. A first step towards the concentration of the enemy's fleet was, however, accomplished when the Toulon fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, took advantage of a storm to escape from that port, joined the Spaniards at Cadiz, and then sailed with them to the West Indies. Nelson, who commanded the British Mediterranean fleet, pursued Villeneuve to the West Indies. But when he got there, Villeneuve had already sailed back to Europe, and strove to liberate the French squadrons in the Atlantic ports. He was frustrated in this by Admiral Calder, who engaged with him in a hard-fought, though indecisive, battle off *Cape Finisterre*. Not long after, Villeneuve was again at Cadiz, and conscious that his plans had failed.

8. In October, 1805, Nelson again sailed to Spain, and Napoleon ordered Villeneuve to take the sea against him. On October 21 the fleets met off *Cape Trafalgar*. Nelson had twenty-seven ships of the line to meet the thirty-three of the French and Spaniards. Villeneuve arranged his ships in a single line, which gradually drifted into the form of a crescent. Nelson divided his into two columns, one commanded by himself and the other by Collingwood. He hoped to attack with both at once, and so break the enemy's line in two places (see chart on page 606). Both divisions succeeded in this manœuvre, and a deadly struggle between ships almost interlocking each other followed. Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*, which led the weather line of attack, suffered terribly, and the admiral himself was struck down by a musket-ball from a neighbouring ship. He lived long enough to know that a decisive victory had been obtained. Henceforth the command of the seas remained until the end of the war absolutely in English hands. For nine years no enemy's fleet ventured to leave port against the English; all fears of invasion were at an end, and Britain could safely defy the master of Europe.

Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.

9. The battle of Trafalgar was the more remarkable since it

came at the moment of Napoleon's completest triumph on land. Early in 1805 Pitt's diplomacy had triumphed over the jealousies of the powers, and a *Third Coalition* of England, Russia, Austria, Naples, and Sweden was formed against France. The "army of England" had now something better to do than wait idly in its camp at Boulogne for the success of the French fleet. With admirable promptitude Napoleon hurried his troops from the Channel to southern Germany, hoping to attack Austria before she was ready. On December 2, 1805, he won a decisive victory on the snow-covered plain of *Austerlitz*, and forced Austria to accept the humiliating *peace of Pressburg*, which gave him the supremacy over both Italy and Germany. Napoleon then set up a ring of dependent kingdoms round his mighty empire. He already ruled northern and central Italy as king of Italy, and he now put his brother Joseph into the kingdom of Naples, from which he expelled the Bourbons. Other brothers of Napoleon became kings of Holland and Westphalia, the nucleus of the latter kingdom being George III.'s Hanoverian dominions. The smaller German states became Napoleon's abject dependents, and were combined in the *Confederation of the Rhine*, of which he was the protector. It was now that the ruler of Austria gave up his vain title of Roman emperor, and called himself *Emperor of Austria*.

The Third Coalition and its failure, 1805-1806.

10. The collapse of the coalition was a fatal blow to Pitt. Trafalgar was very little consolation for Austerlitz and Pressburg. Though England was saved, the continent was at Napoleon's feet, and the balance of power utterly destroyed. On January 23, 1806, the great minister died, exclaiming with his dying breath, "Oh, my country, how I leave my country!" It was impossible to keep his cabinet together without him, and the plan of a broad ministry, which he had previously advocated, was at last realized after his death. George III. was forced to accept Fox as secretary of state, while Pitt's cousin, Lord Grenville, who had long been Fox's ally, became first lord of the treasury. Whigs, Tories, and "king's friends" all had their share in the new government, for, though Pitt's chief followers abandoned office, room was found even for Lord Sidmouth. This comprehensive cabinet was called the *Ministry of all the Talents*.

Death of Pitt, 1806.

Ministry of all the Talents, 1806-1807.

11. Fox had professed as much admiration for Napoleon as he had formerly showed for the French Revolution. He had denounced the war as unnecessary, and now attempted to negotiate

for peace with the French emperor. Bitter experience soon taught him that Pitt had been right and he had been wrong. Napoleon refused to make peace on reasonable terms, and even Fox saw that the war must be continued. However, on September 13, Fox died, worn out, like Pitt, and humiliated by failure. His last measure was the congenial task of pledging parliament to put an end to the brutal and degrading slave trade. The act abolishing the slave trade was passed in 1807, after his death.

Death of Fox, 1806.

12. In 1807 the Grenville ministry resigned on the *Catholic question*. The Union had joined together the English and Irish armies, and in the latter the Irish Catholics could hold rank up to that of colonel. Grenville now proposed that English Catholic officers should have the same rights which already belonged to Irish Catholic officers. This at once aroused George's undying prejudices. He accused the ministers of indirectly aiming at the removal of the Catholic disabilities, and frightened them into dropping their scheme. The ministers, however, drew up a minute in which they declared in general terms their right to give the king advice on any matter. "I must be the Protestant king of a Protestant country, or no king," said George, and demanded the withdrawal of the minute. On the ministers' refusal, he turned them out of office.

The resignation of Grenville, 1807.

13. This was the last and the greatest of George's triumphs. Henceforth he kept the Whigs out of power, and to the end of his reign the Tories alone held office. The divisions of the Tories gave the extreme section the preponderance in power. From 1807 to 1809 the nominal prime minister was the duke of Portland, who had previously been prime minister of the coalition ministry of 1783. Under the duke, Pitt's chief disciples, Canning and Castlereagh, held important posts. In 1809, however, Canning and Castlereagh quarrelled and Portland died. A reactionary ministry, in which the Pittites sat without controlling it, was now formed under Spencer Perceval. He retained office until 1812, when he was murdered by a madman in the lobby of the House of Commons. He was succeeded by Lord Liverpool, who remained at the head of affairs till 1827. Before this last change, George III. became permanently insane, and the prince of Wales was appointed *Prince Regent* early in 1811. The regent had hitherto professed great friendship for the Whigs, and George III. had raised the royal power to such a height that the new ruler might easily have recalled his allies to

The long Tory rule, 1807-1830.

office. The regent was, however, a weak and selfish man, and had supported the Whigs to annoy his father rather than because he agreed with them. As ruler he took up all his father's prejudices, including even George III.'s strong views about Catholic emancipation. The result of this was that the insanity of the king made no difference in the administration of the kingdom.

14. The war against Napoleon absorbed the chief energy of the nation. After Fox's abortive attempt at peace, active operations were renewed, but the Grenville ministry frittered away its resources in petty expeditions, which, even when successful, had no effect on the general course of affairs. The Tory governments which succeeded Grenville showed more perseverance but not more intelligence. They knew nothing of continental feeling, continued the wasteful policy of small expeditions, showed no insight in the choice of generals, and manifested jealousy against the able men who served the country in the field. Their only merit was that they kept fighting away against Napoleon in a sort of bull-dog fashion, and triumphed in the end by sheer pertinacity.

The conduct of the war.

15. Napoleon carried everything before him on the continent. After Austerlitz, Prussia went to war against him, but on October 14, 1806, the Prussian army was crushed at *Jena*, and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. Russia alone now remained in the field, and a fierce and bloody campaign was fought between Napoleon and Russia, until the genius of the Corsican once more triumphed in the *battle of Friedland*. In 1807 the Tsar Alexander abandoned his allies and made the *treaty of Tilsit* with Napoleon, by which they divided Europe between them. Napoleon strengthened his ascendency over the west by reducing Prussia to a petty state, and Alexander took what lands he could get from the Swedes and the Turks. It was now that Finland was filched from Sweden and annexed to Russia. From 1807 to 1812 the alliance of Napoleon and Alexander continued.

The treaty of Tilsit, 1807.

16. After these fresh triumphs, Napoleon renewed his attempts against England. His plan was now to ruin the English by cutting off their trade with the continent. With this object he devised what was called the *Continental System*, by which he declared all the British Islands in a state of blockade, forbade any of his dependents or allies to trade with them, confiscated all British goods, and seized upon every English subject he could catch. Even neutral vessels, which

The Continental System.

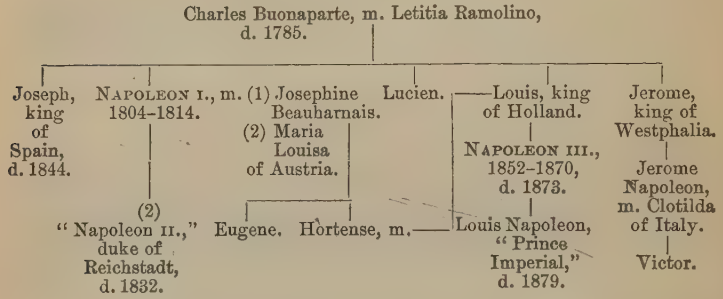
touched at British ports, were declared liable to capture. Henceforth he made the acceptance of the continental system the condition of his friendship. England retaliated with effect by issuing *Orders in Council*, which forbade all trade with France and her dependencies, and still further diminished the rights of neutral powers. So powerful was Britain now at sea that she could do much more harm to the trade of the continent than it could inflict on British trade. Before the war was over, Britain had swept the commercial navies of her enemies off the sea, had seriously damaged the maritime position of the neutral powers, notably of the United States of America, and had secured for herself a practical monopoly of the carrying trade of the world. In 1807 she seized the Danish fleet, and kept it until the peace, because she had good reason for knowing that Napoleon was preparing to employ it against her. She captured at her leisure the colonies of France, Spain, and Holland, and thus built up a new colonial system for herself which compensated for the loss of America. She did not even lose her trade with the continent, for colonial produce and many manufactured articles could be obtained only from the English. A vast system of smuggling grew up, whereby British products were introduced into Napoleon's empire. Nothing was more fatal to Napoleon than this continental system. The high prices of commodities, and the dislocation of trade which flowed from it, did much to stir up hatred of his rule among his subjects.

17. After Tilsit, Portugal, the old and faithful ally of England, stood almost alone in rejecting the continental system. Thereupon Napoleon sent a French army under General Junot to Portugal. It easily occupied the country, and drove the Portuguese government to take refuge in Brazil. In annexing Portugal, Napoleon had the help of his ally, Charles IV. of Spain. Charles, an incompetent and worthless king, was on very bad terms with his heir, the Infant Ferdinand. At last father and son both appealed to Napoleon, who, in 1808, forced them both to abdicate their rights. In their stead Napoleon made his brother, Joseph, king of Naples, king of Spain. This was perhaps the worst blunder that Napoleon ever made. Hitherto Spain had quietly followed his lead, but the Spaniards bitterly resented the emperor's claim to bestow their throne at his will, and a popular rising soon set the whole peninsula on fire. For the first time on the continent Napoleon had roused a whole nation against him. Though the Spanish insurrectionary government was weak and turbulent,

The Spanish rising against Napoleon, 1808.

though its armies were mutinous, ill-provided, and miserably led, the French could only hold the ground on which they were encamped. Every Spanish peasant took arms, and every French straggler was mercilessly cut off. In a few months a French army nearly twenty thousand strong was forced to capitulate to the Spaniards at *Baylen*, Joseph Buonaparte was driven from Madrid, and the emperor, who ruled Germany and Italy without trouble, found all his plans frustrated by the heroic resistance of the Spanish people.

THE BUONAPARTE FAMILY


Charles Buonaparte, m. Letitia Ramolino, d. 1785.
Joseph, king of Spain, d. 1844.
Napoleon I., 1804–1814.
(1) Josephine Beauharnais.
(2) Maria Louisa of Austria.
Lucien.
Louis, king of Holland.
Napoleon III., 1852–1870, d. 1873.
Louis Napoleon, "Prince Imperial," d. 1879.
Jerome, king of Westphalia.
Jerome Napoleon, m. Clotilda of Italy.
Victor.
(2) "Napoleon II.," duke of Reichstadt, d. 1832.
Eugene.
Hortense, m.

18. Since Tilsit, England had been fighting Napoleon single-handed. The resistance of the peninsula to Napoleon now gave us once more continental allies, and an opportunity to assail the enemy by land as well as by sea. The greatest enthusiasm was expressed in England for the heroic Spaniards, but the government was exceedingly slow in taking advantage of the chance which it now had. At last a small force was sent to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley, the hero of the Maráthá war. Wellesley's operations at once showed that he was as competent to deal with a European as with an Oriental enemy. He wisely kept his troops together, and struck a decisive blow as soon as he could. On August 21 he completely defeated Junot at the *battle of Vimiero*. At the moment of the engagement, however, Wellesley was superseded in his command by the arrival of an incompetent senior officer, Sir Harry Burrard. Burrard stopped all pursuit of the enemy, and showed so little vigour that Junot recovered his strength and began to negotiate. A few days later the *convention of Cintra*

Arthur Wellesley's conquest of Portugal, 1808.

was signed between the two forces, by which Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal if his whole army and his arms were shipped over to France. Thus was Portugal cleared of the French, but people at home thought that Junot had been let off too easily, and were very angry at the favourable terms granted to him.

19. Later in 1808 Sir John Moore became commander in the peninsula. His force was strengthened, and he was instructed to march through Portugal to the Ebro, and unite with the Spanish armies. It was, however, too late for Moore to act with safety. Alarmed at the disasters of Baylen and Cintra, Napoleon himself went to Spain, and mustered all his available troops in a desperate effort to crush the national movement. The Spanish armies crumbled away before the genius and the superior forces of the emperor. Early in December Napoleon entered Madrid in triumph. His victory was fatal to the advance of Moore, who had already reached Salamanca. On learning the defeat of the Spaniards, the English general's only hope was in a hasty retreat to the sea. Napoleon hurried after him, but Moore moved still faster, over bad mountain roads, amid the storms and snows of winter. His troops became demoralized, disorderly, and mutinous. Though other business now took away Napoleon from Spain, one of the best of his marshals, General Soult, continued to pursue the retreating British. Moore managed to make his way to Coruña by January 10, 1809, only to find that the fleet, which he expected would be there to take him home, had not yet arrived. Thus driven to bay, Moore was forced to fight against Soult the *battle of Coruña*. The English general was slain in the battle, but the French were beaten off. But the ships had now come up, and the only result of the victory was that it gave a safe embarkation to Moore's army.

The failure of Sir John Moore. 1808-1809.

20. Napoleon had hurried away from Spain because Austria had again taken up arms. His tyranny had already begun to do its work in Germany, and there were signs that the Germans, like the Spaniards, were eager to throw off his yoke. Even the Austrian court was inspired with some touch of a patriotic spirit, and Napoleon found a much harder task before him than in the days of Austerlitz and Jena.

The war between France and Austria, 1809.

21. The extension of the war from Spain to Austria gave Britain a unique opportunity. Vigorous efforts were made, and an army of over two hundred thousand regulars was enrolled. Unluckily, the ministers did not know what to do with this great force.

They chose to send a large portion of it to attack Antwerp, whose fortifications were impregnable, and which lay in a district well affected to the French emperor. To make matters worse, the command of this army was given to Pitt's elder brother, the second earl of Chatham, who was a thoroughly incompetent commander. Chatham got no further than the island of *Walcheren*, in Zeeland, amidst whose unhealthy swamps his troops soon lost their health and vigour. When fever had swept away thousands of soldiers, the expedition was abandoned in despair. Nothing was done to stimulate the national movement in Germany, which was soon crushed by Napoleon. On July 6 the emperor won a great victory over the Austrians at *Wagram*, and forced them to make peace. He had triumphed at every point, and was now stronger than ever.

Walcheren and Wagram, 1809.

22. The only wise thing done by the English ministers in 1809 was to appoint Arthur Wellesley to the supreme command in the peninsula. Wellesley was now master of Portugal, and was busily engaged in creating an effective Portuguese army. Had the troops wasted at Walcheren been entrusted to his direction, he might easily have driven the French out of Spain. As it was, he had less than twenty thousand English under his command. Nevertheless, he boldly marched into the heart of the peninsula, hoping to maintain himself there with the help of the Spaniards. He found to his disgust that the Spaniards were of little use to him, and that he had to depend altogether upon his own troops. Soult, who was still at the head of the French, formed a skilful plan of occupying the ground between Wellesley and Portugal, while King Joseph lured him further into Spain. Wellesley nearly fell into the trap, but was saved by Joseph preferring to risk a battle rather than lose Madrid. On July 28 Wellesley defeated Joseph's army at the *battle of Talavera*, a victory towards which the Spaniards contributed nothing. Wellesley did not venture to pursue, and only escaped from Soult by a roundabout march over the hills, which was as fatal to the discipline of his troops as the retreat of Moore to Coruña. Yet the brilliance of his victory broke the prestige of the French army, and gave Wellesley so strong a position that the government was afraid to supersede him. He was now raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington of Talavera.

The battle of Talavera, 1809.

23. After the pacification of Germany, Napoleon poured all his available troops into the peninsula. The incapable ministry left Wellington to shift for himself, and the factious opposition

EUROPE
in 1810
(At the height of
Napoleon's power)
French Empire
Lands directly ruled by Napoleon.
Vassal States
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
TURKEY
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
FRANCE
Tilsit
Friedland
Copenhagen
Berlin
Grand Duchy of Warsaw
Austerlitz
Pressburg
Vienna
Heligoland
Camperdown
Walcheren
Waterloo
Jena
Leipzig
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Wagram
Hohenlinden
Munich
BAVARIA
Illyrian Prov.
Ionian Islands (French)
Malta
Vinegar Hill
Fishguard
Spithead
Boulogne
Amiens
Paris
Fontainebleau
Lunéville
Ulm
Zurich
KINGDOM OF ITALY
Milan
Marengo
Corsica
Elba
Ajaccio
Rome
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
Brest
Quiberon
Rochefort
Toulon
Toulouse
Saragossa
Victoria
Madrid
Talavera
Torres Vedras
Albuera
Baylen
Cadiz
Gibraltar
C. Trafalgar
C. St. Vincent
Lisbon
Cape Finisterre
Coruña
Ciudad Rodrigo
Salamanca
Busaco
Vimiero
Emery Walker sc.

denounced him as incompetent. He now showed as much self-restraint and caution as he had before shown courage and vigour.

Torres Vedras and Busaco, 1810.

Finding it impossible to keep the field against the overwhelming forces brought against him, Wellington constructed a double chain of entrenchments, called the *lines of Torres Vedras*, between the sea and the lower Tagus, by which he was able to hold Lisbon and its neighbourhood. The French were so busy in Spain that they left Portugal to itself until the late summer of 1810. At last, in September, General Masséna invaded Portugal. Wellington checked his progress at the *battle of Busaco*, but once more retired after victory in the field. He remained within the lines of Torres Vedras till the spring of 1811, when bad weather and hard fare drove Masséna out of Portugal.

24. In 1811 Wellington ventured on a more forward policy. In May he won another victory over Masséna at *Fuentes de Oñoro*, and a few days later, Marshal Beresford, the English general of the Portuguese, gained a remarkable success by sheer hard fighting at *Albuera*, where six thousand British soldiers stubbornly withstood the attack of a much more numerous French force. Yet the only result of these triumphs was that Wellington was able to maintain himself in Portugal.

Fuentes de Oñoro and Albuera, 1811.

25. In 1812 the long alliance between Napoleon and Russia came to an end, and the best French troops were withdrawn from the peninsula to form the *Grand Army* of nearly half a million men, which the French emperor led to the invasion of Russia. Napoleon penetrated to Moscow, and occupied the ancient Russian capital. But, as in Spain, he had set a whole people against him, and the incessant attacks of the Russians and the rigours of a northern winter drove him back to Germany, after a disastrous retreat which almost annihilated the Grand Army. As the consequence of the Russian expedition, Wellington had an easier task before him. He resolved to invade Spain, and in the spring prepared the way for this step by storming with terrible loss the border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. On July 22 he defeated General Marmont in the *battle of Salamanca*, and pressed on to Madrid, which he occupied in August amidst the rejoicings of the populace. At the approach of winter, however, Wellington was once more forced to retreat to the Portuguese frontier. It was the last of his retreats. In 1813 all Germany

The Russian, German, and Spanish national revolts, 1812-1813.

rose against Napoleonic domination, and, despite the extraordinary energy and skill of the emperor, his troops were defeated at the *battle of Leipzig*, and by the end of the year he was driven over the Rhine. It was inevitable in such circumstances that the French armies in Spain should be weakened to support Napoleon in his life-and-death struggle in Germany. Wellington now overran Spain from end to end, and on June 21 defeated King Joseph in the *battle of Vitoria*. After this the French were thrown back on their frontier, where Soult, the best of the French generals, strove to rally them to defend their own land.

26. In 1814 France was invaded from the north, east, and south. Napoleon struggled gallantly till the last, but, late in March, the Germans and Russians entered Paris, and on April 3 the emperor abdicated his throne. Wellington, a duke after his victory at Vitoria, had already entered France from the Spanish side, and a week after Napoleon's abdication, of which he had not yet heard, he won his last triumph over Soult at *Toulouse*. Napoleon's fall had already ended the war. The dethroned conqueror was sent to the island of Elba, and Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., was made king of France. The conditions of peace were determined by the *first treaty of Paris*, and it was arranged that the final settlement of Europe should be effected in a general congress, which soon met at Vienna.

The fall of Napoleon, 1814.

27. Before the Napoleonic war was over, Britain was engaged in another struggle with the United States of America. The *Orders in Council*, provoked by the continental system, had excited great discontent in America, which, after all Europe had fallen under Napoleon's influence, was the only neutral state of importance left. The British carried out the war in as high-handed a spirit as that which Napoleon had himself showed. They seized many American ships which sought to escape the blockade and trade with France. Others they searched for enemies' goods, or to find deserters from the British navy who had taken service under American colours. In disgust at this policy the Americans broke off all trade with England, and declared war in 1812. The English now abolished the Orders in Council, a step which, if taken earlier, might have averted the war. The Americans invaded Canada and failed, but won a good many small victories at sea, especially with their large and heavily armed frigates, which easily captured our smaller frigates and worked havoc on our trade. The tide was turned when the British man-of-war, the *Shannon*, commanded

The war with the United States, 1812-1814.

by Captain Broke, captured the American *Chesapeake*, after a short but sharp encounter. The American navy proved too weak to attempt a general action or to protect the coast from blockade or invasion. After the end of the Peninsular War, Wellington's veterans were shipped over the Atlantic, where they gained some successes, but failed on other occasions. At last, in 1814, the mediation of the tsar led to both parties making peace in the *treaty of Ghent*. It was a wasteful and unnecessary war, which might have been avoided had both parties shown more tact and good sense.

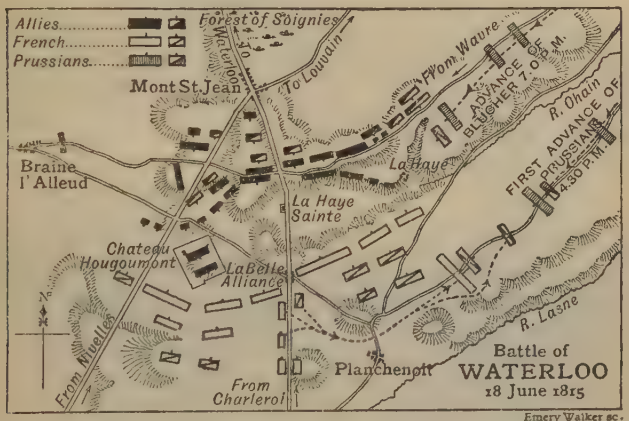
28. In March, 1815, Napoleon, who could not rest at Elba, returned to France, and was welcomed with such enthusiasm that he was at once restored to power and Louis XVIII. driven into exile. Thereupon the Congress of Vienna ceased its work, while the chief powers collected armies on every side of France to assail the disturber of the peace. Napoleon saw that his best chance was in promptitude, and he resolved to make a rapid move against the allied army which was assembling in the Southern Netherlands under Wellington, hoping to defeat it before the Russians and Austrians were ready to invade France from the east. The allies lay extended to the south of Brussels, the left wing being held by the Prussians, under Marshal Blücher, while Wellington, with a motley force of English, Netherlanders, and Hanoverians, held the centre and right. On June 16 Napoleon defeated the Prussians at *Ligny*, and forced them to retire. His attack on the British outposts at *Quatre Bras* was not successful, but the retreat of the Prussians forced Wellington also to concentrate nearer Brussels. Neither section of the allies had been much weakened, though Blücher was driven back to some distance from Wellington's quarters.

The Hundred Days, 1815.

29. On Sunday, June 18, Napoleon delivered his chief attack on Wellington. The allies were encamped on a low ridge, about two miles south of *Waterloo*, and immediately before the village of Mont-Saint-Jean. The country house of Hougoumont protected his right, a farm called La Haye Sainte formed his centre, and another called La Haye was on his left. The numbers of the two armies were about equal, but Napoleon's troops were more homogeneous and better trained. The French began the battle by a desperate onslaught on Hougoumont, which was gallantly defended. Then the French infantry and cavalry marched in close columns against the English centre, supported by a heavy artillery fire. The British formed

Battle of Waterloo.

squares to resist the French cavalry, and stood unflinchingly a whole series of fierce attacks. The battle raged all the afternoon, and the English generally stood firm. But the French took La Haye Sainte, and made a serious gap in the squares on our left. They were, however, so exhausted by the struggle that it is doubtful how far they could have maintained their advantages. But the Prussians were now arriving from Wavre, after a heavy march. The last desperate charge of the French guard failed, and thereupon Wellington ordered a general advance. The French line was now broken, and the Prussians, following up the pursuit, effectually scattered the remnants of Napoleon's last army. The allies marched to Paris, and Napoleon took refuge on an English man-of-war.



His restoration had only lasted a hundred days. The deposed emperor was taken to *St. Helena*, a little island in the South Atlantic, where he lived in captivity until his death.

30. The *second peace of Paris* now restored Louis XVIII., and somewhat diminished the territories of France, which had already, in 1814, been reduced to those which it had possessed before 1792. England surrendered many of her colonial conquests, but retained Mauritius and some West Indian islands from France, and Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. The *Congress of Vienna* now completed its settlement of Europe. It restored most of the petty princes of Italy, whom Napoleon had driven out, including the pope; but it gave Milan and Venice to Austria, whose arms alone

The Congress of Vienna, 1815.

EUROPE
after the
Congress of Vienna 1815
St. Petersburg
Moscow
RUSSIA
POLAND
PRUSSIA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
DENMARK
HANOVER
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
BAVARIA
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Milan
Venice
PAPAL STATES
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Gibraltar
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
IRELAND
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
R. Danube
TURKISH EMPIRE
Constantinople
Dardanelles
Sinope
Varna
Sebastopol
CRIMEA
BLACK SEA
Smyrna
Navarino
Ionian Is.
Malta
Two Sicilies
Cyprus (after 1878)
British Possessions underlined
a. Ionian Islands, British till 1863, afterwards Greek
b. Heligoland, British till 1890, afterwards German
Emery Walker sc.

protected the smaller rulers from the illwill of their subjects. Napoleon's German settlement was practically continued, and his allies, the lesser princes, were let off very lightly. Prussia was compensated for her sufferings by receiving most of the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine, while George IV. was restored to Hanover with the title of king. The tsar received back most of Poland, and the old Dutch Republic and Austrian Netherlands were united in the new kingdom of the Netherlands, of which the prince of Orange was king. Everywhere the kings looked after their own interests, and paid scanty attention to the national feeling which had done so much to destroy the power of Napoleon. They were equally hostile to the ideas of freedom, which had survived as the best side of the work of the French Revolution. For these reasons the Vienna settlement, though it secured peace for a time, did not prove permanent, and provoked bitter discontent from the beginning.

31. England was terribly exhausted by the long war. Taxes were high; the national debt had enormously increased; trade did not improve after the peace, and a new corn law, which prevented the importation of foreign wheat till its price was 80*s.* a quarter, made bread so dear that many workmen could not get enough to eat. Things became worse through the unwisdom of the government, which made no attempt to grapple with the troubles that beset the country. It was still afraid of the principles of the French Revolution, and saw no means of meeting just discontent save repression. A natural result was that riots broke out in many places. In the country the labourers burnt the farmers' ricks, and in the industrial towns the factory hands destroyed their masters' labour-saving machines. Even to demand parliamentary reform was looked upon as seditious, and in 1819 a mass meeting of Lancashire reformers, who marched in military order to a small waste plot in Manchester, called St. Peter's Field, was dispersed with unnecessary violence by a cavalry charge. The affair was magnified and described as the *Manchester Massacre* or *Peterloo*. It alarmed the ministers so much that they passed through parliament a series of repressive measures, known as the *Six Acts*, by which the right of public meetings was severely restricted. Next year (1820) the old king died. Of late years he had been blind and deaf as well as mad, and was utterly unconscious that the great power which he had handed on to his wretched son had, happily perhaps for the nation, slipped unnoticed away.

England after the peace, 1815-1820.

Death of George III., 1820.

CHAPTER VI

GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

1. Up to the early years of the reign of George III. England remained mainly a nation of farmers and merchants. By the accession of George I. she had won the trading supremacy over the world. The treaty of Utrecht and the *Asiento* gave a fresh start to our commerce. Bristol merchants grew rich on the slave-trade, which was so profitable that no one thought of its wickedness. The growth of the East India Company's territories, the conquest of the French colonies, and the spread of our own, all gave fresh openings to British men of business. London grew fast, Liverpool began to rival Bristol in the American trade, and, after the Union had made England and Scotland a single country commercially, Glasgow became a formidable competitor with the great English ports. It was not by peace and free trade, but by successful war and monopoly, that Britain won its preponderating commercial position. Yet having got it, she managed to beat all possible competitors. Even the loss of the American colonies did not stop her progress, and the volume of trade between Britain and the United States was soon greater than it had ever been in the days when we enjoyed a monopoly of traffic with them.

Commercial ascendency of Great Britain.

2. Manufacturing industry also grew steadily during the first half of the eighteenth century; but it was on the old lines and with the old tools. There was little elaborate machinery, little concentration of labour into factories, limited division of labour, and miserable means of communication. Early in the reign of George III. a series of discoveries enormously multiplied the power of production. Four great inventions made the cotton trade, hitherto one of the smallest of our industries, the rival of the woollen trade itself. These were

The age of inventions.

Arkwright's system of spinning by rollers which led to his *water-frame*; Hargreaves's *spinning-jenny*, which enabled one person to spin several threads at once; Crompton's *mule*, which combined the principles of Arkwright's and Hargreaves's devices; and Cartwright's *power-loom*, which enabled weaving operations to be extended proportionately to the improvements in spinning. Meanwhile, the *steam-engine*, known for the best part of a century in a clumsy and unpractical shape, was so greatly improved by the inventive skill of James Watt that it became the chief agent in revolutionizing the old state of trade and labour, and ultimately of society. The iron trade was immensely developed by the discovery, largely due to John Roebuck, that iron-ore might be smelted with pit-coal, as well as with charcoal, the supply of which was limited by the small amount of timber available for fuel. One result of this was an immense increase in the output of our collieries. The labours of Josiah Wedgwood gave a new impetus to the potteries of North Staffordshire. In almost every trade it became possible to produce goods more abundantly and at a cheaper rate.

3. Better communications were as much needed as machines to make English trade grow. As long as goods could only be carried about by pack-horses over hill-paths, or in heavy waggons along infamous roads, only places near together could exchange their commodities with each other. Great efforts were accordingly made to open up communications by hard roads between one town and another, and the system grew up of erecting *turnpikes*, at which tolls were levied, on all the main roads, and devoting these tolls to the betterment of the highways. Very slowly the condition of the main roads were improved, and many bridges were built at great expense to span over rivers, hitherto only passable by ferry-boats or by dangerous fords. At the end of the century the chief roads were so hard and smooth that fast coaches, conveying passengers and mails, could go over them at a rapid rate. The postal services were correspondingly improved, and most important towns had daily posts, which were often conveyed in a quarter of the time which was formerly taken.

Roads and turnpikes.

4. Road transport necessarily remained too costly for the conveyance of heavy goods and pieces of machinery. In order to enable horses to drag heavier weights than they could carry even over the best of roads, recourse was had to *tramways*. The earliest of these were in the colliery districts, and especially in Northumberland and Durham, where

Tramways.

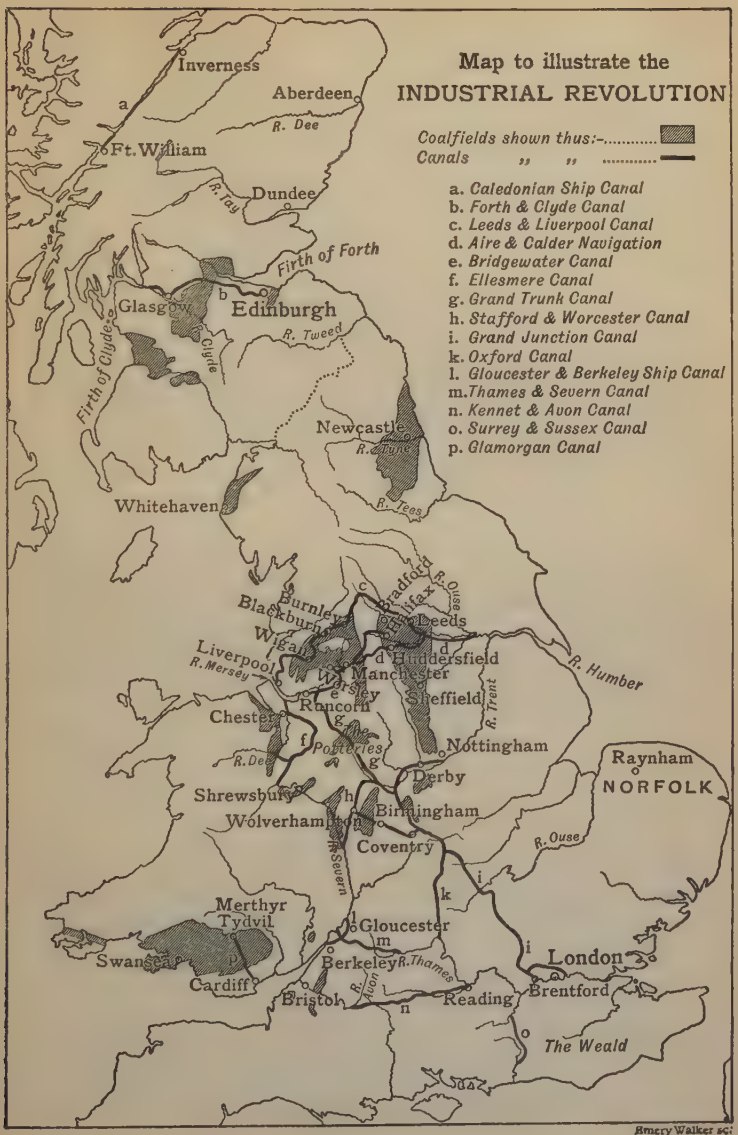
cheap means of conveying coals from the pits to the ships were indispensable, if the coal trade were to grow. The earlier tramways were made by pieces of smooth timber being let into the roads for the wheels of the waggons to run on, but after 1776 cast-iron rails, which were smoother and more durable, superseded wooden ones.

Navigable rivers and canals.

5. Water-carriage, however, was much cheaper than land-traction, even along iron tramways, and the greatest improvements in communications were made by making rivers navigable, and by the construction of artificial water-courses, or canals. In 1720 an act was passed for making the river Irwell navigable up to Manchester, while the opening of the Aire and Calder navigation did wonders for the trade of the West Riding of Yorkshire. In 1761 Francis, duke of Bridgwater, called in the services of a shrewd engineer, named Brindley, to make a canal to convey coal from his collieries at Worsley to Manchester. This *Bridgwater Canal* was afterwards extended to the Mersey at Runcorn, and soon superseded the difficult and uncertain navigation of the Irwell as the readiest and cheapest means of communication between Manchester and Liverpool. The wealth and fame thus acquired by the duke of Bridgwater directed general attention to canals. Between 1758 and 1803, 165 Canal Acts were passed and nearly 3000 miles of canals were constructed. Gradually the Thames, the Trent, the Severn, and the Mersey were all connected together. A ship canal connected Gloucester with the deep waters of the Severn at Berkeley. One canal united Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the *Caledonian Canal* joined together Inverness and Fort William, and enabled small ships to avoid the difficult navigation round the northern extremity of Scotland. So convenient were canals that they were used not only for the haulage of goods, but also for the transport of passengers, who were conveyed in swift packets drawn by horses at rates much less, and with comfort much greater, than by coaches along the high-roads. Canals were to this period what railways were to a later age.

The factory system and the industrial revolution.

6. The new inventions, the widening of markets by improved means of communications, and the rapid increase of the volume of trade, made Britain a great manufacturing country. New seats of industry grew up, especially in those districts where coal and iron were abundant, or where there was cheap means of access to the ports. Lancashire became the chief seat of the cotton trade, while the old clothing towns in the West Riding grew quickly in


Map to illustrate the
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
Coalfields shown thus:-
Canals ,, ,,
a. Caledonian Ship Canal
b. Forth & Clyde Canal
c. Leeds & Liverpool Canal
d. Aire & Calder Navigation
e. Bridgewater Canal
f. Ellesmere Canal
g. Grand Trunk Canal
h. Stafford & Worcester Canal
i. Grand Junction Canal
k. Oxford Canal
l. Gloucester & Berkeley Ship Canal
m. Thames & Severn Canal
n. Kennet & Avon Canal
o. Surrey & Sussex Canal
p. Glamorgan Canal
Inverness
Aberdeen
R. Dee
Ft. William
R. Tay
Dundee
Firth of Forth
Glasgow
Edinburgh
R. Tweed
R. Clyde
Firth of Clyde
Newcastle
R. Tyne
Whitehaven
R. Tees
Bradford
R. Ouse
Burnley
Blackburn
Halifax
Leeds
Wigan
Huddersfield
Liverpool
R. Mersey
Manchester
R. Humber
Sheffield
R. Trent
Chester
Rancorn
Potteries
Nottingham
R. Dee
Derby
Raynham
NORFOLK
Shrewsbury
Birmingham
Wolverhampton
Coventry
R. Ouse
R. Severn
Merthyr Tydvil
Gloucester
Swansea
Berkeley
R. Thames
London
Cardiff
R. Avon
Bristol
Reading
Brentford
The Weald
Emery Walker sc.

wealth and population. Some of the older industrial centres were replaced by new ones, and in particular the iron trade deserted the Weald of Sussex and Kent for districts such as Birmingham, Sheffield, Glamorganshire, and the region surrounding Glasgow, where pit-coal was procurable on the spot. Population increased enormously, and between 1750 and 1801 (when the first census was taken) ran up from six to nine millions. Everywhere the old domestic system of manufactures gave way to the *factory system*. The process by which these changes were brought about has sometimes been called the *industrial* revolution. Production was now centred in growing towns. Instead of the small master working in his own home with a few apprentices and journeymen, the rich capitalist employer with his army of factory hands came in. A new and keener spirit of competition arose, in which only the strongest, wisest, and most cunning survived. Many of the masters were rough, illiterate, and hard, though shrewd and far-seeing in business. Their workmen, gathered from all the country round into new, badly built, unhealthy cottages, were forced to work for long hours in dark, dirty, and unwholesome workshops. The state did nothing to protect them; the masters only thought of their profits; and unjust laws prevented the operatives combining together in trades unions to help themselves. Women and children were forced to work as long and as hard as the men. A regular system grew up of transporting pauper and destitute children to weary factory work. The workmen were ignorant, brutal, poor, and oppressed. Trade and employment fluctuated constantly, and in hard times there was much distress. The workmen naturally listened to agitators and fanatics, or took violent means of avenging their wrongs. They had no constitutional means of redress, for even the masters seldom had votes, since the new towns sent no members to parliament. The transfer of the balance of population, wealth, and energy from the south and east to the north and midlands made parliamentary reform necessary. It also produced a great deal of rivalry between the rich manufacturers and the old landed gentry, a struggle in which the former were bound ultimately to win. As the landlords became after 1760 more and more Tory, so did the trading classes become more and more Radical.

The agrarian revolution.

7. Side by side with the industrial revolution went an *agrarian revolution*. In 1760 a large proportion of arable land remained *common-field*, on which, after harvest, all villagers had the right to turn their cattle, and which was cultivated on the wasteful old three years' system of wheat,

fallow, and barley. Farms were generally small, and cultivated with little skill or capital. Custom alone was the guide of the ordinary farmer. Yet the small farmer, whose home was often the seat of a domestic manufacture, was self-supporting, and independent of markets. Gradually the increase of population increased the demand for food. First of all, England ceased to export corn, as she had done in large quantities up to the middle of the century. Then great attention was paid to agriculture, with the results that a series of improvements in cultivation revolutionized husbandry, and largely augmented the supply of food. Norfolk set the example of agricultural reform to the rest of England. There Townshend, after his quarrel with Walpole, settled down to farm his estate at Raynham, and his example made the cultivation of the turnip general, and so made it possible to get rid of the wasteful systems of fallows. Large farms replaced small holdings. The capitalist farmer now came in, like the capitalist employer. His gangs of poor and ignorant agricultural labourers were the counterpart of the swarm of factory hands. The business of farming was worked more scientifically, with better tools and greater success. The breeds of sheep and cattle were improved. A long series of *Enclosure Acts* began in 1760, by which common of pasture was greatly limited, and arable common lands were almost got rid of. The change was necessary, for without enclosures good farming was impossible.

8. The limiting of their common-rights bore hardly on the rural poor, and nearly all the land enclosed became the private property of the great landlords. Moreover, the price of corn fluctuated violently, and, especially after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, was often very high. Things were made worse by *Corn Laws*, first passed in 1773, by which foreign corn was only allowed admission to British markets when the price of wheat was high. The benefit of these high prices and of the improvements in agriculture went to the landlords and farmers. The condition of the agricultural labourer got no better, and the great mass of the rural population were mere labourers. The small freeholders or yeomen, so powerful in the seventeenth century, were rapidly disappearing, except in out-of-the-way parts of the country. The decline of domestic manufactures and the Enclosure Acts were partly accountable for their decline, but the main cause of it was the political importance attached to land-holding after 1688, which caused men, anxious to rule the country, to buy them up at high prices. It paid small capitalists better

Pauperism and the Corn Laws.

to invest their money in other ways. So the power of the territorial aristocracy grew, and the land passed into fewer and fewer hands, for the small squire, rustic in garb and speech, who never travelled further than his county town, was swallowed up almost as completely as the yeomanry. Meanwhile, pauperism became a more pressing evil, especially as the custom grew up of supplementing the inadequate wages received by the rural labourers by a system of doles from the poor-rates. This practice grew to such an extent that, in the early years of the nineteenth century, a seventh of the population was in receipt of poor-law relief. Thus, despite the increase of population, wealth, and trade, there was much distress and discontent, which was increased by the hardships and high prices that resulted from the great wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon.

9. The eighteenth century saw as complete a revolution in men's thoughts and beliefs as in their relations to material nature.

The "age of reason."

The old religious passions which had raged throughout the seventeenth century, and divided men as fiercely as ever in the days of Queen Anne, died down with remarkable suddenness under the first Georges. The High Church and Puritan parties alike lost ground. The higher clergy were now mostly Low Churchmen, or Latitudinarians, or, as we should call them, Broad Churchmen. Laymen became careless and sceptical. Preachers taught that men should be prudent, tolerant, moral, and moderate. A school which disbelieved in miracles and revelation grew up, called the *Deists*. Men boasted that they lived in the "age of reason," and looked upon all enthusiasm or emotion with suspicion and distrust. Leading clergymen were anxious to escape signing the articles and repeating the creeds. English Presbyterians became Unitarians. Church-going ceased to be fashionable, and few new churches were built.

10. The most emotional and enthusiastic of modern forms of Protestantism sprang up in strong reaction from the general temper of the eighteenth century.

The Methodist Movement.

About 1729 a few earnest Oxford men formed a little society, whose members were remarkable for the holiness and good order of their lives. They were laughed at by their fellow-students, and nicknamed *Methodists*. Their leader was John Wesley (1703–1791), a fellow of Lincoln College, and with him were associated his brother, Charles Wesley, afterwards famous as a hymn-writer, and George Whitefield, a poor servitor of Pembroke College, who soon gained extraordinary influence by his vivid and heart-stirring

sermons. The society was broken up when John Wesley went, in 1735, on a mission to the colony of Georgia. In 1738, however, Wesley returned to England, where he fell under the influence of the *Moravians*, a German sect of gentle enthusiasts, and convinced himself that he was for the first time converted to a true sense of religion. Henceforth Wesley and his friends preached with a stronger fervour than ever. The sober and decorous clergy thought the Methodists mad, and refused to let them preach in their churches. In 1739, therefore, the Methodists first built chapels of their own, though they declared that they were not dissenters, but anxious only to labour on the ground left untilled by the Church. For the rest of their lives Wesley and Whitefield wandered ceaselessly over the land. Wherever they went they produced a storm of opposition or enthusiasm. They were often in danger of their lives, and the wild excitement that followed their preaching sometimes led their followers into mad extravagancies. But they roused many thousands to lead new lives, and to shake off sluggish indifference and brutal vice. Before long Wesley saw that, to make the effects of his preaching last, he must establish an organized society. A man of forethought, with great statesmanlike capacity, he soon raised the Methodist body into a large and well-governed community, which, as time went on, gradually drifted into the position of a new dissenting church. Long before this Wesley had broken with his old comrade, Whitefield, through theological differences. Whitefield was a Calvinist like the old Puritans, while Wesley's High Church surroundings had made him a strong Arminian. However, the great preacher lacked Wesley's organizing power, and the Calvinistic Methodists, of whom he was the chief, gradually dwindled away in England, though in Wales a parallel Methodist movement fell ultimately almost entirely under Calvinistic auspices, and to this day the Calvinistic Methodists are the most numerous religious body in the Principality.

11. The most striking feature of the religious life of the latter part of the eighteenth century was the *Evangelical Movement*. This was nearly akin to Methodism, and yet was not simply a further growth of it. Though some of the earliest Evangelicals were also Methodists, the movement was more properly a revival of seventeenth-century Puritanism, which affected both the Church and the older Nonconformist bodies. It was Calvinistic in its theology, and therefore strongly out of sympathy with much of Wesley's teaching. It did not lead

The Evangelical Movement.

to the formation of any new Church, but influenced all the existing ones, and produced as its results a stronger sense of personal religion, and a zeal for good works and philanthropic efforts. The Evangelicals founded missionary societies, the *Bible Society*, and *Sunday schools*, and did much to promote the movements for the abolition of negro slavery. The leaders of the movement were not learned, but good and self-denying, though in some ways rather narrow in their teaching. The two greatest Evangelicals were laymen: William Cowper, the reformer of English poetry, and William Wilberforce, the Tory member for Yorkshire, and friend of the younger Pitt. Fear of the irreligious character of the French Revolution largely strengthened the Evangelical ranks, and during the early years of the nineteenth century the Evangelical revival exercised its widest influence.

12. In Scotland there was the same contrast as in England between the prevailing Latitudinarianism and the Puritan reaction from it. The great question in dispute was the lawfulness of private patronage, which had been restored in the Scotch Church in 1712. Twice at least during the eighteenth century there were secessions from the Established Church on the part of the sturdy Covenanters, who would make no compromise with the state. Within the Church there was a constant conflict between the *Moderates*, who upheld, and the *Evangelicals*, who opposed, the law of patronage. Towards the end of the century the Evangelicals, as in England, grew much stronger. It was not until the reign of George III. that much toleration was shown to the Scotch Episcopalians, partly by reason of Presbyterian bigotry and partly because most of them were Jacobites. Thus, during the century religious toleration was established in England and Scotland alike, for the whole temper of the age was averse to persecution, and gradually the laws against disbelievers in the Trinity and the Roman Catholics fell into disuse. The Evangelical revival was unfavourable to the Roman Catholic claims to emancipation, though enlightened men, like Pitt, saw that they were just and necessary.

Religion in Scotland.

13. The changes of the eighteenth century brought with them many abuses, but the spirit of humanity and philanthropy had begun to shine amidst the rough and brutal manners of the age. This spirit was largely fed from the Methodist and Evangelical movements, but was also largely due to that wide sympathy for human suffering and indignation against oppression and injustice which was among the best sides of the teaching of the French freethinkers, which

Humanitarianism and philanthropy.

made a cynic like Voltaire enthusiastic, and rose to a white heat in the fervent sentimentalism of Rousseau. Conspicuous among the philanthropic movements of the time were the self-denying labours of John Howard for the reform of the condition of the prisons, in which offenders of all classes had hitherto been herded together in total disregard to their health and moral welfare. Even more memorable was the movement for the abolition of the trade in negro slaves imported from Africa into the American colonies, which, though conducted with callous disregard to humanity, had in the early part of the century been simply looked upon as an easy way to get rich. At last, in 1787, there was formed the *Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, of which Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce were leading members. The organization wisely avoided attacking slavery, but Clarkson collected evidence of the horrors of the "middle passage" across the Atlantic to America, during which nearly half of the negroes stolen from Africa died. Pitt, under Wilberforce's influence, showed an interest in the movement, which was on the verge of triumphing when the outbreak of the French Revolution frightened the richer classes into opposing a movement which now seemed to savour of revolutionary violence. It was not until 1807 that an act of parliament abolished the slave-trade, whereupon a fresh movement was started by Wilberforce for getting rid of slavery altogether. The same increasing regard to humanity produced the first *factory acts* for regulating the abuses of the factory system, and preventing children being overworked in mills and workshops.

14. Manners were still very rough. Popular literature and the stage were often broad and vulgar, and cruel amusements were still widely popular. Gambling and hard drinking were very common, though less so at the end of the century than at the beginning. George III.'s homely and decorous private life had no small influence for good, but its dulness forced his own sons into riotous disorder, and the "first gentleman of Europe," as his flatterers called George IV., set an example of everything that was bad. The tendency of the age was towards the breaking down of class distinctions. Increased facilities for travel and the spread of education produced more likeness in manners between gentry and tradesmen, and lessened the differences between townspeople and country folk. Love of show still, however, found plenty of ways of displaying itself. Old-fashioned people complained that the rich tradesman ceased living over his shop, resided in a suburban villa, and aped the fashions of the landed gentry in his style of living, his

Social life.

carriages, his travels, and the dresses of his wife and daughters. With less vain pomp, comfort and refinement grew, which, with high prices, made living much dearer. Though the garb of the upper classes remained long very costly and rich, the simpler styles of modern dress gradually set in as a result of the influence of Rousseau, who taught that the equality of men should even extend to their clothes. Wigs were given up; swords went out of fashion; pantaloons and long boots superseded knee breeches, silk stockings, and shoes. Towards the end of the century the habit of sea-bathing set in, and became even more popular than the earlier custom of "taking the waters." George III. made Weymouth a popular watering-place, and his eldest son did even more for Brighton, which from a fishing village became a great town.

15. Early in the century architecture was the most flourishing of the arts, but later on it declined, and the mass of building of the Georgian period aimed at solid comfort rather than beauty. Towards the end of the century James Wyatt attempted to revive Gothic architecture, which had hitherto been looked upon with contempt, but he had neither the knowledge nor the taste for this. He nearly ruined Salisbury Cathedral with his "restorations," and, at the command of the prince regent, erected a commonplace though grandiose palace on the site of the historical castle of Windsor. But the height of bad taste was found in the fantastic Pavilion, on which the regent wasted huge sums at Brighton. As architecture fell away, other arts improved. A national English school of painting, foreshadowed by the rough but original genius of William Hogarth, was founded by the great Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792). In 1768 the Royal Academy was established, with Sir Joshua for its first president. Somewhat later John Flaxman (1755–1826) established a British school of sculpture. There was much excellent work done in engraving, etching, and similar arts. Music received a new impetus when the greatest musician of his time, Frederick Handel, a Saxon, was brought to England to manage the Opera House. Failing as a man of business, and only moderately successful as a composer of operas, Handel turned to the *Oratorio*, producing his *Messiah* in 1741. This soon won a popularity which resulted in a wider love of serious music and a higher sense of the aims and dignity of the art. But though there was much good work done in nearly every branch, the general level in taste and feeling was not very high in any of the arts at the end of the eighteenth century.

Art.

16. Literature and language faithfully mirrored the age. The

poets of the early eighteenth century lacked passion and imagination, and were fast bound by self-imposed rules. Their favourite metre was the *heroic couplet*; their favourite themes were satire, compliment, and criticism. The tendencies of the time were best expressed in the exquisitely finished and polished verse of Alexander Pope (1688–1744). However, in Pope's followers the style which a great artist could ennoble became vapid, commonplace, and artificial. The drama declined like poetry. The last great dramatists of the old style were the refined and humorous Oliver Goldsmith and the brilliant and epigrammatic Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Whig politician. But though few great plays were now produced, much pains was taken to edit and represent the work of Shakespeare and other older playwrights, and the drama more than held its own as a popular amusement. The age of David Garrick (1716–1779), the famous player and manager, marked, perhaps, the most flourishing period of English acting.

Poetry and the drama.

17. Prose was better than poetry. There was now a standard prose-style, polished, idiomatic, forcible, and exact. Even the pamphlets and newspapers, which reflected the political and theological controversies of the time, showed the spread of a good fashion of writing. The periodical essay, made popular by Steele and Addison, long retained its vogue, until, in the hands of Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), it lost the lightness of touch which had been its greatest charm, and gave place to the novel, the magazine, and the political newspaper. The greatest men of letters of the time took an eager part in the political controversies which ushered in the Hanoverian period. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin (1667–1745), fiercely upheld the Tories and the treaty of Utrecht, while against him Addison wrote his way by his Whig pamphlets to the position of a secretary of state. Swift was the best prose writer of the time. His last great work, written before his mind gave way in his lonely Irish exile, was his *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). The English philosophical tradition which John Locke had first firmly established in the age of the Revolution, was carried on still further by George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, and by David Hume, a Scotch Tory. Both Berkeley and Hume were eminent men of letters, besides being famous philosophers. One of the chief features of the eighteenth century was the growth of the *novel* out of the old *romance*, turned to describe real life. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) prepared the way for the broad and genial works of Henry Fielding,

Prose.

the sentimental and pathetic writings of Samuel Richardson, the rough but vigorous painting of manners of Tobias Smollett, the quaint humour of Lawrence Sterne, and Oliver Goldsmith's charming idyll, the *Vicar of Wakefield*. Samuel Johnson, poet, essayist, moralist, critic, and writer of an English Dictionary, was the centre of the literary life of more than one generation so vividly pictured for us in Boswell's matchless *Life of Johnson*. History lost in accuracy and depth what it gained in art in David Hume's *History of England*, and combined a scholarship that has seldom been overthrown with the stateliest, most artificial of styles in Edmund Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), the one historical work of the age which retains permanent value. The eighteenth century took little interest in history, and alone of his age Edmund Burke knew how deep the roots of the present lie in the past. Burke was not only the wisest of the political thinkers of the period, but one of the greatest and richest writers of prose that English literature has ever known.

The romantic revival.

18. A revolution came over English literature after the middle of the century. The style and subject of poetry equally changed. The way of writing became more varied and natural, and bit by bit the bondage of the heroic couplet was shaken off. Writers again began to revel in country life and beautiful scenery, and mountains, hitherto objects of horror, were described with enthusiasm and sympathy. Their view of man became enlarged, and they went through the conventionalities of society down to the elemental passions of the human heart. Heralded by the revived study of the romantic past, through the means of such books as Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), and by such precursors as James Thomson, the poet of the *Seasons* (1730), the new spirit took different shapes in the lyrics and satires of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire farmer; the delicate humour of William Cowper; the realistic pictures of Suffolk village life of George Crabbe; the strange prophetic vision of William Blake, and the stirring romances and tales in verse of the Edinburgh lawyer, Sir Walter Scott. Towards the end of the century it came to a head in the so-called *Lake School*, headed by William Wordsworth (1770–1850), the lofty singer of nature, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a subtle poet and a mystic thinker. Fear of the French Revolution soon turned these writers from fervid dreams of a coming era of peace and truth into sympathy with old ways. And soon the very bigotry of the reaction drove younger men, and notably George

Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), the greatest poetical force of his day, into fierce denunciations of the tyranny of cant and custom. To this day the verse of the whole civilized world shows clearly the effects of Byron's spirit. Side by side with him as a bard of revolution stood Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), the most musical and imaginative of poets. Alongside them wrote John Keats (1795–1821), cut off before his rare genius had wholly ripened. His career marks the exhaustion of the impulse which began with Burns and Cowper, and which had now filled all Britain with singers. Their work showed that the age of aristocracy was nearly over, and ushers in the democratic England, whose faint beginnings are to be found in the years which follow Waterloo.

Books recommended for the Further Study of the Period 1714–1820

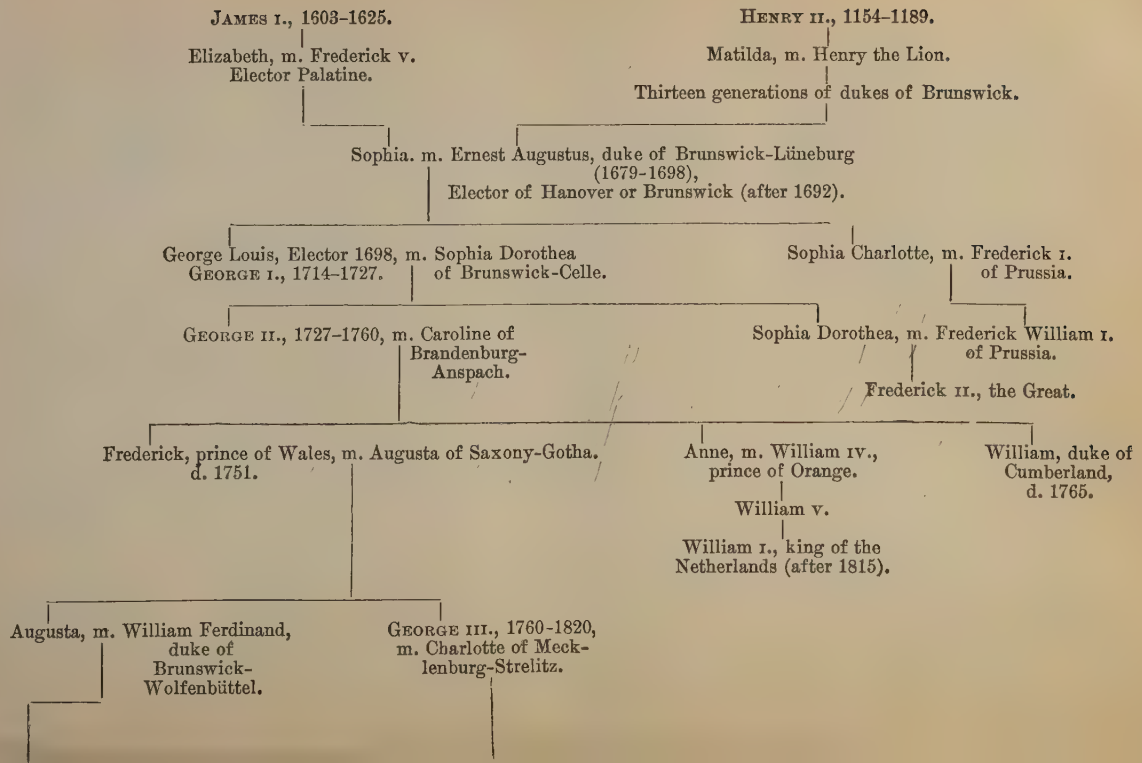
Of the larger works, Stanhope's *History of England*, 1715–1783 (7 vols.), careful, but rather dull; Lecky's interesting though rather discursive *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (8 vols.), which is especially detailed when dealing with the history of Ireland; and Massey's *History of England in the Reign of George III.* (4 vols.). Suggestive phases of history are illustrated by Seeley's *Expansion of England*, and Captain Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power on History*. Short books on persons of importance include J. Morley's *Walpole;* F. Harrison's *Chatham;* and Lord Rosebery's *Pitt* (all in "Twelve English Statesmen" series); Macaulay's *Essays* on *Chatham*, *Clive*, and *Warren Hastings;* Morley's *Burke;* Sir C. Wilson's *Clive;* Sir A. Lyall's *Warren Hastings;* Sir G. O. Trevelyan's *Early Life of C. J. Fox;* G. Hooper's *Wellington* ("Men of Action" series); and Mahan's *Life of Nelson*. Sir W. Napier's *History of the Peninsular War* is elaborate; some of his best battle pictures are extracted in his one-volume *Battles and Sieges of the Peninsula;* Longmans' *Political History of England*, vol. ix., 1702–1760, by I. S. Leadam, vol. x., 1760–1801, by W. Hunt, and vol. xi., 1801–1837, by Brodrick and Fotheringham, cover the period. For the social and economic aspects of history, see A. Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution;* W. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, vol. ii., book xiii.; and *Social England*, vol. v., by various writers.

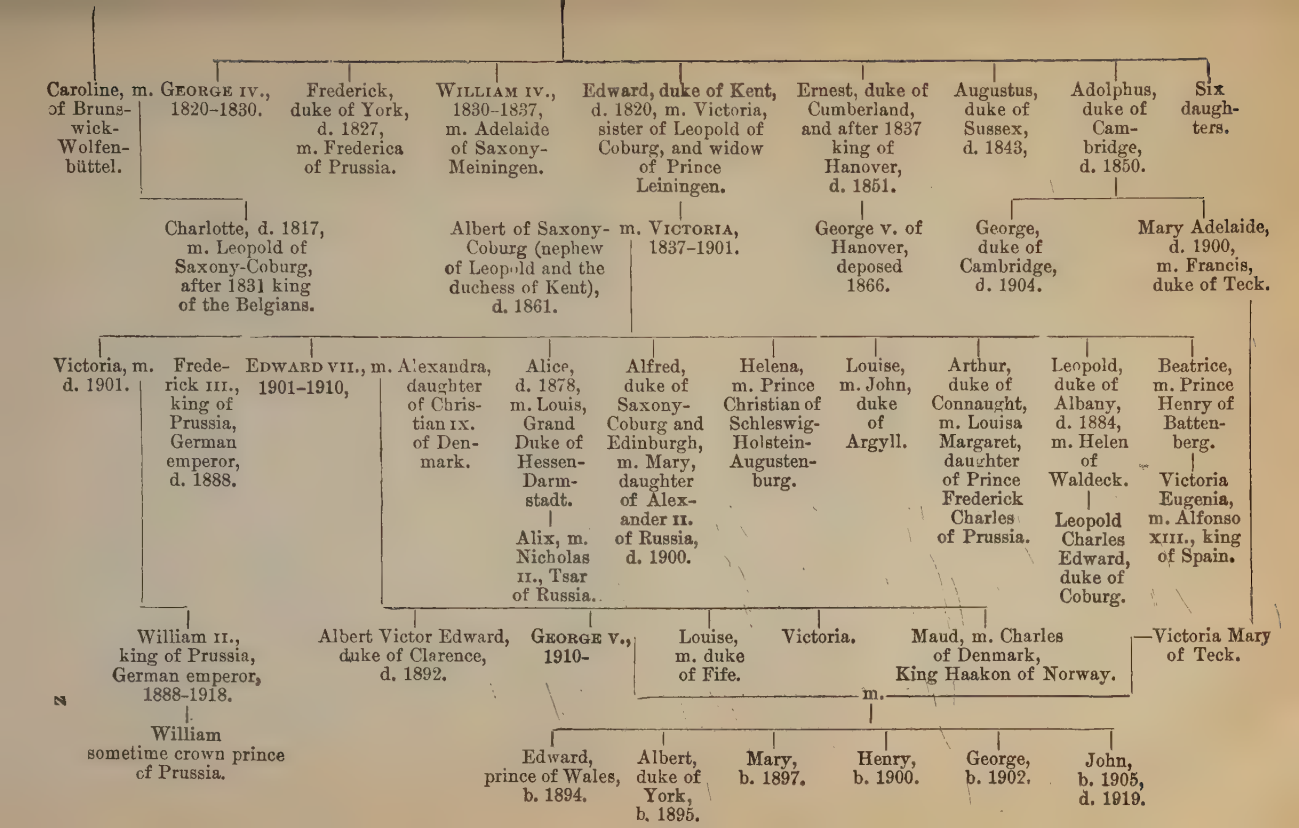
GENEALOGY OF THE PITTS AND GRENVILLES

Hester, Countess Temple m. Richard Grenville

- William Pitt, m. Hester Grenville, Lord Chatham
  - John, earl of Chatham, general at Walcheren, 1809.
  - William Pitt, prime minister 1783–1801, 1804–1806.
- Richard, Earl Temple, d. 1779.
  - George, Earl Temple, d. 1813.
- George Grenville, prime minister 1763–1765, d. 1770.
  - William, Lord Grenville, prime minister 1806–1807, d. 1834.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK-HANOVER


James I., 1603–1625.
Elizabeth, m. Frederick V. Elector Palatine.
Henry II., 1154–1189.
Matilda, m. Henry the Lion.
Thirteen generations of dukes of Brunswick.
Sophia. m. Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1679-1698), Elector of Hanover or Brunswick (after 1692).
George Louis, Elector 1698, m. Sophia Dorothea of Brunswick-Celle. George I., 1714–1727.
Sophia Charlotte, m. Frederick I. of Prussia.
George II., 1727–1760, m. Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach.
Sophia Dorothea, m. Frederick William I. of Prussia.
Frederick II., the Great.
Frederick, prince of Wales, m. Augusta of Saxony-Gotha. d. 1751.
Anne, m. William IV., prince of Orange.
William V.
William I., king of the Netherlands (after 1815).
William, duke of Cumberland, d. 1765.
Augusta, m. William Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.
George III., 1760-1820, m. Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.


Caroline, m. of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.
George IV., 1820–1830.
Frederick, duke of York, d. 1827, m. Frederica of Prussia.
William IV., 1830–1837, m. Adelaide of Saxony-Meiningen.
Edward, duke of Kent, d. 1820, m. Victoria, sister of Leopold of Coburg, and widow of Prince Leiningen.
Ernest, duke of Cumberland, and after 1837 king of Hanover, d. 1851.
Augustus, duke of Sussex, d. 1843,
Adolphus, duke of Cambridge, d. 1850.
Six daughters.
Charlotte, d. 1817, m. Leopold of Saxony-Coburg, after 1831 king of the Belgians.
Albert of Saxony-Coburg (nephew of Leopold and the duchess of Kent), d. 1861.
m. Victoria, 1837–1901.
George v. of Hanover, deposed 1866.
George, duke of Cambridge, d. 1904.
Mary Adelaide, d. 1900, m. Francis, duke of Teck.
Victoria, m. d. 1901.
Frederick III., king of Prussia, German emperor, d. 1888.
Edward VII., 1901–1910, m. Alexandra, daughter of Christian IX. of Denmark.
Alice, d. 1878, m. Louis, Grand Duke of Hessen-Darmstadt.
Alix, m. Nicholas II., Tsar of Russia.
Alfred, duke of Saxony-Coburg and Edinburgh, m. Mary, daughter of Alexander II. of Russia, d. 1900.
Helena, m. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg.
Louise, m. John, duke of Argyll.
Arthur, duke of Connaught, m. Louisa Margaret, daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia.
Leopold, duke of Albany, d. 1884, m. Helen of Waldeck.
Leopold Charles Edward, duke of Coburg.
Beatrice, m. Prince Henry of Battenberg.
Victoria Eugenia, m. Alfonso XIII., king of Spain.
William II., king of Prussia, German emperor, 1888–1918.
William sometime crown prince of Prussia.
Albert Victor Edward, duke of Clarence, d. 1892.
George V., 1910–
Louise, m. duke of Fife.
Victoria.
Maud, m. Charles of Denmark, King Haakon of Norway.
Victoria Mary of Teck.
m.
Edward, prince of Wales, b. 1894.
Albert, duke of York, b. 1895.
Mary, b. 1897.
Henry, b. 1900.
George, b. 1902.
John, b. 1905, d. 1919.

BOOK VIII

NATIONALITY AND DEMOCRACY (1820–1901)

CHAPTER I

GEORGE IV. (1820–1830)

Chief Dates:

1820. Accession of George IV.
1822. Canningites admitted to office.
1827. Death of Canning and battle of Navarino.
1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
1830. Death of George IV.

1. The death of George III. led only to nominal changes. The prince regent became George IV. He was vain, selfish, pleasure-loving, and idle. No one liked or respected him either as regent or king. After his accession he made an attempt to win popularity by visiting Scotland, Ireland, and Hanover, and was wonderfully well received, though his behaviour, "like a popular candidate on an election trip," disgusted right-thinking men. His health soon declined, and he soon shut himself up at Windsor and Brighton, a peevish, whimsical, selfish recluse, with few friends and little influence.

Accession of George IV., 1820.

2. In 1795 George had married Caroline of Brunswick, but they soon quarrelled and were separated, and of late years she had lived abroad. Their only child, the Princess Charlotte, died in 1817, so that the next heir to the throne became George's sailor brother, William, duke of Clarence. After George's accession Caroline came back to England, and demanded recognition as queen. George, who hated his wife, wished to obtain a divorce from her, and was still strong enough to be able to compel his reluctant ministers to bring forward a bill in the House of Lords to dissolve the marriage. The evidence was not creditable to

Caroline, but public feeling rose high that so bad a husband as George should venture to complain of his wife's conduct. The opposition took up her cause, and Caroline became very popular. So strong was the sympathy she excited that the ministers barely succeeded in carrying the divorce bill through the Lords, and dared not introduce it into the House of Commons. Before long, however, the queen lost her hold on the people's goodwill, and next year she died. The main result of the scandal excited by her trial was to deprive the king of his last hold over his subjects.

The trial of Queen Caroline, 1820.

3. The Tory ministry continued as before. Soon after George's accession a plot was formed by Arthur Thistlewood to murder the whole cabinet. The conspiracy was called the *Cato Street Conspiracy*, because Thistlewood and his friends held their meetings in a loft in Cato Street, London. A comrade betrayed their plans, and Thistlewood and others were executed. Public horror at Thistlewood's dastardly attempt did something to revive the waning popularity of the government, but the ministers were divided among themselves, and all the tact of Liverpool, the prime minister, could not keep the government together. It suffered a great loss when the brilliant and eloquent George Canning, the chief of Pitt's personal followers, resigned office rather than support the bill against Queen Caroline. It finally collapsed when Lord Londonderry, the ablest of the old Tories, committed suicide in 1822.

The Cato Street Conspiracy, 1820.

4. Londonderry, formerly known as Lord Castlereagh, had been regarded, not very fairly, as the chief representative of the reactionary Toryism which had been dominant for many years. This was the party which still lived in constant fear of the French Revolution, and opposed all great changes in the belief that any real reform would pave the way for revolution. There was, however, a more liberal section of the Tory party, of whom Canning was the most important. Like Pitt, the Canningites were strongly in favour of Catholic emancipation, and thought that the death of the old king made it easy to raise the Catholic question once more. On many subjects they held more liberal views than the Whig opposition, and they differed mainly from the Whigs because they were opposed to the reform of parliament. In this they were less wise than Pitt, who had favoured parliamentary reform long before the Whigs had taken it up. The Whigs, however, were weak in

The old and the new Tories.

parliament, and not much liked out-of-doors. Their leader was now Earl Grey, a proud and dignified aristocrat, whose chief merit was that he had first thoroughly identified his party with the cause of parliamentary reform. In the House of Commons the most prominent of the Whigs was Henry Brougham, a vain, versatile, and pushing lawyer, and Lord John Russell, a younger son of the duke of Bedford. There was no thought, however, of admitting the Whigs to office.

5. After Londonderry's death, Liverpool saw that he must either reorganize his government or resign; his remedy was to offer office to the Canningites. Canning became foreign secretary and leader of the House of Commons. His friend Huskisson was president of the Board of Trade, and the Marquis Wellesley, Wellington's elder brother, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time Robert Peel, the only rising man of ability among the old Tories, became home secretary. He was the son of a rich Lancashire baronet, and represented the new aristocracy which had made fortunes by trade. Under the influence of these men a new spirit was given to the government. Between 1822 and 1827 a series of great administrative and legislative changes showed that the earlier and wiser policy of Pitt had once more taken possession of the Tory leaders.

The Canningites admitted to office, 1822.

6. Canning made his personal influence felt mainly in foreign policy. Since 1815 the kings and emperors who had controlled the European settlement at the Congress of Vienna had acted together in order to put down revolutionary or reforming movements. Prominent among these were the emperors of Austria and Russia and the king of Prussia. Their league was commonly called the *Holy Alliance*, and they sought to control all Europe by means of general congresses. Their policy was very unpopular, and revolt after revolt broke out against their harsh and despotic rule. In Spain, Portugal, and Naples the people rebelled, and set up liberal constitutions. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America rose against the narrow and oppressive rule of their mother countries, and, in the East, the Greeks raised an insurrection against the hateful tyranny of the Turks.

Canning's foreign policy.

7. The despots of the Holy Alliance declared that reforms in states ought to spring from the kings alone, and they sent Austrian troops to restore despotism in Naples, and a French army to put down the new constitution in Spain. England at no time approved of these proceedings.

The Holy Alliance.

Even Castlereagh refused to have anything to do with the Holy Alliance, and protested against foreign intervention in Spain and Naples, maintaining that each nation ought to manage its own affairs. But Castlereagh was anxious to be on good terms with the leading powers of the alliance, and was known to dislike revolutions. He therefore contented himself with secret protests, and was denounced in England for sympathizing with a policy which he was trying to prevent being carried out. Canning's position was not in essence very different from that of Castlereagh. He made it, however, his business to emphasize the deep gulf that existed between the attitude of England and that of the Holy Alliance. Though he took no steps to help the constitutionalists in Naples and Spain, he publicly emphasized his favourite doctrine of the *non-intervention* of one nation in the internal affairs of another. He had his revenge when he recognized the freedom of the Spanish colonies in South America. "I resolved," he declared, "that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." In helping forward the independence of the South American states, Canning worked along with the United States of America, and it was with his approval that the American president Monroe laid down the famous *Monroe doctrine*, that the United States would not allow either North or South America to serve as fields for European colonization or intervention. When the restored despot of Spain sought to put down constitutional government in Portugal, Canning resolved to interfere. Afraid of provoking war with England, the Spaniards withdrew from Portugal, and Canning's vigour secured the continuance of constitutional rule in that country.

The revolt of the Spanish colonies and the Monroe doctrine.

8. Canning warmly shared in the widespread sympathy for the Greeks, who were waging an heroic struggle for freedom against Turkey. Many prominent Englishmen went to Greece and fought against the Turks, among them being the famous poet, Lord Byron, who was carried off by fever in 1824. The Russians were also strongly in favour of the Greeks, and so, though supporting the Holy Alliance in the West, they made themselves the accomplices of rebellion in the East. Many in England declared that Russia's interest in Greece was due to her wish to extend her power on the ruins of the Turkish Empire. They therefore maintained that the Turks ought to be supported as the surest means of checking

Canning and Greek insurrection.

Russian aggrandisement. Canning, however, saw that the best way to help the Greeks was to work along with Russia. In 1827 he made a treaty with Nicholas I., who had succeeded Alexander as tsar in 1825. By this treaty England, Russia, and France pledged themselves to mediate between the Turks and the Greeks, and insisted upon an immediate truce. The powers declared that they did not intend to break off their friendship with the Turks, but instructed their admirals in the Mediterranean to enforce the armistice. In October, 1827, the Turkish fleet lay anchored in the Bay of *Navarino*, on the west coast of the Peloponnesus. English, French, and Russian squadrons took up their station off Navarino and persuaded the Turkish commander to accept a truce. Despite this, the Turks continued to devastate the Peloponnesus with fire and sword. Thereupon the allied admirals, disgusted at these atrocities, entered Navarino Bay to secure the enforcement of the truce. Almost by chance the Turks fired on an English ship, and brought about a general action. In this the Turkish fleet was altogether destroyed, and the victory made Greek independence possible. Canning was, however, already in his grave. He had restored England's reputation abroad as the friend of freedom and national rights, and had maintained his policy of non-intervention against the combined powers of the Holy Alliance.

Battle of Navarino, 1827.

9. The changes in home policy brought about by Canning's preponderance were even greater than the alteration of English policy abroad. Peel, the home secretary, though an enemy to all changes in the constitution, was a first-rate man of business. He had already made his mark by passing, in 1819, a law which provided for the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. He now took up the reform of the criminal law which had hitherto been extraordinarily severe. Men could be hanged for over two hundred offences, among which were such trifling matters as being found on the highway with a blackened face, injuring Westminster bridge, or personating out-patients of Greenwich Hospital. The result was that juries refused to convict guilty persons when the punishment of so small a misdeed was so monstrous. By Peel's efforts laws were passed which abolished the death penalty for more than a hundred crimes. Even more important than Peel's legislation was the honesty and thoroughness with which he carried on the everyday administration of home affairs. As the result of his wise rule, the distrust which the poor had long felt for the government became greatly mitigated.

Peel's reforms as home secretary.

10. Huskisson, the president of the Board of Trade, was deeply versed in all matters of finance and economics. Under his auspices the duties on many articles were reduced, and the acts making combination of workmen penal were repealed, so that trades unions became henceforth lawful. Huskisson also brought about great changes in the navigation acts, which, since the days of Charles II., had insisted that goods imported into England should be brought in English ships or in ships of the country to which the goods belonged. Our commercial supremacy was now so assured that these acts were no longer necessary, and they had always produced difficulty in practice. Of late years some foreign countries, including the United States and Prussia, had refused to allow our ships to trade freely with them, because England would not permit their ships freedom of commerce with us. To avoid these troubles, Huskisson carried an act which allowed the government to make treaties with foreign powers to admit their ships to our harbours, in return for equal privileges for English traders. This was called the policy of *reciprocity*.

Huskisson's commercial and financial reforms.

11. Early in 1827 Lord Liverpool was smitten with apoplexy, and could no longer act as chief minister. It was as much as his tact could accomplish to keep the Canningites and the old Tories together. On his retirement the king was forced to make Canning prime minister, whereupon Wellington, Peel, and the old Tories, who had long looked upon Canning with disfavour, threw up their offices. Canning managed to form a government without them, but died six months later. He was the most brilliant statesman of his time, but has been attacked for ambition and want of seriousness. His flippancy was, however, always in his talk rather than in his mind. In his later years he nobly redeemed the mistakes of his early life, and his death removed England's greatest statesman.

Canning's ministry and death, 1827.

12. Canning was succeeded by Lord Goderich, who was too weak a man for his post. When news came of the battle of Navarino, Goderich did not know what to do. The ministers quarrelled violently with each other, and, after a short time, Goderich resigned office, in January, 1828. The old Tories then came back to power. The duke of Wellington became prime minister, and Peel, who was again home secretary, became leader of the House of Commons. Most of the Canningites, including Huskisson, agreed to continue in office, but, after a few

The Goderich, 1827-1828, and the Wellington ministries, 1828-1830.

months, they resigned, so that the old Tories had everything in their own hands.

13. The Catholic question now came to a crisis. All the leading politicians, except the high Tories, had long been in favour of *Catholic Emancipation*, and several bills to give the Catholics votes had passed the House of Commons, but had been rejected by the Lords. Since 1823 a vigorous movement in its favour had been started in Ireland. The leader of this was Daniel O'Connell, the greatest of Irish agitators, a Catholic of good family, a leader at the Irish bar, a speaker with wonderful power of stirring the emotions and ruling the hearts of his people, brilliant and incisive, though coarse and not over-scrupulous. O'Connell soon became complete master of Ireland. He formed a *Catholic Association*, which at once became a great power. He set his face against all crime and outrage, and the agitation was the more impressive from its orderly character. So formidable did the Catholic Association seem that in 1825 it was dissolved by act of parliament. But a new society was at once started to do its work, and the movement went on much as before. Under O'Connell's guidance the small Irish voters, who had hitherto always voted for the candidates supported by the great landlords, began to vote for men of their own way of thinking. In 1828 O'Connell himself became a candidate for County Clare against Vesey Fitzgerald, a popular Irish landlord, and a friend of the Catholic claims. He was returned with a huge majority, though, as a Catholic, he could not hold his seat. His election created such excitement in Ireland that it seemed as if civil war was likely to break out between the Catholics and Protestants.

The Catholic Association and the Clare election.

14. Since the expulsion of the Canningites the majority of the government belonged to that section of the Tories which had always resisted the Catholic claims. Both Wellington and Peel had been conspicuous upholders of the existing system. But, though slow to see the necessity of change, both were open-minded and sensible. The course of events in Ireland gradually convinced them that even Protestant ascendency might be upheld at too high a cost. Already, in 1828, they had allowed a bill to pass for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which, though for a century never carried out, still delighted the bigots by their presence in the statute-book. In 1829 Peel and Wellington brought in a bill to admit the Catholics to parliament, though they proposed that, as a safeguard,

Catholic emancipation, 1829.

the franchise in Ireland should be raised, so as to exclude from voting the poverty-stricken small farmers who had returned O'Connell for Clare. The high Tories were bitterly disgusted, and complained that their leaders had betrayed them. Nevertheless, the bill easily got through parliament, and "the only hope of the Protestants lay with the king." For a time George blustered, and declared that he would rather lay his head on the block than yield. But he had neither courage nor constancy, and quickly gave way. O'Connell, not allowed to sit for Clare without a fresh election, was returned without opposition, and took his seat. Flushed with this triumph, he started a new agitation for the repeal of the Union.

15. Though forced against his will to carry through Canning's policy in the matter of Catholic emancipation, Wellington did his best to reverse Canning's ideas with regard to foreign affairs. The king's speech lamented the battle of Navarino as an "untoward event," and spoke of Turkey as an ancient ally. It was impossible now to put down the Greeks altogether, but Wellington sought to limit the Greek state to the Peloponnesus. Russia profited by England's weakness to take up the cause of the Christian subjects of the Turks. In 1829 she went to war with the Turks, and secured larger though still scanty limits for Greece at the point of the sword. When Dom Miguel, the absolutist champion in Portugal, overthrew the constitution and made himself king, Wellington resolved "that no revolutionary action should come from England," and took up a neutral attitude. He was friendly with the bigoted Charles X., who, after his brother Louis XVIII.'s death, became king of France in 1824. He was looked upon as the great upholder of absolutism throughout all Europe. In strong contrast to his colleague's action, Peel continued his useful reforms at home. In 1829 he set up a *new police* system, which established the trained and effective police force which we still have. Peel and Wellington were still in power when George IV. died on June 26, 1830.

Wellington's foreign policy.

Death of George IV., 1830.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM IV. (1830–1837)

Chief Dates:

1830. Accession of William IV.; Grey's Whig Ministry.
1832. The Reform Act.
1833. Slavery abolished.
1835. Municipal Corporations Reform Act.
1837. Death of William IV.

1. The two chief political forces of the nineteenth century were *democracy* and *nationality*. The former began with the French Revolution, and the latter became strong when the nations of Europe rose in revolt against Napoleon's attempt to establish universal monarchy. The reaction after 1815 proved nearly fatal to both, and the despots of the Holy Alliance strove to put down nationality and democracy as fatal to order, property, monarchy, and religion. England never sympathized altogether with this reactionary policy, though she allied herself with its exponents, and for long protested against it with little energy. It was the work of Canning to reassert the ideal of nationality, while even Tories like Peel and Wellington showed their appreciation of the force of democracy by their surrender on the Catholic question. Thus the reign of George IV. marked the first faint breaking away of Britain from the old tradition, and the beginnings of the movements which gathered increasing force in the times that we have still to traverse.

Democracy and nationality.

2. Even on the continent the wave of reaction was coming to an end. The *liberals*, as the enemies of the system of the restored despots were called, were now strong enough to make their influence felt, and the year 1830 was a year of revolution all over the West. It witnessed the overthrow of Charles X., the bigoted king of France, and the setting up in his place of a constitutional monarch of the English pattern in Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, and now king of the French. It saw Germany and Italy make fresh though futile

The continental revolutions of 1830.

attempts to shake off obedience to their petty monarchs. It was famous for the revolt of the Catholics of the Southern Netherlands from the Protestant Dutch, with whom the Congress of Vienna had united them. Henceforth the king of the Netherlands ruled over the north only, while the south, the old Austrian Netherlands, became the constitutional kingdom of Belgium, under the rule of Leopold of Saxony-Coburg, the widower of the Princess Charlotte.

3. In Britain the *liberal* movement on the continent took the form of an agitation in favour of parliamentary reform. Wellington set his face against it, and declared that our system of election was so perfect that if he had to invent a new one he could not have devised a scheme better able to fulfil its purpose. Thus he irritated the reformers after having already alienated the old Tories by his change of front on the Catholic question. The completeness of his isolation was seen when the general election which followed George IV.'s death destroyed his majority and compelled him to send in his resignation.

The agitation for parliamentary reform.

4. William IV., the new king, was a very ordinary person. He was eccentric in language and conduct, and was so excited at being a king that he behaved in a very strange fashion. He was, however, good-natured, kind-hearted, and well-meaning, and his conduct was generally straightforward and honourable, if not always discreet or far-seeing. His affability and simplicity made him popular, and he was thought to be a reformer. When the Wellington-Peel ministry fell, William gave the office of prime minister to Earl Grey, the Whig leader, who formed a strong reforming ministry from the Whigs and the Canningites. Brougham became chancellor and a baron, while Lord Althorp, son of Lord Spencer, led the House of Commons with great tact and good sense. The Canningites, who had now lost their master's dread of parliamentary reform, mustered strongly. Among them were the foreign secretary, Viscount Palmerston, an Irish peer, and Lord Melbourne, both of whom afterwards became chief ministers. Thus when, after twenty-three years of exclusion from power, the Whigs again entered office, they absorbed into their body the best element among their Tory rivals. The new ministry at once prepared a bill for reform of parliament.

William IV. and the Grey ministry, 1830.

5. Since the days of the two Pitts it had been felt by the wisest Englishmen that the traditional method of choosing members of parliament was unsatisfactory. The system of election and the distribution of members had not been altered for hundreds of years.

and the great changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution, and the growth of the factory districts in the north, had shown conclusively the small extent to which the House of Commons represented the people. Each county of England and Ireland returned only two members. The greatest and richest shires, like Yorkshire or Lancashire, had no more representation than Rutland or Westmorland. Many great towns, such as Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham, returned no members at all, while in London the populous new suburbs had no voice in parliament, electoral rights being limited to those dwelling within the narrow limits of the cities of London and Westminster and the borough of Southwark. On the other hand, there were many towns, called *rotten boroughs*, which returned two members apiece, though they had hardly any inhabitants or electors. Conspicuous among these places were Gatton in Surrey, which was a gentleman's estate in a park, and Old Sarum, in Wiltshire, an ancient fortress on a hill, deserted since the thirteenth century for the new Salisbury which had grown up in the adjoining valley of the Avon. If things were not quite so bad in Ireland, it was because the Act of Union had given an opportunity of destroying many of the smallest Irish boroughs, while in Scotland the state of affairs was far worse than in England. Moreover, very few persons had votes at elections. In the counties only the freeholders could exercise the franchise, while many borough members were chosen by the town councils, which were close corporations filled up when vacancies arose by the voices of the surviving members. In Scotland there was a mere handful of persons qualified to vote for any constituency. The result of all this was that the House of Commons was controlled by the great landholders. This system not only excited the indignation of the poor; the rich manufacturers and merchants of the new manufacturing districts were particularly badly represented, and were indignant that their opinion should count for so much less than that of the landed classes.

The need for parliamentary reform.

6. The French Revolution stayed, as we have seen, the reform agitation for a time, though the extreme party, called Radicals, never desisted in their demand for a thorough change in the representative system. Under George IV. the cry for reform was taken up by the Whigs in parliament, and a few feeble steps taken towards redressing some of the worst grievances. Two small boroughs were disfranchised for notorious corruption, but an effort made to transfer

The reform movement under George IV.

their seats to Leeds and Birmingham was defeated by the Tories insisting that they should go to increase the number of county members. Even before the question become important in parliament, it excited much strong feeling in the country. Reformers *Unions*, of which that at Birmingham was the most famous, were established; and the agitation they stirred up affected even the existing constituencies, and helped to create the reforming majority which floated Grey into power.

7. In March, 1831, Lord John Russell, a member of the Grey ministry, laid a *Reform Bill* before the Commons. It passed its second reading by only one vote, and came to grief in committee. Parliament was dissolved, and returned such a strong majority of reformers that Russell had no further difficulty in carrying his bill through the House of Commons. However, in October, 1831, a second bill was rejected by the House of Lords. Thereupon riots broke out all over the country, which frightened the Lords into passing the second reading of a third bill in May, 1832, by a small majority. This did not, however, settle the matter, for the Lords in committee passed a resolution postponing the consideration of the disfranchising clauses. Regarding this as fatal to the bill, Grey asked William IV. to create enough new peers to secure its passing unaltered through the Lords, and, on the king's refusal, the ministry resigned office. Wellington boldly attempted to form another government, though the excitement out-of-doors was now terrible, and there was talk of stopping all supplies until the bill was passed. Wellington at last saw that reform was inevitable, like Catholic emancipation, and that he could not longer resist the people's will. As a soldier he did not care to hold an untenable position. He gave up his attempt to form a ministry, and persuaded so many of his followers to withdraw from the House of Lords that the bill went through on June 4, 1832, by a considerable majority.

The struggle for reform, 1831-1832.

8. By the *Reform Act* of 1832 all boroughs containing less than 2000 inhabitants were entirely disfranchised, while boroughs with between 2000 and 4000 inhabitants were cut down to one member. The seats thus set free were given to the larger counties, which were broken up into two or even three divisions, and to the unrepresented towns, including Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and several other large places, notably new London boroughs, all of which had henceforth two members each. Other smaller, but still considerable, places each returned one member. The county franchise was

The Reform Act of 1832.

enlarged by adding copyholders, leaseholders, and £50 tenants at will to the freeholders, while the borough franchise was made uniform for the first time, and votes given to those occupying houses of £10 rateable value. The Tories rightly described the act as a revolution, though it was a long time before its full effects were felt. It dethroned the landed aristocracy, which since 1688 had controlled the country, and transferred the balance of power to the middle classes, such as the farmers and shopkeepers. Few working-men got votes, so that the bill did not bring in democracy, though it prepared the way for it.

Irish Repeal and the Tithe War.

9. The first reformed parliament met early in 1833, and was anxious to make more changes. The Tories were few in number, and the ministry had an enormous majority, though some of its nominal supporters were discontented *Radicals*, who disliked the narrowness and aristocratic bias of the Whigs, and nearly half the Irish members were *Repealers*, or followers of O'Connell. They were, however, all in agreement with the ministers in supplementing the Reform Act by other new laws, though there were fierce disputes as to how far each measure should go. There was much trouble in Ireland where O'Connell's repeal agitation was complicated by what was called the *Tithe War*. This was caused by the refusal of the Catholic peasants to pay any longer for the support of the Protestant Church, and filled all Ireland with outrages. The government put down disorder with a strong hand, cut down some of the worst abuses in the Irish Church, and finally, passed an *Irish Tithe Commutation Act*, which turned the tithe of a tenth of the produce into a fixed rent-charge. Even earlier than that, a new law commuted English tithes also into a rent-charge fixed by the price of corn.

Other reforms, 1832-1835.

10. The reforming parliament was strongly opposed to slavery, and in 1833 passed the *Emancipation Act*, which set free all slaves in the British Empire, and awarded the planters £20,000,000 as compensation. In 1834 it passed the *New Poor Law*, which put an end to the degrading system of doles from the parish in aid of wages, and improved the administration of the poor law by establishing unions of several parishes, governed by popularly elected guardians of the poor. In the long run, this measure probably did more to improve the condition of the people than any other single law of the time, but at first the change caused much hardship to those who had acquired the habit of looking to the rates for support. In 1835 a further great change was made by the *Municipal Corporations Reform Act*.

which did for the local parliaments of the boroughs what the Reform Bill had done for the parliament of Westminster. Up to now corporations had been mostly self-appointed, and were often scandalously corrupt. They were now superseded by town councils chosen by the people, except that a third of them consisted of aldermen, elected, like the mayor, by the councillors themselves.

11. Foreign policy during these years was controlled by Palmerston, who would not suffer the least interference from his colleagues. A disciple of Canning, Palmerston broke with the traditions of Wellington, though in his zeal for carrying out his ends he sometimes lost sight of Canning's doctrine of non-intervention. Whenever he interfered, however, it was on the side of nationality and liberty. Thus he joined with Louis Philippe of France in winning the freedom of Belgium, helped the constitutional queen of Portugal to win a final triumph over her uncle, Dom Miguel, and in similar fashion backed up Queen Isabella of Spain, the young daughter and successor of King Ferdinand, who had to fight for her throne against her uncle, Don Carlos, who claimed the inheritance as the nearest male heir, and aimed at setting up a despotism. Palmerston was less successful in the East, where the principles of the Holy Alliance were still in the ascendency.

Palmerston's foreign policy.

12. After a few years the energy of the reforming government wore itself out. It was never successful in administration, and failed altogether in finance. In the cabinet the Radicals quarrelled with the aristocratic Whigs, while some of the more conservative ministers resigned in disgust, because they thought that some of Grey's proposals went too far. In 1834 Lord Grey left office, and Lord Melbourne became prime minister. He was learned, clever, and liberal-minded, but was wanting in seriousness, resolution, and firmness. His chief object was to keep his party together, and maintain it in place against the ever-rising tide of opposition.

The Melbourne ministry, 1834.

13. As the Whigs lost ground, the Tories once more became powerful. Old Toryism of the type of Castlereagh and Wellington was killed by the Reform Act, but Peel (Sir Robert since 1830) was still to be reckoned with. Distrusted by his followers because of the part he took in emancipating the Roman Catholics, Peel gradually won back their allegiance by qualities that raised him head and shoulders above every other member of the House of Commons. His cold manner, shyness, and want of enthusiasm prevented him from

Peel and the Conservative party.

being personally popular, but his honesty and public spirit, his tact, promptitude, and judgment, and his deep insight into public opinion, won him universal respect. Sensible men, tired of the weakness and narrowness of the Whigs, looked up to him with ever increasing attention. Peel knew that the British middle classes were no revolutionists, and set about forming a new party adapted to the new state of things. He offered a programme of good government, sound finance, moderate reform, and the preservation of the existing constitution in Church and state. Dropping the discredited name of Tory, his followers called themselves *Conservatives*. An enemy bitterly described them as "Tory men with Whig measures," but their policy soon became popular with the new constituencies. Moreover, William IV. was altogether tired of the Whigs. In November, 1834, he suddenly dismissed Melbourne from office, and called upon Peel to form a new ministry. Peel boldly accepted the task, and, as he was in a hopeless minority in the House of Commons, he called together a new parliament. The Conservatives gained enormously at the elections, but not enough to enable them to retain their places. Accordingly Peel was forced to resign in April, 1835. Melbourne and the Whigs came back to office, and remained in place rather than in power till the old king's death in June, 1837.

Death of William IV., 1837.

CHAPTER III

VICTORIA—PEEL AND PALMERSTON (1837–1865)

Chief Dates:

1837. Accession of Victoria.
1839. Penny Postage introduced.
1841. Peel's Ministry.
1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws; Russell's Ministry.
1847. The Irish famine.
1848. Revolutions in Europe; failure of the Chartists.
1852. Derby-Disraeli Ministry.
1853. Aberdeen Coalition Ministry.
1854. Outbreak of Crimean War.
1855. Palmerston's Ministry.
1856. Peace of Paris.
1857. Chinese War.
1859. Palmerston's second ministry.
1861. American Civil War.
1865. Death of Palmerston.

1. As William IV. and Queen Adelaide left no children, the throne devolved on their niece Victoria, the only child of Edward, duke of Kent, and his wife, Victoria of Saxony-Coburg, sister of Leopold, king of the Belgians. An immediate result of the accession of a queen to the English throne was the separation of the throne of Hanover from that of the United Kingdom. As women were not eligible to reign in Hanover, Ernest, duke of Cumberland, the most unpopular of George III.'s sons, became king of that country, which henceforth pursued a separate course of history until its absorption in Prussia in 1866.

Separation of England and Hanover.

2. The new queen was only eighteen years old, and had been brought up so quietly by her mother that few people knew much about her. She showed from the first great calmness and self-possession as well as rare courage and discretion. At first she depended very much upon Lord Melbourne, who took the utmost pains to instruct

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

her in politics. But Melbourne was not a strong minister, and there was some danger lest his unpopularity should be extended to the mistress who trusted him. Even if Melbourne had been better fitted for this work, there were grave inconveniences in the queen being advised by the leader of one of the two rival parties in the state. Luckily this was removed when Victoria married, in 1840, her first cousin, Albert, duke of Saxony-Coburg Gotha. Albert was called the *Prince Consort*, and though even younger than the queen, proved from the first a wise, prudent, and unselfish adviser, honestly and modestly striving to do his duty, while keeping in the background to avoid jealousy. Stiff in his ways, and German rather than English in character, he was not very popular at first, but the more he was known the better he was liked. Himself learning much from Melbourne, he saved the queen from too great dependence on a falling ministry.

3. Prince Albert and the queen worked in absolute agreement with each other. He taught her that "if monarchy was to rise in popularity, it was only by the monarch living a good life, and keeping quite aloof from party." With great tact he brought the monarchy into touch with the state of things brought about by the Reform Bill. He did for the crown what Wellington did for the House of Lords. Just as the duke saw that the Lords must give up setting themselves against the national will strongly expressed, so did the prince see that the crown could no longer exercise those legal rights for which George III. had fought so manfully. Like the Lords, the crown now became a checking and regulating rather than a moving force. It remained as the symbol of the unity of the nation and the empire, and did good work in tempering the evils of absolute party government. Though most of the royal prerogatives which survived were henceforward carried out by ministers, the royal influence continued considerable in every department of the state. At no time during her long reign did Victoria hesitate to take up a strong line of her own. The times were critical, and the condition of politics changed rapidly. The tendencies towards nationality and democracy, of which we have spoken, exercised a steadily increasing force. The effects of the Reform Bill were gradually worked out, and two other reform acts made the government more and more dependent upon the people, until at last nearly every male had a voice in the government of the country. It is in no small measure due to the wisdom of Prince Albert and the devotion of the queen that

The changed conception of the work of the monarchy and House of Lords.

the monarchy became more popular and useful than it had been for a long time.

4. In the early years of Victoria's reign the state of the country was unsatisfactory. Ireland was still demanding the repeal of the Union. The Whig government would not agree to this, but was obliged to conciliate O'Connell and his followers, since it required their votes in the Commons to keep the ministry in office. Some substantial improvements were effected in the state of Ireland, notably by passing an Irish poor law and by the abandonment of the worst of the traditions of the old Protestant and landlord ascendency party. So far was Irish agitation stayed that the outlook in England became almost more alarming than in Ireland. Working-men found that they were no better off after the Reform Bill than before it. Wages were low, and the price of bread was kept very high by the corn law, which prevented wheat being brought into the country because of the heavy duty imposed upon it. Popular discontent found its expression in the plans of the brilliant Welshman, Robert Owen, to reorganize society on the basis of *Socialism*, and came to a head in the *Chartist Movement*. This began in 1838, when William Lovett, a thoughtful London mechanic, started an agitation for what was called the *people's charter*, which laid down six points for which the Chartists were to agitate. These were manhood suffrage, the ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, no property qualification for members of parliament, and the payment of members. In 1839, the extreme Chartists, called the *Physical Force Party*, drilled their followers, held great meetings, and organized riots. The most formidable of these was at Newport, in Monmouthshire, but it was suppressed without great difficulty. Before long the alarm which such acts of violence caused, and the divisions among the Chartists themselves, stayed the progress of the movement. For many years the Chartists were looked upon with great alarm, though most of the things they asked for have since been quietly granted.

Socialism and Chartism.

5. In distant parts of the empire there were almost as many troubles as at home. There was a dangerous war in India with the amír of Afghanistán. In Canada there was civil war between the English and French settlers. Melbourne had a difficult task in dealing with so much discontent. Weak as his government was, it effected some important reforms. Conspicuous among these was the introduction of *Penny Postage* within the British islands, a measure adopted in

Melbourne's ministry, 1835-1841.

1839 at the suggestion of Rowland Hill. In the same year, however, Melbourne's majority was reduced to five votes, and he gave up office. Peel refused to form a ministry unless the Whig ladies in the queen's household went out along with their husbands. The queen was very indignant at this, and restored the Whigs to power. For two more years her favour alone kept Melbourne in place. In 1841 there was a general election, which gave the Conservatives a majority of ninety. After this, royal favour was useless to Melbourne, and Peel became prime minister. He formed a strong government, which remained in office until 1846. Though the queen received him very unwillingly, she soon reconciled herself to her new advisers. It was the first sign that the monarchy was rising above party.

The Conservative reaction of 1841.

6. Peel's cabinet aimed at peace and conciliation, both at home and abroad. Palmerston, Melbourne's foreign secretary, had generally managed to get his own way in foreign affairs, but he had taken up such a high line that he had more than once brought England to the verge of war. In particular, Palmerston had quarrelled with France in 1840, because he had resented the efforts of Louis Philippe to establish French influence in Egypt, and to encourage the warlike pasha of Egypt to conquer Syria from the Turks. Not only England, but Russia, Austria, and Prussia were alarmed at this aggression of the French. Accordingly, the four powers formed, in 1840, a *Quadruple Alliance*, which checkmated the plans of the French, and restored Syria to the Turks. Palmerston believed that the Turks were capable of reforming their government and making Turkey a civilized state. His triumph gave the Turks time to show what they could do, but left France irritated and hostile to England. Lord Aberdeen, Peel's foreign minister, was much more anxious for peace than Palmerston. He restored friendly relations with France, and the good understanding between the two powers was increased by Victoria and Louis Philippe paying visits to each other. The friendship of the two countries was not, however, very deep, and Palmerston's suspicions of Louis Philippe were justified when fresh disputes arose on two occasions, in 1844 and 1846. Thus within six years England and France were thrice brought to the verge of war. Aberdeen's pacific policy was even more successful in determining our relations with the United States. In 1842 he made a treaty which settled the boundary between Canada and the state of Maine. A new boundary question, however, rose at once in the extreme north-

Foreign policy of the Peel ministry, 1841–1846.

west. For a time the uncompromising attitude of the Americans threatened war, but Aberdeen managed to renew negotiations, and the line between the American and British territories on the Pacific was settled by treaty in 1846.

7. After the fall of the Whigs, O'Connell revived the repeal agitation. His efforts were strengthened by a new party which arose in Ireland in 1842. It was called the *Young Ireland* party, and was headed by a band of youthful enthusiasts who sought to revive the memories of 1798 and obtain repeal by force. Though wanting in balance and sound sense, the eloquence and passion of the Young Ireland leaders set all Ireland aglow. Though O'Connell was alarmed at their rashness, and discouraged their talk about rebellion, their influence revived the somewhat languishing agitation for repeal. *Monster meetings* were held all over Ireland, of which the most famous was at Tara, the old home of the Irish kings, where O'Connell prophesied to a vast throng that a year would see the Irish parliament restored to Dublin. At last the government took the alarm, stopped the meetings, and arrested O'Connell. In 1844 the *Liberator*, as O'Connell was called, was condemned for conspiracy. Though the Lords reversed the sentence, O'Connell never recovered the blow inflicted on his prestige. Three years later he died on his way to Rome on a pilgrimage.

Young Ireland.

8. Peel saw that the constant disturbances in Ireland shewed that something was radically wrong. He appointed a commission of inquiry, at the head of which was Lord Devon. The report of this *Devon Commission* showed that the land question was at the bottom of Irish grievances, and, by laying bare the condition of the peasants, and the scandals of the land system, marked the first effort of England to probe the sources of Irish discontent. Peel also sought to lessen the grievances of the Catholics by increasing the state grant to Maynooth College, where the Catholic clergy were educated, and by establishing *Queen's Colleges* at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, where the Catholic and Protestant youth of Ireland might receive, side by side, a secular education. The *Maynooth grant* lost Peel the support of the more bigoted Protestants, and Catholics and Protestants joined in denouncing the queen's colleges as godless. With all his wish to do right, Peel was too stiff and too English to understand the real needs of Ireland.

Peel's Irish policy.

9. Britain was still unrestful. In 1843 the Scottish Church was burst asunder by the *secession* of the *Free Church*, and in

1845 came the crisis of the new High Church movement in England, when John Henry Newman, its leader, became a Roman Catholic. The Chartists again became active, and there was still so much distress and discontent in the country that they had a large following. One of the great sources of distress was the high price of bread which followed from the corn laws. Every year the population of England increased, owing to the growth of manufactures. It became yearly more impossible to feed the people with English corn alone, but the heavy duties imposed on foreign corn only allowed it to be brought into England when the price of wheat was very high. The consequence was that, whether the harvest was good or bad, the poor man had to pay heavily for the bread that he ate. This state of things was kept up in the interest of the landlords and farmers, who reaped a rich harvest at the price of the nation at large. So strong was the landed interest in parliament that neither Whigs nor Tories were willing to repeal the corn laws. Melbourne had done nothing to alter the bread tax while he was in power, but, on going out of office, had pledged his party to the policy of superseding the law by a moderate fixed duty on corn. Even this had alarmed the landlords, and one element in giving Peel his great majority in 1841 had been the conviction of the landed interests, that, if the corn laws were reduced or repealed, they would be ruined. Thus the Tory party was even more pledged to a policy of protection than the Whigs had been.

The corn laws and popular unrest.

10. In 1839, some north-country manufacturers had met in Manchester, and started the *Anti-Corn-Law League*, which demanded the total and immediate repeal of all taxes on corn. Its leaders were Richard Cobden, a Manchester calico-printer, of great earnestness, attractiveness, and power of persuasion, and John Bright, an eloquent Quaker manufacturer from Rochdale. The league at once began a new agitation. Meetings were held, pamphlets circulated, and large sums of money raised to carry on the propaganda. Gradually the league convinced many people that it was more important to give many men cheap bread than to keep up the artificial prosperity of a single class of the nation.

The Anti-Corn-Law League, 1839.

11. The greatest work of the league was the conversion of Peel himself. He was, above all things, a practical man, an administrator, and a financier. In the earlier years of his government he had been especially successful in improving the state of trade, and putting

the national credit and finances into a creditable condition. Almost without knowing it, Peel was, like Huskisson, led by his financial reforms in the direction of free trade. He had strong sympathies with the manufacturing class, from which he had sprung, and which was now decidedly against the corn laws. But his party was not with him. The landed interests thought their prosperity bound up with protection, and wished to keep up the taxes which made it hard for foreigners to compete with them. They soon began to murmur against Peel's free-trade budgets, and at last found a spokesman in Benjamin Disraeli, a brilliant and eccentric novelist of Jewish origin, who had made himself conspicuous as the leader of the fantastic *Young England* party, which had sought for some years to revive old-fashioned and romantic notions. Disraeli was not taken seriously, and Peel thoroughly distrusted and offended him. As a result, Disraeli declared in parliament "that protection was in the same condition as Protestantism in 1828," and held Peel to scorn for "catching the Whigs bathing and running away with their clothes."

Peel and free trade.

12. In 1845 the partial failure of the Irish potato crop brought matters to a crisis. Since the Union the population of Ireland had grown enormously, though there was no corresponding expansion in her industries. There were now more inhabitants of Ireland than the country would feed, and the land laws placed the people at the mercy of their landlords. In a large part of Ireland the soil was tilled by small farmers, who paid such high rents that they had very little left to live upon. They were, therefore, compelled to eat the cheapest possible food, and for this reason the greater part of the Irish peasantry subsisted almost entirely upon potatoes. A disease now broke out which made potatoes unfit for human consumption. The poor were plunged into great distress, and could only be kept from starvation by a large importation of corn.

The failure of the Irish potato crop, 1845.

13. To bring in foreign grain was impossible so long as the corn law remained in operation. Accordingly Peel took the decisive step of telling his cabinet that the corn law must be relaxed forthwith to feed the starving Irish, and that when once this was done, no minister could ever venture to bring it back again. After some hesitation, a large section of the cabinet refused to support his proposal to abolish the bread tax, whereupon Peel resigned. Lord John Russell, the Whig leader, who had recently abandoned the doctrine of a

The repeal of the corn laws, 1846.

moderate fixed duty, and now advocated total repeal, failed to form a ministry, and then Peel resumed office. In January, 1846, he proposed to reduce the duty on corn to a nominal amount. The result was a break-up of the Conservative party. The greater part of it, henceforth known as the *Protectionists*, rose in open revolt against Peel, under Lord George Bentinck, a shrewd, hard, racing man, who hated Peel, and Benjamin Disraeli, who denounced Peel's change of front with pitiless cruelty. Peel could only carry the repeal of the bread tax with the help of the votes of the Whigs. A little later the Protectionists had their revenge. Peel brought in a Coercion Bill to put down disorder in Ireland, and the Protectionists joined with the Whigs in defeating it. Peel at once resigned. His great merits were his honesty and straightforwardness. Though he seldom took a broad and far-seeing view of a question, he always kept his mind open to facts, and whenever he saw that a thing was right, he declared for it. The reason which made him a bad party man made him a good practical statesman.

Fall of Peel, 1846.

14. For the next twenty years there were three parties in English politics. The smallest and least popular, but the ablest of these, was the little band of Peel's personal followers, who followed him in his change of front in 1846. They were called the *Peelites*, and were led, after Peel's sudden death in 1850, by Lord Aberdeen. The most remarkable of the party was, however, William Ewart Gladstone, the son of a Liverpool merchant, whose ability, eloquence, and high character had already marked him out for a great career. Next came the *Protectionists*, under Bentinck and Disraeli, who were joined by the vigorous and energetic Lord Stanley, who deserted Peel in 1845. The disunion of the Conservatives gave their opponents a stronger position in the House of Commons than the two parties combined. They were now more often called *Liberals*, from a word borrowed from continental politics, which suggested a broader and more democratic policy than the name Whig. But the Liberals were almost as much divided as the Conservatives. The ties of party sat very loosely on the *Radicals* and the Irish members. Among the former must be included the *Manchester school*, under Bright and Cobden, who, with much zeal for reform, honest indifference to clique, and special knowledge of trading questions, were ignorant and careless of foreign policy, and tied down by narrow notions of the business of the state, and by

Peelites, Protectionists, Liberals, and Radicals.

middle-class prejudices, that made them oppose many measures for the welfare of the people. Despite all these drawbacks, the Liberals were nearly always in power, and only yielded up office by reason of their own divisions.

15. After Peel's fall, the prime ministership passed to Lord John Russell, a dexterous tactician and a consistent Whig, who had no great claim to the higher merits of statesmanship. His influence was overshadowed by the dominating personality of Palmerston, who resumed his post at the foreign office, where he gained for the government most of the credit which it won. The bad feeling between these two weakened the ministry, which, however, remained in place until 1852.

The Russell ministry, 1846-1852.

16. The first concern of the new government was Ireland, where the repeal of the corn laws had done little to remedy the distress produced by the failure of the potato crop. In 1846 the potato disease was much worse than in 1845, and a terrible famine fell upon the country. Soon the people were dying wholesale from want of food and from fevers caused by bad and insufficient nourishment. England was deeply moved by the tale of Irish suffering, but the government was ignorant and timid, and was afraid of the cry of the Radicals that state interference with the food supply was an intrusion upon the work of the traders and against the doctrines of political economy. They therefore started relief works and paid the workers, but they left the food supply to the ordinary traders, who made disgraceful fortunes by speculating in Indian meal and flour. It was not until 1847 that the ministers were taught by experience that the only way to keep the Irish alive was to distribute food to them. Gradually the harvests improved, but the condition of Ireland still remained very bad. Many landlords were almost as unprosperous as their dependants. In their eagerness to make all they could out of their estates, they saw clearly that the system of small farms no longer paid them. They therefore turned out the poor tenants, and combined several little holdings into one large farm. The result of these clearances and evictions was an enormous and continued emigration, which in fifty years cut down the population of Ireland from eight millions to five. The emigrants to America and the large towns of Britain could not but hand down to their children the fiercest hatred of the English name. This much good flowed from the Irish famine, that it put an end to the cottier system, which stood in the way of all real improvements. Save in the extreme west, where small holdings

The Irish famine and its consequences, 1846-1847.

lingered on, those who were left in Ireland slowly became somewhat more prosperous. Yet the bringing in of English ways and English capital made them as bitter as ever against the political system of the dominant country.

17. In 1848 a general revolutionary movement upset half the thrones of Europe. Louis Philippe was driven from France and a republic set up. There were revolutions in nearly every state of Germany and Italy, in which countries the national movement for winning unity under a single popular government took a strengthened hold upon the people. The Italians and Hungarians revolted against Austria; the Germans assembled a national parliament at Frankfort.

The year of revolutions, 1848.

18. The revolutionary wave extended even to the United Kingdom. In England Chartism revived, while in Ireland the Young Ireland party sought to raise a rebellion. In 1848 the Chartists summoned a great meeting on Kennington Common, in the south of London, and the government feared a riot. Very few people appeared, and the Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor, lost heart and did nothing. A little later an enormous petition was sent in by the Chartists to parliament, but on examination the signatures proved largely fictitious. This double failure overwhelmed them with ridicule, and the movement soon collapsed altogether, for improved work and higher wages took the worst sting from the discontent which animated them. Equally complete was the failure of Young Ireland. Smith O'Brien, their chief, made a feeble attempt at a rising, but was taken prisoner in a cabbage garden, whereupon the movement died out. Thus Britain weathered the storm which threatened so many foreign states. In 1851 it celebrated the return of peace and prosperity by holding in Hyde Park the first *Great Exhibition* of the industrial products of all nations. This was largely owing to the influence of the prince consort.

Chartism and Young Ireland, 1848.

19. When the troubles of 1848 broke out abroad, Palmerston looked upon the constitutional and national movements with such favour that men of the old school condemned him as a firebrand and a revolutionary. As time went on, however, the liberal agitation became a revolutionary one. There was street fighting in half the capitals of Europe. Reaction followed revolution, and in the result the constitutional movement seemed undone. This was notably the case in France, where Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon the Great, became elected president of the French Republic only to

Palmerston's foreign policy.

overthrow it. In its stead he made himself Napoleon III., *Emperor of the French*, and sought with indifferent success to copy the methods of his uncle. Henceforth France was ruled by a military despotism, controlled by fortune-hunters and adventurers.

20. Palmerston was so disgusted with revolutions ending in anarchy that he privately expressed the fullest approval of Louis Napoleon's high-handed subversion of the French Republic. He had not consulted either the queen or the cabinet, and both were annoyed at the easy way in which he pledged them to approve of perjury and violence. Already he had given much offence to crown and colleagues, and the queen had previously drawn up a memorandum insisting that he should always state what he proposed to do, and not alter measures after she had given them her sanction. After this fresh indiscretion he was dismissed from office. He bitterly complained that Russell had given way to the queen and the prince, and eagerly sought for an opportunity of being revenged upon him. His chance came in February, 1852, when Russell sought to allay the fear of invasion which had followed from the establishment of another Napoleon in France by bringing in a bill to strengthen the militia. Many details of the proposal aroused dislike, and Palmerston, seeing in the ill will these excited a chance for revenge, carried an amendment against the ministers, and forced them to resign.

Dismissal of Palmerston, 1851, and Russell, 1852.

21. Palmerston was not strong enough to form a government himself. His triumph brought into power the Protectionists, and Stanley, now by his father's death earl of Derby, became prime minister, with Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. But the new ministers were in a minority, and held office through the favour of Palmerston and the divisions of their opponents. At first it was feared they would revive the corn laws, but Disraeli, who was rapidly showing that he was to be taken seriously, was too wise to go back on what had been done. He dropped both the name and the policy of protection, and his followers soon included the whole Conservative party, since the Peelites remained completely estranged, and generally voted against them. Before the end of the year the Whigs and Peelites put the government in a minority, and on December 16 it resigned.

The first Derby-Disraeli ministry, 1852.

22. It was time to have done with governments on sufferance, and it was agreed that a *coalition ministry* should be formed of Peelites and Whigs. Aberdeen, the Peelite leader, became first lord of the treasury and prime minister. He was an accomplished

and able man, but lacking in firmness, resource, and knowledge of character. Lord John Russell, the Whig leader, became leader of the House of Commons, and Palmerston accepted the home secretaryship, an office he cared little for, but took because he thought England wanted a strong government. Gladstone became chancellor of the exchequer, and showed himself a worthy disciple of Peel by his brilliant budgets and masterly budget speeches. He carried through financial reforms which made further strides in the direction of free trade; but before long the outlook abroad turned men's minds from reform at home.

The Aberdeen coalition ministry, 1852-1855.

23. The Eastern question was revived through the action of Nicholas I., the able and masterful tsar of Russia. Nicholas had long been seeking to persuade the powers to agree to some sort of partition of the Turkish empire. "We have on our hands," said he, "a sick man; it will be a great misfortune if he slip away from us before all necessary arrangements have been made." Nicholas showed foresight in anticipating the dissolution of Turkey, but he naturally wished to make Russia gain as much as he could from the collapse of the Turks. His policy excited great alarm in the West, and led many statesmen to make efforts to uphold the Turks so as to keep up the balance of power, and prevent Russia from becoming too strong in the south-east of Europe. This policy, of which Palmerston was the chief exponent in England, was quite wrong; for the Turks, though admirable soldiers, were quite unteachable as rulers, and so habitually neglected and maltreated their Christian subjects that the latter were perpetually rising in revolt against them. Encouraged by the example of the Greeks, other Christian subjects of the Turks were seeking to win their liberty, and looked up to Russia for help. The right policy for Europe would have been to join with Russia in getting rid of Turkish rule. It would not have been impossible, if the powers had worked together, to prevent Russia obtaining undue power at the expense of the Turks. However, the jealousies of the powers prevented combined action, and petty disputes between the Greek and Latin clergy in Jerusalem began a conflict which ultimately ripened into war. Nicholas supported the Greek monks, while the Latin clergy were supported by the French. In their alarm of Russia the Turks leant to the Latin side, and Nicholas made their action an excuse for taking up a strong line against them. In 1853 he occupied Moldavia and Wallachia, the

Nicholas I. and the Eastern question.

present kingdom of Rumania, but then vassal states of Turkey. He gave out that he intended to hold them until the Turks restored the Greek clergy to their accustomed position as custodians of the Holy Sepulchre.

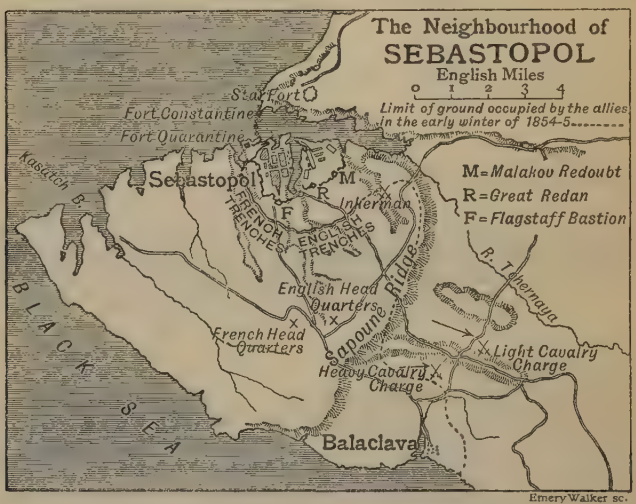
Origin of the Crimean War.

24. Napoleon III. saw in the dispute between Russia and the Turks a chance of establishing his throne and winning glory for himself, and Palmerston, always mistrustful of Russia, largely sympathized with him. He was still the strong man of the ministry, and his influence prevailed over that of Aberdeen and the Peelites, who were eager for peace, but did not know how to get it. A close alliance was formed between England and France, and England gradually drifted towards war. On Russia refusing to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, the English and French fleets entered the Dardanelles. Thereupon the Russians fell upon a Turkish squadron at Sinope, and destroyed it utterly. In January, 1854, the allied fleets entered the Black Sea, and war thus broke out. For the first time, after many generations, Englishmen and Frenchmen fought side by side.

The Crimean War, 1854-1856.

25. The first hostilities by land were on the Danube, where the Turks checked the advance of the Russians by their stubborn defence of the fortresses which commanded the course of the great river. English and French troops were now sent in large numbers to *Varna*, the English being commanded by Lord Raglan, and the French by Marshal Saint-Arnaud. Thereupon the Russians withdrew from the Danube, and abandoning Moldavia and Wallachia, returned to their own territory. The chief object of the war was gained, but the cabinet thoughtlessly ordered the troops at Varna to invade the peninsula of the *Crimea*, where the Russians had recently erected the new fortress and military station of *Sebastopol*, from which it sought to command the whole of the Black Sea lands. In September, 1854, the troops at Varna, already weakened by disease, were carried over the Black Sea, and landed in the west of the Crimea and the north of Sebastopol. Their equipment and supplies were adequate for an expedition rather than a prolonged campaign, and an immediate advance towards Sebastopol was made. A Russian army blocked the allies' line of advance, but on September 20 its strong position was captured in the *battle of the Alma*. After this victory the allies abandoned the bold but wise plan of a sudden attack on Sebastopol, and resolved to conquer it by a regular siege. The *siege of Sebastopol* lasted from October, 1854, to September, 1855. The allies did not possess resources or

skill enough to carry out siege operations properly, and were hampered by constant attacks from the large Russian armies that held the country within a few miles of the fortress. It was against these that, on October 25, the allies fought the *battle of Balaclava*, where the incompetence of the generals was redeemed by the valour of the soldiers, and notably by the two charges of the heavy and light brigades of British cavalry. On November 5 the *battle of Inkerman* was fought, when the Russians in Sebastopol made a general assault on the besieging lines. Again victory was won by



the valour of the soldiers rather than the skill of the generals. After these rude checks, the Russians showed greater caution in attacking the allies, but winter soon came on with its terrible cold, and the shameful incompetence of the home authorities left the troops utterly unprepared to face its severity. It was found impossible to shut off Sebastopol from communication with the Russian army outside, which pressed so hardly on the allies that they were almost as much on the defensive as the garrison. The land transport broke down so badly that it was almost impossible to convey stores from Balaclava on the sea-coast to the trenches that surrounded the south side of Sebastopol. Sickness worked more havoc than the Russian bullets, and nothing but the patient

endurance of the troops enabled the siege to be maintained. Matters grew brighter with the return of fine weather, and at last, in September, 1855, the French captured the Malakov redoubt, the key of the defences. Thereupon the Russians evacuated the doomed fortress, and on September 8 the allies took possession of it. Every party to the war had lost so severely that all were glad to negotiate for peace, and in March, 1856, the *treaty of Paris* ended the Crimean War. One of its clauses forbade Russia maintaining a war fleet in the Black Sea.

26. The mismanagement of the war had already brought about the fall of the coalition. A storm of indignation rose in England when the sufferings of the army became known, and in January, 1855, a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the army was carried against the government by an enormous majority. Aberdeen was driven from office, and the Peelites soon followed him. Palmerston became prime minister, and his former chief, Russell, consented to serve under him. Palmerston's energy soon put a new spirit into the conduct of the war. The skill and cheerfulness with which he retrieved disaster, and carried matters through to the peace, made him by far the strongest force in English politics for the rest of his life, though his restlessness and love of strong courses brought him more than once into trouble. He soon quarrelled with Russell, who was forced to leave the ministry. In 1857 he went to war against China, and when the House of Commons accepted a motion of Cobden that there was no justification for his violent action against the Chinese, he appealed to the country, which showed its confidence in him by returning a large majority of his followers. Next year he was again in difficulties, because he brought in a *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*, in order to please his ally, Napoleon III., who had complained that a plot to murder him had been devised in England, and demanded an alteration of the law to prevent such conspiracies in future. A combination of Conservatives, Peelites, and Radicals again defeated Palmerston, and this time he was forced to resign.

Palmerston's first ministry, 1855–1858.

27. Derby and Disraeli now formed their second ministry, but they were in a minority in parliament, and were driven from power in June, 1859. Palmerston was then restored to office. His second ministry lasted until his death in 1865. It included both Whigs and Peelites, who were now almost welded together into a single Liberal

The second Derby-Disraeli ministry, 1858–1859.

party, of which the Peelites were in some ways the advanced half.

Palmerston's second ministry, 1859–1865.

28. During Palmerston's last ministry great changes took place on the continent. The movement towards Italian and German unity, which had been rudely checked after the failure of the revolution of 1848, now resumed its course. Victor Emanuel, king of Sardinia since 1849, put himself at the head of the Italian national party, and was made king of Italy. A great step towards German unity was taken in 1864, when Austria and Prussia united and expelled the Danes from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were largely German. But they quarrelled over the distribution of the spoils, and engaged, in 1866, in a short but decisive struggle for supremacy. The Austrians were beaten, and expelled from the German confederation. Prussia, now ruled by King William I. and his minister, Bismarck, became the leading power in Germany. A North German confederation was formed, which secured Prussian supremacy over all Germany north of the Main.

Italian and German unity.

29. A fresh trouble arose in 1861, when a great civil war rent asunder the United States of America. The Southern states seceded, and formed a new confederation to uphold slavery. England professed strict neutrality in this conflict, but public opinion was largely in favour of the South, which was believed to be anxious to make itself an independent nation as the Italians and Germans were doing. This led to somewhat strained relations between England and the Northern states. The Americans particularly complained of the slackness of the English government which allowed privateering cruisers, such as the *Alabama*, to be built in English dockyards, to prey on their commerce. When, in 1865, the persistent efforts of the North had restored the imperilled union, there was still much bad blood between the Americans and the English. Another result of the war was the *cotton famine* in Lancashire, which was a time of great distress for the factory hands, whose supply of raw cotton had been cut off by the Northerners' blockade of the Southern ports.

The American Civil War, 1861–1865.

30. During all these troubles Palmerston guided the fortunes of England with fair, but not distinguished, success. He had the good sense not to interfere with movements with which he had little sympathy. He did something to help the Italians, but court influence prevented him assisting the Danes in their plucky but unavailing

struggle to retain the duchies. Amidst great difficulties he kept up our good understanding with France, though the restless policy of Napoleon III. made the outlook very uncertain, and a renewed fear of invasion in 1859 led to a great volunteer movement, which has since largely increased the defensive forces of the crown. Dread of Napoleon, however, soon wore away, and, in 1860, Cobden negotiated a *commercial treaty* with France, which led to the restoration of friendly relations.

Palmerston's foreign policy.

31. All through these years foreign affairs called away English attention from domestic politics. Palmerston, now a very old man, cared nothing for reforms at home, and very little for the party game. His strong desire to do nothing provoked much resentment among the more ardent spirits in his cabinet. Chief among these were the Peelites, who were more eager for change than the old-fashioned Whigs. Palmerston allowed Gladstone, the Peelite chief, to be his chancellor of the exchequer. In a series of brilliant budgets Gladstone removed the chief obstacles to free trade, an end which Cobden's commercial treaty furthered. The times were very prosperous, and the revenue increased rapidly, though tax after tax was given up. But Palmerston looked with great distrust on Gladstone. He was shrewd enough to see that after his retirement the reformers would have the upper hand. "Gladstone," he said, "will soon have his way; whenever he gets my place, we shall have strange doings." So long, however, as the old minister lived, he clung to power, and kept back his eager followers. He died on October 18, 1865, when over eighty years of age. His best points were his strong will, courage, energy, cheerfulness, kindliness, but he was lacking in seriousness and high principle, very self-confident, and too much given to flippancy and bluster. But he honestly strove, sometimes perhaps not very discreetly, to uphold the honour and interests of England, and his death removed the most interesting and popular personality in English politics. With him ends the period which began with the Reform Bill of 1832. It was a time of middle-class ascendency, and the strong and weak points of the English middle class are strongly brought out in the history of the period. Four years before this the sudden death of the Prince Consort removed another great moderating influence.

The death of Palmerston and its results, 1865.

CHAPTER IV

VICTORIA—GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI (1865–1886)

Chief Dates:

1866. The third Derby-Disraeli Ministry.
1867. The second Reform Act; Fenian risings.
1868. The first Gladstone Ministry.
1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.
1870. The Franco-German War.
1874. The Disraeli Ministry.
1878. Treaty of Berlin; Afghan War.
1880. Second Gladstone Ministry.
1882. British occupation of Egypt.
1884. Third Reform Act.
1885. Death of Gordon; short Salisbury Ministry.
1886. Gladstone's defeat on Home Rule.

1. On Palmerston's death Russell, who since 1861 had sat in the Lords as Earl Russell, became prime minister. Palmerston's place as leader of the Commons was given to Gladstone. His appointment showed that the reforming section of the cabinet, which Palmerston had so long kept under, had now taken the lead. Its immediate result was the beginning of a new period of change which soon began to undermine the middle-class ascendency established in 1832. A transition to democracy began, which all parties helped on, though none with full knowledge of what they were doing. The twenty years which follow are occupied in the working out of this movement.

Beginning of the transition to democracy, 1865.

2. Parliamentary reform became a burning question. The Radicals had long been dissatisfied with the act of 1832. For many years the old Whigs had declared it to be a final settlement of the question, but the cry for thorough reform became so loud that Russell himself brought in several reform bills, and Disraeli proposed another in 1859. None of these measures were either popular or successful, and for the last few years Palmerston had prevented

The Russell ministry and the Reform Bill, 1865–1866.

the question being renewed. Now that his influence was removed, Gladstone introduced, in 1866, a new Reform Bill. Palmerston's followers, who shared their old chief's hatred of reform, retired, as Bright said, into a new *Cave of Adullam*, into which, like David, they invited all the discontented to join them. The Conservatives and Adullamites joined together, and, in June, 1866, drove the government out of office.

3. For the third time the uneasy task fell to Derby and Disraeli of forming a stop-gap ministry from a minority of the House of Commons. Disraeli had been for more than twenty years the leader of a minority, and had failed to win either parliament or the middle-class constituencies to his ideas. A great reform agitation broke out, which convinced him that the working-men were resolved to have a democratic parliament. Undeterred by his failure in 1859, he brought forward a *new Reform Bill* in 1867. Some of his followers were alarmed at its boldness, and left the ministry in disgust. The most important of these was Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquis of Salisbury. Despite this, the measure was carried through. Before it became law, it was made even more popular through the action of the Liberal majority in the House of Commons. By it all householders, rated to pay poor-rate, in English and Scotch boroughs, obtained votes, though in Ireland a £4 rating qualification was fixed. Lodgers were also allowed to vote if they paid £10 a year in rent and lived in the same rooms for a year. In the counties the franchise was extended to occupiers paying a rent of £12 a year. A redistribution of seats was also effected. Some small boroughs were disfranchised, and those having less than 10,000 inhabitants lost one member. The vacant seats were mostly given to the greater counties, but some of them went to new boroughs, while the greater centres received increase of representation. Five very large cities, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow, got a third member. Household suffrage was thus introduced in the towns, and a great step was made towards democracy, for it was plain that the middle-class county constituencies could not last much longer, now that all workmen who happened to live in boroughs possessed votes.

The third Derby-Disraeli ministry, 1866-1868.

The second Reform Act, 1867.

4. Grave trouble soon arose in Ireland. About 1863 a party of Irish and Irish-Americans started a secret society, whose members were known as the *Fenians*. Its object was to set up an Irish republic, and it gained increased strength when, after the

end of the American civil war, many Irish, who had learnt military discipline in America, returned to their native country. In 1867 a general revolt was attempted in Ireland. Though little came of this, the Fenian sympathizers succeeded in carrying out a series of daring acts in England. An attempt was made to rescue some Irish prisoners from a police-van in Manchester, and the police-serjeant in charge was shot. In London the wall of Clerkenwell prison, where several Fenian leaders were confined, was blown down with gunpowder, and many innocent persons were injured and slain. The crimes of the Fenians called attention to the undoubted grievances of the Irish. Gladstone and the Liberals started a new agitation for Irish reform, and carried through the House of Commons a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Disraeli had just become prime minister, on Derby's retirement from ill health. He soon dissolved parliament, but the new constituencies showed themselves unfavourable to the author of the second Reform Act. The Liberals obtained a majority of over a hundred, and Disraeli resigned.

The Fenians.

5. A strong Liberal ministry was formed with Gladstone as prime minister. For the first time the decided reformers were stronger than the aristocratic Whigs, and a place was found for John Bright, who, since Cobden's death, was the most conspicuous of the Radical chiefs. For the next six years a series of changes was carried out greater than any that had ever been previously attempted. The first of these was the *disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church* in 1869. The Protestant episcopal Church of Ireland was now doing its spiritual work far better than in the eighteenth century, but it was the Church of a minority, and the Catholic majority looked upon it as the representative of foreign conquest, while nearly half the Irish Protestants were Presbyterians. When once attacked, it was almost impossible to defend it, and its fall was made easier by the liberal terms granted to it.

The first Gladstone ministry, 1868-1874.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869.

6. The deepest grievance of the Irish was not the Church, but the land. Nearly thirty years before the weak points of the Irish land system had been revealed by the Devon commission, but nothing had been done to redress them. Speaking roughly, the land laws in England and Ireland were the same, but the practical difference was enormous owing to the great differences between the two peoples. In both

Irish land system.

countries rent was supposed to be settled by competition. In England this competition was to some extent real, but in Ireland the needy peasant farmers were quite unable to bargain on equal terms with their landlords, and cheerfully promised to pay impossible rents, since getting a farm was their only remedy against starvation. Moreover, while in England most improvements were made and buildings set up by the owner, in Ireland these improvements were made by the tenant, though as soon as they were made they became the property of the landlord.

7. In the old times, custom had kept the tenant on his holding for generations together, but after the famine grasping agents and improving landlords neglected these traditions, and rack-rented and evicted the tenants just as they thought fit. Thus the very improvements in Irish agriculture since the famine only added to Irish discontent, and deepened the deep gulf between tenant and owner. In 1870 Gladstone's first *Irish Land Act* attempted to remedy these grievances. It forced landlords to compensate their tenants for improvements effected by them, and allowed tenants, evicted for other causes than non-payment of rent, compensation for being disturbed in their holdings. Its effect was to recognize a *dual ownership* of the land between landlord and tenant, but it was not thorough enough, and therefore not a great success. It left landlords as free to evict as ever, if they chose to pay compensation; and it was not rigorous enough to prevent landlords who wished to evade the act from doing so.

The first Irish Land Act, 1870.

8. Besides the changes in Ireland, the ministers introduced many other plans of reform. In 1870 W. E. Forster carried through an *Elementary Education Act* which allowed districts to elect a *School Board*, levy an education rate, and compel children to go to school. Before that the education of the people had depended upon the voluntary action of individuals or of private societies. For more than thirty years the government had made grants to schools thus established, but it was only now that a national system of education was set on foot.

The Education Act, 1870.

9. In 1871 Cardwell, the war minister, began a series of army reforms by which short service was introduced, and the germs of a new army system laid, which included militia and volunteers as well as the regular forces. Cardwell also proposed to abolish the custom by which officers bought their commissions in the army. The Lords put aside

Other reforms.

this scheme, whereupon Gladstone took the high-handed course of abolishing purchase by royal warrant. In 1872 a *Ballot Act* was passed to establish secret voting at elections of the House of Commons. In 1873 Lord Selborne, the chancellor, passed his *Judicature Act*, which united the different law courts into a single high court of justice, and aimed at making law simpler, cheaper, and more certain.

10. During these years stirring events abroad made British foreign policy very important. In 1870 war broke out between the French Empire and Prussia, in which every German state except Austria took the Prussian side. Victory at once fell to the Germans, who invaded France, took the emperor prisoner, and dictated peace after the capitulation of Paris. By this peace France surrendered Alsace and part of Lorraine to the Germans. This triumph completed the unity of Germany. During its course the southern states joined with the north to form a new German Empire, and King William of Prussia accepted the imperial crown at Versailles. Italian unity was also completed at the same time by Victor Emanuel destroying the temporal power of the pope, and making Rome the capital of his kingdom. During the struggle France rejected the authority of the captive emperor, and set up the Third Republic, which has lasted ever since. For long there was great ill-feeling between France and Germany, while united Germany and united Italy were drawn very close together. Abandoning its old policy, Austria also joined the Germans and Italians. Ultimately Russia and France established a close friendship to meet the *triple alliance* of the powers of central Europe.

The Franco-German War and its results, 1870-1871.

11. During the Franco-German war, England took up an attitude of neutrality. Russia took the opportunity to announce that she no longer considered herself bound by the treaty of 1856, and again intended to keep warships in the Black Sea. As the government was not prepared to fight to uphold the treaty, it was forced to acquiesce in Russia's action. The ministry also agreed to submit to arbitration the claims brought against it by the United States for compensation for the loss of their commerce due to the action of the *Alabama* during the civil war. In 1872 the arbitrators decided that England was to pay three million pounds for her remissness. It was a heavy, and possibly excessive, sum, and the ministers were severely blamed, as they were also for their yielding to Russia.

Gladstone's foreign policy.

12. The energy of Gladstone's government had been only

matched by that of Lord Grey in the years after the first Reform Act. After six years of vigorous policy, a reaction came similar to that which had weakened the Whigs under Grey's successor, Melbourne. Every one was tired of reform, and Disraeli laughed at the ministers sitting opposite to him as a range of exhausted volcanoes. The government became unpopular through its weak foreign policy, the want of tact or firmness of some of its members, and the scandalous character of some of its appointments. Some of its later measures were extremely ill-advised. Conspicuous among these was the proposal to set up a new university in Ireland, in which neither theology, philosophy, nor history were to be taught. The revolt of its own supporters forced the government to give up this absurd proposal, and Gladstone resigned. However, Disraeli refused to form a fourth stop-gap ministry, and Gladstone resumed office. His position was, however, fatally weakened, and in January, 1874, he suddenly dissolved parliament. A majority of more than fifty Conservatives was returned to the House of Commons, whereupon the ministers tendered their final resignation. They had done great things, yet few cabinets had failed more signally.

Fall of Gladstone, 1874.

13. Up to now Disraeli had always been in a minority, and whether in opposition, or as minister on sufferance, had had little chance of showing his statesmanship. His success showed that he had made his popular national Toryism attractive to the lower middle classes, which had hitherto voted Liberal, and to the workmen of the towns to whom he had first given votes. A Conservative reaction, as decided as that of 1841, proved him a party leader of great insight and shrewdness, and enabled him to form a strong government, which kept in power for over six years. He offered a policy of no violent changes, steady practical improvements, good administration, and careful regard to the interests of the Empire. He passed many useful measures, which, not having much party bearing, hardly brought him as much credit as they deserved. Moreover, many of his reforms were permissive and not compulsory, so that they were not wholly satisfactory, though they sometimes prepared public opinion for stronger measures in the same direction.

The Disraeli ministry, 1874–1880.

14. In 1876 Disraeli became earl of Beaconsfield, whereupon Sir Stafford Northcote became leader of the House of Commons. His gentle methods soon proved inadequate to deal with a new Irish difficulty which now disturbed the popular chamber. For some years an agitation in

The Home Rule movement.

favour of *Home Rule for Ireland* had been raised. It became important when an Irish Nationalist party was organized under the strong and astute guidance of Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant country gentleman from Wicklow. The Nationalists took up the Home Rule agitation, and sought to press their views on the House of Commons by organizing the systematic obstruction of all business. A small knot of members, regardless of the orderly traditions of the house, was able to keep parliament sitting all night, and almost prevent any business being done. The objects of the Nationalists were even more agrarian than political. The land act had not fully dealt with the evils it sought to remedy, and bad harvests intensified the chronic distress of Ireland. Accordingly Parnell started the *Land League*, with the object of obtaining for the occupier of Irish land complete property in his holding. Violent speeches were made to ignorant, excitable, and suffering audiences, and outrages became common in southern and western Ireland. The agitation weakened the government, and ministers made no attempt to grapple with the source of discontent by further agrarian legislation.

15. The Eastern question now again came to a head. The national movement, which had united Germany and Italy, was felt in the Balkan Peninsula, where a minority of Mohammedan Turks still misgoverned a population that was mainly Christian. The special difficulty in the situation was that the Balkan lands did not contain one nation, but many. Serbians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and others were scattered about the peninsula, and, though united against the misrule of the Turks, were bitterly opposed to each other. The majority of the people were Slavs, and the Slavs turned, as usual, to Russia for help. A revolt of the Bulgarians was put down by the Turks with fearful cruelty. Thereupon Serbia and Montenegro took up arms against the Porte, but could not effect much. These proceedings showed that the attempts to reform Turkey after the Crimean War had utterly failed, and that it was useless to prop up so miserable a power any longer. The best way now, as in the days of Canning, would probably have been for Europe to combine to force the Turks to give some kind of self-government to their subjects. But the jealousies and indifference of the European powers, and the stolid obstinacy of the sultan, made this policy impracticable. As in 1829, Russia took up arms on behalf of the revolted Christians, and, after fierce fighting in Bulgaria, the beginning of 1878 saw the Russians marching in triumph on Constantinople.

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878.

16. The plain danger of a Russian occupation of Constantinople brought about a loud cry for war in England. Beaconsfield fostered the agitation, sent a fleet to the Sea of Marmora, called out volunteers from England, and hurried Indian troops to Malta. English feeling was, however, divided, since there was a strong dislike to help the Turks, and a widespread sympathy with the suffering Christians. However, the warlike preparations of England induced Russia to give moderate terms to the Turks in the *treaty of San Stefano*. Lord Salisbury, now foreign minister, objected to some of these, and demanded that the conditions of peace should be examined by a European congress. Accordingly, in June, 1878, a *congress* of the great powers met at Berlin, in which Beaconsfield and Salisbury represented the United Kingdom. Here was drawn up the *treaty of Berlin*, which settled the Eastern question for a few years. By it Bulgaria north of the Balkans was made a self-governing state, paying tribute to the sultan, while Bulgaria south of the Balkans, called Eastern Roumelia, was allowed a certain amount of local self-government under a Christian pasha. Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania were declared independent, and received additions to their territory. Russia and Greece acquired fresh lands at the expense of the sultan, and Austria was allowed to take possession of Bosnia. Cyprus was handed over to the English on condition of their protecting Asia Minor. The chief difference between this treaty and that of San Stefano was in the division of Bulgaria into two parts. The division was, however, unpopular with the Bulgarians, and seven years later the two Bulgarias were united. The main importance of the treaty lies in the triumph of the policy of replacing the dying Turkish Empire by national self-governing states. Beaconsfield had been accused of wishing to back up Turkey, but, if he ever held this policy, he seems to have given it up. He now boasted that he had won "peace with honour," and had protected British interests in the East from Russian aggression.

The treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, 1878.

17. In 1879 Beaconsfield joined with France in setting up a *dual control* in Egypt, which practically put the government of the country into the hands of the two Western powers. Their intervention was necessary because the *khedive*, or viceroy, of Egypt had made the country bankrupt through his extravagance, and was no longer able to maintain order. Four years before this, Beaconsfield bought the khedive's share, amounting to nearly half the capital, in the *Suez Canal*, which, built by French engineers, had, since 1869, immensely

The dual control in Egypt, 1879.

shortened the sea journey between Europe and India, by opening up a navigable way from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea.

Fall of Beaconsfield, 1880.

18. Absorbed in foreign affairs, the government had not dealt very vigorously with rising difficulties at home, or ruled very sternly the disorderly House of Commons. Its foreign policy, though much praised by some, was violently attacked by others. Gladstone denounced with fervid eloquence the threatened alliance with the Turks, and his zeal stirred up a deep response. Early in 1880 a general election destroyed Beaconsfield's majority, and brought back the Liberals to power. A year after his resignation Beaconsfield died.

The second Gladstone ministry, 1880–1885.

19. In the new Liberal ministry, Gladstone was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. His first concern was once more Ireland, and in 1881 he passed the *second Irish Land Act*, which carried much further the doctrines of the act of 1870. It allowed tenants to sell their interest in their holdings to the highest bidder, and set up land courts to fix rents by judicial process. It therefore frankly accepted the dual proprietorship between landlord and tenant implicitly recognized in 1870. For the moment it brought no peace to Ireland, where outrages became general, and the Land League started a new agitation to induce tenants to withhold altogether the payment of rent. At the same time the Home Rule members of parliament continued to embarrass the conduct of business by their persistent obstruction in the House of Commons. At first the government answered this agitation by dissolving the Land League, and putting Parnell and other Irish leaders in prison. In 1882, however, it somewhat changed its policy, released the Irish leaders, and seemed disposed to consider their wishes. Almost immediately after, however, the Irish secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and T. H. Burke, the permanent under-secretary, were murdered by a gang of Irish conspirators in Dublin. On this, a *Prevention of Crimes Bill* was quickly passed, and, to stop further obstruction, new rules for conducting business through parliament were enforced which gave a decided majority the power to compel the closing of a debate. This policy made the Irish fiercely hostile to the government, and they now sought for any occasion to turn it out of office.

Its Irish policy.

20. Foreign complications soon began to overwhelm the ministry. India was disturbed by a war with Afghanistan, which was only ended by the withdrawal of the English from that country. A

series of disasters in South Africa led to the restoration of the independence of the Transvaal. But the greatest difficulty was in Egypt, where Arabi Pasha headed a rising against European supremacy. Moreover, the *Sudan*, or region of the Upper Nile, which the Egyptians had conquered, rose in revolt under a Mohammedan prophet, called *the Mahdi*. The dual control broke down before the double crisis, and France left England to deal single-handed with these troubles. Accordingly, troops were sent to Egypt, and, in 1882, General Wolseley completely defeated Arabi at *Tel-el-Kebir*. This led to the nominal restoration of the khedive's power in Egypt, but henceforth the country was practically ruled by England. During these transactions, however, the Mahdi had conquered the whole Sudan, save a few posts where loyal Egyptian garrisons still held out against him. Early in 1884 the government sent General Gordon to Khartum, the capital of the Sudan, to arrange the withdrawal of the garrisons.

Egypt and the Sudan.

21. Charles George Gordon was an engineer officer, who, ten years before, had won great fame by putting down for the Chinese government a formidable revolt, showing in his difficult task a wonderful courage and simple faith, a shrewd insight into savage nature, and a remarkable power of governing men and inspiring them with confidence in him. Afterwards he became ruler of the Sudan on behalf of the khedive, and obtained great influence over the people of that wild region. He now made his way, unarmed and almost unattended, to Khartum. But he soon saw that he could not save the garrisons as circumstances then were. He, therefore, asked the government to give him troops, or a free hand to choose his own agents for reducing the disturbed province to some sort of order. The government refused both requests, and left him to deal as best he could with the Mahdi. Soon the Mahdi's troops besieged Khartum, and a loud cry rose in England to save the hero that defended it. After much hesitation, the irresolute government resolved to send an army to effect his release. In the summer of 1884 a British force moved painfully up the Nile, but the water was exceptionally low, and it made but slow progress. Before Khartum could be reached the city had been betrayed to the Mahdi, whereupon, in January, 1885, Gordon was slain. Soon after this the Sudan was abandoned. Luckily, the influence of the Mahdi now declined, and Egypt had comparative rest for several years. While the Egyptian troubles were acute, Russia pressed on her forces in Afghanistan, and threatened the Indian frontier. As in 1878, war with Russia

The death of Gordon, 1885.

seemed almost inevitable, but the question was referred to arbitration, and some sort of agreement arrived at.

22. In 1884 the government brought forward a new bill for the extension of the franchise, which was rejected by the Lords on the ground that no scheme for the redistribution of seats accompanied it. Later in the year the bill was again brought forward. This time a plan for the redistribution of seats was arranged between the Liberals and Conservatives, so that the *third Reform Act* became law with little difficulty. By it the franchise in the counties was made the same as in the boroughs, and several new methods of obtaining a vote were allowed. It disfranchised all boroughs with under fifteen thousand inhabitants, and reduced all with under fifty thousand to one member. It cut up the country into single member districts, the only exception to this being old boroughs returning two representatives, which remained undivided. A rough regard was given to population in determining the limits of these divisions, so that the great towns and the mining and manufacturing districts obtained much more adequate representation than before. Thus the number of London representatives was raised from twenty-two to sixty-two. Liverpool and Manchester (with Salford) got nine each, Glasgow and Birmingham seven each, and so on in proportion. The result was that England was made a thorough democracy, dependent on household suffrage with a comparative approach to equal electoral districts.

The third Reform Acts, 1884-1885.

23. The credit it obtained from the Reform Bill did not compensate the government for its failures in foreign policy, and its vacillation in dealing with the situation in Ireland. Beaten by a combination of Conservatives and Irish Nationalists, Gladstone resigned in June, 1885, and was replaced by a Conservative government under the marquis of Salisbury. A general election followed in November, the result of which was that the Irish held the balance between the two English parties. When Parliament met the Irish voted with the Liberals and restored them to power. In February, 1886, a *third Gladstone ministry* was accordingly established. Some of the moderate Liberals, including the marquis of Hartington, son of the duke of Devonshire, and brother of Lord Frederick Cavendish, had refused to take part in it. A few weeks later some of those who had taken office abandoned the government. The chief of these was Joseph Chamberlain, a Birmingham manufacturer, who had taken a

The first Salisbury ministry, 1885-1886.

The third Gladstone ministry, 1886.

conspicuous part in the second Gladstone ministry, and was the chief spokesman of a new school of Radicals, which, unlike the Manchester school of Bright and Cobden, believed that vigorous state interference would do more good than the policy of letting things alone, and had no sympathy with the apathy with which the older school regarded our foreign and colonial interests. Thus the Liberal ministry was hardly formed when the party began to break up.

24. The causes of this split had long been working, but the crisis was brought about by the knowledge that the prime minister was prepared to meet the requirements of his Irish allies by introducing a bill giving Home Rule to Ireland. In April, 1886, Gladstone brought forward a measure giving the Irish a local parliament and a local executive, and shutting their representatives out of the imperial parliament, which was still to carry on affairs of general imperial interest, while Irish landlords were to be bought out by a general scheme of land purchase. Ninety-three Liberals, henceforward called *Liberal-Unionists*, joined with the Conservatives in upholding the Union, and the second reading was lost by thirty votes. An appeal to the new democracy confirmed their action, for a general election held in July gave the allied Liberal-Unionist and Conservative parties a huge majority over the followers of Gladstone and Parnell. Thereupon Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury was called upon to form a government pledged to the defence of the Union. Henceforth the new issue raised by Gladstone divided British parties into *Unionists* and *Home Rulers*. The elections of July, 1886, bring to an end the well-marked period which began with the death of Palmerston. For over twenty years the new liberalism had set forth its plans of large reforms, and for twenty years the new conservatism had maintained its spirited foreign policy and care for imperial interests. These forces were now turned into fresh channels. In the next generation the old party names and watchwords ceased to have much of their old meaning. New party names were formed, and new questions sprang up with the solution of which we are still busy. The transition to democracy was completed. Social and economic problems, such as previously had been thought almost outside the province of the legislator, sprang up, while questions of colonial and foreign policy became increasingly important.

Home Rule and the break up of the old parties, 1886.

CHAPTER V

VICTORIA—HOME RULE AND THE EMPIRE (1886–1901)

Chief Dates:

1886. Salisbury Unionist Ministry formed.
1887. The Queen's Jubilee.
1888. Parnell Commission appointed.
1892. Fourth Gladstone Ministry.
1894. Resignation of Gladstone; Lord Rosebery prime minister.
1895. Third Salisbury Ministry established.
1898. Battle of Omdurman.
1899. Beginning of the Boer War.
1901. Death of Victoria.

1. During the last fifteen years of the reign of Victoria the Unionist party remained in office, save for a brief interval between 1892 and 1895. In the earlier years, between 1886 and 1892, the government was chosen almost exclusively from the Conservative wing of the Unionist majority, though Hartington and Chamberlain, the Liberal-Unionist leaders, gave the government their general support. Lord Salisbury, the prime minister, also acted as foreign secretary, and the office of leader of the House of Commons went to W. H. Smith, a plain man of business. The other chief members of the cabinet were G. J. Goschen, chancellor of exchequer, and the only Liberal-Unionist who held office, and Arthur J. Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew, who was Irish secretary.

The Salisbury Unionist ministry, 1886-1892.

2. Ireland was still restless. Parnell declared that, despite the Land Acts, rents were still too high, and some of his followers started an organization called the *Plan of Campaign*, by which the occupiers on certain estates withheld all rent from their landlords until they were willing to accept the tenants' terms. The landlords answered the Plan of Campaign with evictions, and these excited serious riots, which menaced the public peace. Balfour showed much tact and coolness in dealing both with the Irish party in parliament and with the

The Plan of Campaign.

aggrieved tenants. Before long the Plan of Campaign agitation died away, and Ireland became less disturbed.

3. A new phase of the Irish question was soon started. The *Times* newspaper accused Parnell of direct complicity with the worst outrages in Ireland, and published a *facsimile* of what professed to be a letter from him, in which he declared that, though he regretted the death of Lord Frederick Cavendish, "he could not refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." Parnell solemnly protested that he had never written the letter, and, in 1888, parliament appointed a *special commission* of three judges to examine the charges brought by the *Times* against Parnell. In their report the commissioners acquitted Parnell of the specific offence of approving of the Dublin murders, it being proved that the letter on which the accusation was based was a forgery. It found, however, that Parnell and his associates had incited to intimidate, and "did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect." The general indignation felt at the blundering of the *Times* destroyed much of the effect of this judicial condemnation of the Irish leaders' political methods. The alliance between the Parnellites and the followers of Gladstone became closer than ever, and Parnell showed studied moderation in order to win over English public opinion.

The Parnell Commission, 1888-1889.

4. A few months later, charges gravely affecting Parnell's private character were brought against him in the Divorce Court, and left unanswered. Notwithstanding this, his Irish followers in parliament re-elected him their leader for the new session, which began in November, 1890. However, Parnell's British allies were much shocked at the conduct of the man in whose character they had so loudly expressed confidence. In effect, the Irish party in parliament had to choose between fidelity to its old leader and breaking with the English Liberals. However, the majority of the Catholic clergy in Ireland declared against Parnell, and his stern discipline was so much resented by many of his subordinates that they gladly took this pretext for overthrowing him. But Parnell refused to bow before the storm. A few faithful allies still clave to him in his misfortune, and the Irish party was rent asunder. Though his health was breaking up, he showed extraordinary persistence in fighting to the last, but his candidates were defeated at nearly every election by the party of the priests and the English alliance, and, in 1891, Parnell died, worn out by the struggle. The split between the

Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, 1890-1891.

Parnellites and the Anti-Parnellites, as the two sections of the Irish party were called, had now become so deep that it long survived his death. When at length a formal reunion between them was patched up, a disciple of Parnell's, John Redmond, became the Irish leader. Meanwhile the effect of the schism was greatly to weaken the Home Rule agitation.

5. Foreign affairs occupied much of Salisbury's attention. During all these years the relations between England and France were unfriendly, especially on account of Egypt, where the British were successfully carrying out the work of reorganization in which the French had declined to take part. Distrust of England, and a feeling that the *Triple Alliance* of Germany, Austria, and Italy was directed against them, caused the French to look for support to Russia, which had been alienated from Germany since the death of the Emperor William I., in 1888, and the dismissal of his minister, Bismarck, by his grandson, the energetic William II. The result was the conclusion of a *Dual Alliance* between the radical democracy of the West and the reactionary despotism of the East. Between the dual and the triple alliance, the great powers on the continent were divided into two hostile camps. It required no little tact for England to steer a clear course between them. The ever-open Eastern question, and the movement of Russia towards India, made difficult our dealings with that power, while the Egyptian problem, and colonial differences all over the globe, involved us in disputes with France. Moreover, many points of colonial and commercial interest made our attitude to Germany somewhat uneasy. Salisbury did his best to smooth matters over, and in 1890 he made a treaty which limited the English and German spheres in Africa. In return for various concessions, of which the chief was the abandonment to England of all claims to *Zanzibar*, Salisbury conceded the little island of Heligoland, one of our spoils of the Napoleonic period, to Germany. The result was that our relations to the German Empire became a little less strained.

Foreign policy, 1886-1892.

The Triple and the Dual Alliances.

6. At home Salisbury's government effected much good work. In 1887 it celebrated the *Jubilee*, or fiftieth year of Victoria's reign. Among its new laws was the act of 1888, which set up elective county councils, and transferred the local government of the various shires from the magistrates in quarter sessions to these popular bodies. In the same year Goschen reduced the interest on the national debt from three to

The Queen's Jubilee, 1887.

two and three-quarters, and finally to two and a half per cent. In 1889 a scheme for adding to the numbers and efficiency of the royal navy was successfully set to work.

7. The opposition to the Salisbury government gradually increased in strength. It was fiercely assailed by Gladstone, now over eighty years of age, and resolutely bent on carrying through his Home Rule scheme before he abandoned public life. Accordingly, the next general election, which took place in July, 1892, was fought keenly, and with very even results. A small Gladstonian majority of forty resulted from the polls, so long as all the Irish Home Rule members voted consistently on the Liberal side. At first, however, this proved to be the case. Accordingly the Salisbury government was defeated, and Gladstone formed his fourth cabinet. Small as was his majority, his government showed remarkable discipline and cohesion, and remained in power for over three years. In 1893 he laid before parliament a new Home Rule Bill which differed widely from the bill of 1886. The Irish parliament was now to include an upper house, elected by ratepayers with a somewhat high property qualification; and besides her local parliament, Ireland was to send eighty members to Westminster with votes on all questions of general imperial policy. This measure was carried through the House of Commons, but decisively rejected by the House of Lords.

The fourth Gladstone ministry, 1892-1894.

The Lords reject the Home Rule Bill, 1893.

8. A great outcry was raised against the House of Lords, which was denounced for standing in the way of the wishes of the representatives of the people, though, in truth, public opinion was so evenly divided that an authority, which prevented the carrying into effect the will of a bare majority of the Commons, discharged a useful function. By declining to dissolve parliament, and thus to appeal to the people against the Lords, the ministry showed that it had no great confidence of obtaining a majority in the elections, though it was clear that the Lords' veto could not be maintained if, as on other occasions, a decided vote of the people had been given in favour of the measure they had rejected. Instead of this, the government remained in office, though it was more than likely that, under such circumstances, the Lords would throw out all their measures which it disliked. It was hoped that this action of the Lords would "fill up the cup" of grievances, and would make it possible to go to the country later with a demand for the reform or abolition of the upper house.

Filling up the cup.

9. Before this policy could be worked out, grave changes took place in the ministry. Early in 1894 the aged prime minister resigned office, bitterly disappointed at the fate of his cherished measure, but unable to contend any longer against the infirmities of years. He died three years later. With all his limitations, Gladstone stood head and shoulders above his rivals, and none of his successors could hope to possess either his wonderful hold over the House of Commons or his unique powers of appealing to the emotions and imaginations of the electorate. The queen chose as his successor Lord Rosebery, who was looked upon with suspicion by the more radical elements in the party, and remained little more than a year in office. During this period, a great number of bills were laid before the House of Commons, but few of them were carried. The most solid achievements of the government were therefore in administration and finance. Conspicuous among these were the successful foreign policy of Rosebery himself, and the popular budgets of the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, who, by raising the death duties, and extending the principle of graduated taxation, sought to make the rich contribute a larger share to the national revenue than had previously been the case. Sir William Harcourt, who became Gladstone's successor as leader of the Commons, represented that section of the party which was discontented with Lord Rosebery. These personal divisions reduced the energy of the government, and the Irish lost interest in it when it showed no eagerness to revive Home Rule. At last, in June, 1895, the government was beaten in the Commons in an unimportant division, and, welcoming this defeat as an opportunity for escaping from an intolerable position, at once resigned. Lord Salisbury then became premier for the third time. His ministry mainly differed from that of 1886 by including in it a large number of the Liberals who had opposed Home Rule.

The Rosebery ministry, 1894-1895.

10. Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists were now becoming bound together into a single party. Of the Conservative chiefs, Lord Salisbury again combined the duties of foreign secretary and prime minister, while A. J. Balfour was leader of the Commons. The Liberal-Unionists were represented by Lord Hartington, who had recently become duke of Devonshire, and Chamberlain, who was made colonial secretary. Parliament was at once dissolved, and the elections in July gave the Unionist government a majority of more than a hundred and fifty. The ministry remained in office

The third Salisbury ministry, 1895-1901.

for the rest of the queen's reign. With so large a majority, it held an unassailable position in parliament, and was further helped by the dissensions which broke out within the opposition. Home Rule policy became discredited by the factions of the Irish party and their avowed sympathy with our foreign enemies. Moreover, the Liberals were rent by grave schisms, which resulted in the withdrawal of Lord Rosebery and his chief opponent Sir William Harcourt from active political life. Ultimately the party found a leader in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

11. Foreign policy largely absorbed the new ministry, and fiercely divided English public opinion. The atrocities worked by the Turks in Armenia revived the Eastern question in a new and acute form. Great indignation was felt in England at the systematic massacres of the Armenians by the Turks, and the government was strongly urged to interfere. But no other power would give England any help, and it was thought likely that isolated action on her part would have brought about general European war, especially since Russia, entirely deserting her former policy, showed extreme friendliness to Turkey, and no help was to be expected by us from Germany. A further complication arose when Crete, an island inhabited by Greeks, rose in revolt against the sultan, and obtained much sympathy, especially from the Greek kingdom. In 1897 Greece indiscreetly went to war against the Turks, but her badly led armies were easily beaten, and she was soon forced to sue for peace. The chief European powers forced the Turks to give easy terms to the Greeks, and at last took the Cretan question into their own hands. After much delay they obtained the withdrawal of Turkish troops, and garrisoned the island with English, French, Russian, and Italian soldiers. The Cretans wished for union with Greece, but were forced to be content with emancipation from the Turkish yoke under the government of a Greek prince.

Armenia and Crete.

12. In the Cretan, as in the Armenian question, the government was much blamed for not taking a more vigorous part against the Turks, but the other difficulties with which Britain had to contend during these years account for her inaction. In 1895 a dispute arose between the United Kingdom and Venezuela with regard to the boundaries of British Guiana. It became dangerous when the United States claimed the right of settling the matter, and much ill-will arose between England and America on the subject. Ultimately, however, the outlook became quieter, and finally the question was

Other foreign troubles.

decided by an arbitration, which gave most of the disputed territory to Britain. To make matters worse, came the trouble in South Africa, which culminated in Jameson's Raid (see page 725). The German emperor showed signs of supporting the Transvaal, and the indignation felt in England at his action did something to distract attention from our dispute with America. Fortunately our relations with America have been improving ever since.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.

More serious were the difficulties with France, which complicated our uneasy relations with Germany and America.

13. Besides minor troubles, the position of Britain in Egypt gave cause for much discontent in France. There the English had, under the wise administration of Lord Cromer, restored the reign of law, civilization, and economy, and Sir Herbert Kitchener had built up, out of the Egyptian peasantry and the blacks of the upper Nile, a well-drilled and efficient army. The Sudan was now ruled by the *Khalifa*, the successor of the Mahdi, and for many years the fanatics of the south threatened to overrun Egypt itself. At last,

The conquest of the Sudan, 1896-1899.

in 1898, the English resolved on the reconquest of the Sudan. The heart of the Khalifa's empire was assailed by a mixed force of English and Egyptian troops, and on September 1, the power of the Khalifa was destroyed in a decisive battle fought outside *Omdurman*, his new capital, which had grown up opposite the ruined town of Khartum. The victor of Omdurman was made Lord Kitchener of Khartum, and the work of civilization, which had done so much good in Egypt, was extended, amid extraordinary difficulties, to the Sudan.

14. The French were mortified at the reconquest of the Sudan, and made an open attempt to block our further progress in that region. A French officer, Major Marchand, worked his way with a little force from the coast to *Fashoda*, a place much higher up the Nile than Khartum. Thereupon the French were peremptorily ordered to withdraw Marchand or face the consequences. French feeling was violently roused by this action, and war between the two countries seemed to be very near, but France was weakened by internal dissensions, and Russia, her ally, was unwilling to provoke a great war for the sake of a desert in Central Africa. Accordingly, France gave way, and in 1899, signed a treaty which admitted that the whole Nile valley lay within the British sphere of influence. Other subjects of dispute were already settled. The result was that relations between the two powers became much less strained, and, after a few years, the old cordiality was completely restored.

Fashoda, 1898.

15. A fresh problem for Western statesmen was now supplied by China. In 1894 and 1895 there was war between China and Japan. In this struggle Japan won an easy victory, and revealed to the world that a new great power had arisen in the East, which had so well assimilated the lessons of Western civilization that she was ready to match Europeans on their own ground. The immediate result of the Japanese triumph was seen in the apparent decay of her defeated rival, and the chief powers of East and West at once began to form schemes for profiting by the threatened fall of the Chinese Empire. Russia, France, and Germany sought from the Chinese grants of "spheres of influence," within which their respective subjects should have the monopoly of trade. England, on the other hand, strove to maintain the policy of the "open door," by which all China was equally thrown open to foreign commerce. At first the change of Chinese policy led to a great extension of trade with Europe, in which England took a leading share. But complications soon followed.

Troubles in the Far East.

Russia established herself in Manchuria, whereupon Britain and Germany acquired Chinese ports and territory. In 1900 the Chinese hatred of foreigners burst out afresh in the sudden attack on the European legations at Pekin by rebels called *Boxers*, with the connivance, however, of the Chinese government. The legations defended themselves bravely, while a hastily collected international European army forced its way to Pekin and effected their liberation. China was for some months at war with Europe, but at last an agreement was patched up.

16. At home the government's acts included the extension of elective county councils to Ireland, the increase of the state grants to voluntary schools, and some attempt to organize secondary education. In 1897 the Empire celebrated what was called the *Diamond Jubilee*, or the sixtieth year of Victoria's reign. In 1900, on the imagined conclusion of the Boer War, a new general election gave the government a majority of a hundred and thirty. About this time the health of the aged queen, which had hitherto remained extraordinarily good, began to decline. She died on January 22, 1901, after a reign which had happily surpassed in length all other reigns in our history. Her eldest son was proclaimed Edward VII.

Diamond Jubilee, 1897, and death of Queen Victoria, 1901.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. The decay of the effective power of the crown after the death of George III. made the king's ministers mainly dependent upon the House of Commons, and as three successive Reform Acts rendered the House of Commons a more and more popular body, they thus became for most practical purposes the ministers of the people. There was some danger, clearly seen by a shrewd observer like Prince Albert, lest parliamentary government might prove weak government. Men feared that a state depending on the whims of a popular assembly might fail to carry out a firm and consistent policy. This danger became the greater since a strong tendency set in after the middle of the century towards extending on every side the work of the state. Bitter experience had shown that leaving individuals or classes to follow their own selfish instincts had resulted in grave evils. Accordingly the state gradually concerned itself with checking the bad results of fierce competition. It sought to provide for the workmen clean, healthy, and properly fenced workshops; to save the helpless from unsuitable or excessive toil; to procure for every child a proper education, and for every household a fitting dwelling; to control the giant monopolies which the modern system had brought into being, and to sweeten men's lot by providing means and time for recreation, study, and refreshment.

Increase of the functions of the state.

2. All this increased work of the state involved the building up of fresh machinery for its execution. New government departments were organized. The two secretaries of state of the eighteenth century were gradually increased to six. *Secretaries of state* were created, charged respectively with the work of the Home, Colonial, Foreign, War, Indian and Scottish departments. As the lord-lieutenant of Ireland became more limited to the ceremonial duties of the

Central government.

mock court at Dublin, his *chief secretary* became in nearly all matters the minister for Ireland. The *Board of Trade*, which began under William III., became increasingly important. New branches of the government arose in such bodies as the *Local Government Board* and the boards for education and agriculture. So great has been this increase in the number of government departments that the cabinets of the later nineteenth century were swollen to numbers nearly approaching twenty. As the heads of all these offices were chosen, after the English fashion, from their position in parliament and the country, rather than for their knowledge of their special work or their capacity as administrators, they were forced into contenting themselves with the general oversight of their departments, while the details of the work were done by a paid and trained staff of permanent officials. Fortunately, the English civil service has always been non-party and permanent. The influence and knowledge of the official class has accordingly done much to balance the evils of party government controlled by a popular chamber, though it has dangers of its own in the liability of officials to be enslaved by "red tape" and routine. By this time entrance into the civil service was secured by open competition.

3. Local government, like the central administration, became increasingly complicated. For the greater part of the period the administration of the English country districts remained with the *Quarter Sessions* of the Justices of the Peace, a class largely made up of the landed gentry. In Ireland the same class ruled the shires through the *Grand Juries*. Local self-government was, after 1888, extended to the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland by means of popularly elected *County Councils*. In corporate towns the oligarchical rule of self-elected corporations was destroyed by the *Municipal Corporation Reform Act* of 1835, and by the subsequent creation of new corporate boroughs in the case of populous places like Manchester and Birmingham. In the country districts elective *Parish* and *District Councils* have extended the same principle to the smaller areas into which the shires are divided. The local authorities have extended their sphere of action even more conspicuously than the central state, and provide gas, water, tramways, and many other services for their constituents. The county councils received by the Act of 1902 the responsibility for the control of education within their spheres.

Local government.

4. The army, which fought so bravely under Wellington, was only kept in discipline by flogging and sternness during its twenty-one

years of service. The officers, though mostly high-spirited gentlemen, were ignorant of the art of war until they were brought face to face with the enemy, and in peace time were as idle and undisciplined as their men. The army administration was a marvel of complication and inefficiency. After the peace of 1815 there still survived some of the old jealousy of a standing army, and Wellington sought to hide it away in small bodies to prevent it getting too conspicuous. The old system went on through all the long peace, and finally collapsed in the needless miseries which it brought upon our army in the Crimean War. Reforms were then introduced, and a secretary of state for war appointed. But the *commander-in-chief* remained directly responsible to the crown, and every attempt to subordinate the general to the statesman was resisted as an attack on the royal prerogative. At last Cardwell's reforms in 1870 and 1872 laid the foundations of a better system. The organization was simplified; the evil custom of officers buying their commissions was abolished; and attempts were made to provide them with some system of military education. Short service was introduced; later flogging was abolished, and the army was localized so that each regiment was connected with a county from which it took its name, and included not only at least two battalions of the line, but the militia of the district and the volunteer force, which, first raised in 1859, added largely to the number of trained men available for home defence. Meanwhile the development of rifled arms of precision, loaded at the breech, and firing with a rapidity and at a range undreamt of in earlier days, had revolutionized the art of war. Though army reform was never very complete or thorough, great improvements were effected both in the quality and number of the forces of the crown. This was shown by the rapidity with which, in 1899, a larger force than Britain had ever despatched from her shores was transported successfully to South Africa. But the failures of the Boer War showed that there was still need for further reform, and unhappily the lessons suggested by it did not result in the establishment of a satisfactory and rational system of national defence.

The army.

5. The navy was never allowed to fall so low as the army. The introduction of steam brought about a revolution in maritime warfare, though it was long before steam was thought practicable for warships. By the time of the Crimean War the queen's ships were propelled by steam, though they kept up the general appearance of the old line-of-battle ships. Their inability to fight against shore fortifications led to the building of

The navy.

floating batteries, protected by plates of iron. Before long armour plating was employed for sea-going men-of-war; all large ships were built of iron, and later of steel; masts and sails almost disappeared, and a large number of small cannon was replaced by a few heavy and powerful guns. Improvements in the steam-engine made it possible to move the unwieldy modern warship at a speed of more than twenty miles an hour. Much smaller crews were also required, and a large proportion of them were engineers and stokers, who have nothing to do with navigation or fighting.

The Church.

6. In the early part of the century the *Evangelicals* were the most active section in the Church. They were never, however, very numerous, though their teaching gave colour to many outside their own body. It was largely owing to them that many new churches were erected in the large towns. The mass of the clergy, though good natured, honest, and kindly, were wanting in zeal and energy, and many of the bishops were distinguished by their birth, their scholarship, or by their complaisance to their royal and noble patrons rather than by the activity with which they discharged their spiritual duties. The Church was not popular. Nonconformity was strong among the middle classes; the mass of the population was stolidly indifferent to church and chapel alike; and reformers resented the tenacity with which the Church party clung to its old exclusive privileges. It was believed that the reformed parliament would make short work of the Church altogether.

The Tractarian movement and its results.

7. The High Church tradition still survived in some country parsonages, and was revived soon after the Reform Bill by a small group of Oxford men, whose leaders were John Keble, the poet of the *Christian Year*, Edward Bouverie Pusey, professor of Hebrew since 1828, and, above all, John Henry Newman, vicar of St. Mary's. To this little band the Church outlook seemed very gloomy, and they resolved to revive through the press the teaching of the Laudian school as to the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments. The result was a series of pamphlets called the *Tracts for the Times*, which were received with great enthusiasm by a few and with a howl of reprobation from the many. But gradually the movement spread, and by 1837 the Church revival had become general. The outcry against the *Tractarian movement* was still very strong, and a great blow fell upon it when, in 1845, Newman became a convert to the Church of Rome. Many of his followers followed his example, but the mass of the party stood firm under the quiet and diplomatic

leadership of Dr. Pusey, from whom they were often called *Puseyites*, though they chose to call themselves the *Catholic* school. One result of the movement was a fresh study of mediæval art and practices, which led up to a revival of the symbolical ritual of the Middle Ages, and gave the extreme following the nickname of *Ritualists*, though the great teachers had cared little for mere outward forms. Despite much opposition, the devotion of many of the clergy of this party made their teaching acceptable to large numbers, and procured for them a practical toleration. The many efforts to put them down signally failed, and none more completely than Disraeli's *Public Worship Regulation Act* of 1874. Meanwhile the Evangelical, or Low Church, party continued its activity, though it began to show signs of losing its power of spreading more widely. A new school of liberal or latitudinarian churchmanship, called the *Broad Church*, revived the spirit of Tillotson and Burnet. Efforts to restrain these were as ineffective as the efforts to put down Ritualism. In the end each of the Church parties got some sort of legal recognition. Some evil has resulted from the strange growth of party spirit, but also a good deal of energy and activity which has not altogether limited itself to sectional channels. Vast sums were lavished on building new churches and in repairing old ones. The *Ecclesiastical Commission*, set up in 1836, did a great deal towards the better management and the more equal distribution of the estates of the Church. Many new bishoprics were established, and a whole hierarchy of colonial bishops set up, so that in 1878 ninety-five Anglican prelates met together in a *Pan-Anglican Synod*, and nearly two hundred and fifty in 1897. Convocation, which, since the reign of George I. had met only formally, was after 1854 again allowed to transact business, and as this was not a very representative body, voluntary *Congresses* and *Councils* have been gathered together to get at Church opinion more fully. All through the century the Church had gradually been losing its old invidious supremacy. However, it managed to do more work than in the days of the Reform Bill, and won a larger measure of esteem and support.

8. Nonconformist bodies also increased in numbers, wealth, influence, and organization. The disabilities imposed upon them in earlier times were gradually swept away, notably in 1828, when the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. In 1836 Dissenters were allowed to be married in their own chapels, or before a registrar. In 1868 Gladstone abolished compulsory church rates, and in 1871 most

The Protestant Nonconformists.

religious tests were removed at Oxford and Cambridge: In 1880 the *Burials Act* allowed burials in parish churchyards "with any Christian or orderly religious service." A great change of feeling induced the mass of Nonconformists to adopt what was called the *Voluntary Principle*, and to maintain that the state should have nothing to do with religion. One result of this was a movement for the disestablishment and disendowment of the state Church. The *Irish Church Act* of 1869 was the chief victory of this doctrine under Victoria.

The Roman Catholics.

9. Another feature of the century was the great growth of the Roman Catholic Church in England, beginning with the *Catholic Emancipation Act* in 1829 and the repeal of the repressive laws of earlier times, and helped forward by the secession of Newman (cardinal in 1879), by the longing of many to find rest from a troubled and sceptical age in the bosom of an infallible Church, and by the large migrations of Irish to the English and Scotch great towns. In 1850 a hierarchy of twelve bishops, under the archbishop of Westminster, was set up, and a similar territorial episcopate was introduced somewhat later among the Roman Catholics of Scotland.

The Established Church and the Free Church in Scotland.

10. In Scotland there grew up early in the century the same zeal for ecclesiastical independence which marked the High Church revival in England. The Evangelical party won back a majority in the general assembly, under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, and sought to abolish the right claimed by some of the Scottish landlords to appoint ministers to the parish churches. This was resisted by the patrons, who were upheld by the law courts, so that a great conflict arose between Church and state. After ten years of controversy, this was ended in 1843, when nearly five hundred ministers, headed by Chalmers, gave up kirk, manse, teinds, and glebe and formed a *Free Church*, in which their spiritual liberties were not controlled by secular laws. A large number of their congregations followed them, especially in the Highlands, and to this day the Church of Scotland has ceased to minister to the majority of the population. In 1874 the *Patronage Act* of 1712 was repealed, though it was too late to be of much use, and Scotch Presbyterianism remained split into different camps. Besides the Free Church, there were various older Presbyterian secessions, which united in 1847 to form the *United Presbyterian Church*, distinguished from the Free Church by upholding as a theory the "voluntary principle." Late in the century the Free

Church and the United Presbyterians were united in a body called the *United Free Church*, despite the protests of a small minority of the old Free Church which still claimed to represent that body, and obtained decisions of the law courts in its favour.

11. In the early years of the nineteenth century the chief British industries were somewhat languishing, but, after the gradual introduction of free trade by Huskisson and Peel, progress became rapid. The population increased enormously, despite the fact that after 1847 there was a large and continual falling off in Ireland, and that the tendency of recent years has been towards a steady decline of the numbers in the purely agricultural districts in Britain. Wealth increased even more rapidly; and the national revenue mounted up in proportion. Prices fell as goods could be made more easily and raw materials could be brought in the cheaper markets. Artisans and professional men earned better salaries, and the income tax returns showed a steady addition to the number of people comfortably well off. Despite the repeal of the corn laws, farmers and landlords long continued as prosperous as the manufacturer and tradesman. But ultimately the growth of foreign competition cut down the profits of agriculture and made corn growing one of the least attractive forms of employment. The great national states which had grown up on the continent, especially Germany, and on the other side of the Atlantic the United States of America, began to prove formidable rivals to English manufacturers. Yet the volume of British trade never fell off, though capitalists had often to be contented with a smaller percentage of interest and traders with a diminished margin of profit. Though it is improbable that England will ever win back the position she once bade fair to obtain as the one great manufacturing and commercial nation of the world, she has no great reason to fear, for being every whit as well situated as her competitors, she is likely to retain a large share of the world's business.

Material wealth.

12. There was nothing quite so striking in the annals of nineteenth-century inventions as the story of the great discoveries which made the industrial revolution possible. Yet all sorts of machinery became elaborated with a subtlety, detail, and scientific knowledge to which the eighteenth-century inventors were strangers, and man's control over matter wonderfully enlarged. This was well illustrated by the enormous improvements in the methods of communication by which the

Steamships.

increased volume of trade was made possible, and notably by the application of steam both to land and water carriage. Early in the century successful experiments were made in steam navigation both in England and in America, and in 1819 a steamboat crossed the Atlantic, though it was not for nearly a generation that improvements in engines and the utilization of the screw-propeller made steam navigation habitual for large ocean-going vessels. By the end of the century steam navigation had become so cheap that steamers almost superseded sailing ships.

Steam railways.

13. By the early years of the nineteenth century canals had done a great deal for the transport of heavy goods. Roads had been made smooth and hard through the improvements brought in by an engineer named Macadam. On them magnificently horsed coaches conveyed passengers and mails at a rate of over ten miles an hour, both by night and day. Moreover, the roads were at last safe from the *highwaymen* who had infested them in earlier times. But canals were slow and road transport costly, and engineers were beginning to look around for quicker and cheaper ways of moving heavy goods. In 1802 Richard Trevithick, a Cornishman, took out a patent for a *steam locomotive*, and in 1814 George Stephenson ran his first engine on a tramway used in the Tyne district for conveying coals to the port. So successful was this that Stephenson started an engine factory, and his locomotives soon began to supersede horses for dragging coal waggons along the mining tramways of Durham and Northumberland. The first line on which they were largely used was the *Stockton and Darlington Railway*, opened in 1825. But the first really important railway for passengers as well as goods was the line between Liverpool and Manchester, which was completed in 1830. On this line Stephenson's famous engine the *Rocket* drew a passenger train at over thirty miles an hour. Though looked upon with suspicion by lovers of old ways, railway construction upon a large scale soon set in. The first long-distance line was one between London and Birmingham, built by Stephenson's son Robert in 1839. Soon a network of railways, spread over the whole country, effected for inland commerce what steamships did for sea trade. Britain, the country of their first employment, was thus enabled to maintain her unique position among the trading states of the world.

14. Later in the century other mechanical inventions still further increased facilities for communication. *Telegraphs*, patented in 1837, became in 1870 the property of the state, and in 1866 a

submarine cable was first successfully laid between Britain and America. About 1880 the *telephone* became utilized. More recently the *bicycle* and the *motor-car* have once more brought back traffic to the roads which became comparatively deserted after the invention of railways. Nor should we omit to mention among the things which have furthered the spread of cheap communications, the introduction in 1839 of penny postage between any places in the United Kingdom. This boon was in the last years of the century extended to nearly every part of the British Empire.

Other inventions.

15. Early in the century the terrible evils of the early factory system still went on unheeded, while the agricultural labourer was a helpless and spiritless serf. Child labour in factories and mines was widespread, and wages in many trades were so low and fluctuating that even skilled workmen found life a hard struggle. So gloomy was the outlook that it drove Robert Owen to turn his brilliant gifts from the pursuit of his own fortunes to schemes for improving the condition of the workers and for the regeneration of society. He gave the first impulse to *factory legislation*, and was the founder of English *Co-operation*. About 1820 he turned from these fruitful efforts to pursue a scheme of *Socialism*, in which he was not at all successful. More plodding hands took up his practical work, and a series of *Factory Acts* were passed, which limited the hours of women's and children's labour, and provided that workshops should be properly ventilated, fenced, and inspected. A large measure of the credit of these measures was due to Michael Sadler, a Tory member of Parliament, and to Lord Shaftesbury, the leader of the Evangelical party in the Church and a zealous and unwearied philanthropist. They were opposed by many of the millowners, and by the Radicals of the school of Bright and Cobden, who denounced them as interfering with individual liberty and hampering the production of wealth. Parallel to the growth of factory legislation went the development of self-help among the workers themselves. This was made possible by the repeal, in 1824, of the *Combination Laws*, which had prevented the legal combination of workmen to protect their own interests. Long after this there were strong prejudices on the part of employers and political economists against attempts of workmen to join together to raise the rate of wages or to improve their condition. *Trades Unions*, thus discouraged, grew up under unwholesome conditions. They were often headed by ignorant and unreasonable men, and the *strikes* which, under

Social and industrial progress.

their auspices, became more numerous, were sometimes marked by violence, and met by repression that excited bitter feelings between class and class. Bit by bit things became better, and a series of acts, beginning in 1871, fully protected and recognized legitimate trade societies. By teaching self-help and by increasing the workman's power, and also by acting as benefit societies on a large scale, trades unions have done much to raise the condition of more skilled labourers. Of recent years their operations have been extended to agricultural labourers and to the coarse and less skilled occupations in the great towns. As organization became more perfect, strikes and lock-outs became less violent, and in some trades less frequent than before. By these various means much has been done to improve the condition of the mass of the people. The change for the better began perceptibly about 1850. Workmen became better fed, housed, clothed, and paid. They worked shorter hours, and had fuller opportunities of employing their leisure than the brutal drunkenness and degrading pastimes of a hundred years ago, though there was still need for further effort, and the slums of the large towns present modern life in its least satisfactory side. There remained too much abject misery among large sections of the community, and too much dulness, monotony, and lowness of aim among those comfortably off, to give us any room for looking upon the undoubted social progress of the nineteenth century with undue or self-complacent satisfaction.

16. Not one of the arts was in a satisfactory condition early in the nineteenth century. In architecture a somewhat incongruous mimicry of Greek architecture was then fashionable for churches and public buildings, until the Romantic and Tractarian attraction for the "ages of faith" brought about a *Gothic Revival*, which soon filled the whole country with countless imitations of the fabrics of the Middle Ages. As time went on these imitations became more artistic, learned, and appropriate, but no great school of art could ever arise from the mere copying of the work of earlier generations. The best result of the movement was to be found, not so much in the buildings erected under its auspices, as in the careful and loving study of mediæval monuments, both at home and abroad. Unluckily, zeal for uniformity, love of prettiness, and conventional propriety led to numerous so-called restorations of old buildings, which have in too many cases wiped out the historical record on the pretence of removing incongruities and providing modern accommodation. Later than the taste for Gothic came the study of

Architecture.

Renaissance architecture, which was taken up by several men of ability.

17. In painting the ablest master in the early part of the century was the noble colourist, John Constable (1776–1837), the effect of whose work at home and abroad has been second to none in this century. A greater era began with the romantic landscapes of J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), whose work, great in oils, was unsurpassed in water-colours, so that under his influence there grew up a remarkable school of British landscape painters in the latter medium. A further step in advance was made when, in 1848, a knot of young artists, conspicuous among whom was Dante Gabriel Rossetti, started a society called the *Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, which upheld an entire adherence to the simplicity of nature as its guiding principle. From their efforts sprang a lasting improvement in English art, which was felt far beyond the narrow limits and original conceptions of the actual brotherhood. In 1824 the *National Gallery* was founded in London, and as art teaching improved, a higher level of technical skill everywhere produced excellent results. Some of the best later work was to be seen in *black and white* work, though the ancient arts of steel-engraving and mezzotint went out of fashion. In music, the most progressive art in modern times, there was a remarkable development; but sculpture produced few masters of real note.

Painting, music, and sculpture.

18. No aspect of nineteenth-century development is more important than the growth of *Natural Science*. Englishmen were among the foremost in finding out those marvellous laws of nature, the discovery of which has altered our whole way of looking at the universe, and in their applications to the practical arts and industries, has immensely increased man's command over matter. In the development of sciences, such as chemistry, electricity, and geology, Englishmen have taken a leading part, and the greatest revolution in scientific thought in the nineteenth century was brought about by the publication, in 1859, of the *Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin. It was the first of a series of epoch-making books, which gradually led to the general acceptance of the doctrine of *Evolution*, or the theory of progress by gradual growth, which soon extended from biology to many other branches of knowledge. It has taught the fruitful method of trying to find out the origin of things by patient investigation of their history rather than by startling theories based upon their later and developed aspects. It has been

Natural science.

as epoch-making in the social sciences as in the study of nature, and the sciences of law, history, and philology have been metamorphosed by its influence. More than any other single principle, this *Historical Method* marks out the contrast between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thought.

Poetry.

19. Literature has not altogether fallen short in its progress. We have spoken already of the *Lake-school* of poets, and of the singers who, in the early nineteenth century, were the apostles of *Liberalism*, or voiced the *Romantic* reaction from the shipwreck of eighteenth-century ideas through the French Revolution. A new poetic wave surged up with the great stir of national life marked by the Reform Bill and the Tractarian movement. Foremost among those who grappled with the problems which were disturbing the new generation were Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), whose work tenderly reflects the varied moods of nature, and Robert Browning (1812–1887), the poet-philosopher. In strong contrast to these stood the æsthetic school, which, like Keats before them, pursued art for her own sake, careless of external aims. This tendency seemed to centre round the exquisite sonnets of Rossetti, as consummate a poet as he was unique as a painter. It became most widely known by the musical and eloquent verse of Algernon Charles Swinburne, and the fresh narrative poems of William Morris, who was also a painter and a designer of rare excellence.

Prose.

20. In prose the early nineteenth century saw the spread of the *Romantic School* by its prose fiction as well as by its verse and drama. The special growth of the age was in the novel, which continued all through the century to be by far the most popular form of literature. The historical and romantic novel, best represented by the *Waverley Novels* of Sir Walter Scott, gradually gave way to the novel of contemporary life, whose highest exponents include, in the middle of the century, William Makepeace Thackeray, the greatest of English novelists, and Charles Dickens, the most popular of all writers of fiction; and, in the next generation, the great and thoughtful work of George Meredith, and the popular but delicately artistic tales of Robert Louis Stevenson. In other aspects of letters, we have to note the eloquence of De Quincey; the taste and humour of our greatest critic Charles Lamb; the subtle art of John Henry Newman; and the eloquent rhetoric with which the triumphs of Whiggism and of modern material progress were glorified by Thomas Babington Macaulay, the most readable, vivid, and

picturesque of historians, and the best index of the merits and deficiencies of his time. In strong contrast to Macaulay's good-natured optimism stood Thomas Carlyle, the most influential teacher of the middle part of the century, who taught reverence, obedience, hero-worship, and the gospel of duty and work; and Carlyle's friend and disciple, the ethereal John Ruskin, who made art criticism, expressed with rare eloquence, his vehicle for expounding the moral and social teaching of his master. The spread of education had the result of bringing about an enormous growth of periodicals and of the newspaper press, whose popularity was a sign of a large class of people fond of reading, but not able or willing to read systematically and deeply. The abolition of newspaper stamps and of duties on paper had the good effect of reducing the price of nearly all newspapers to a penny, while some cost only a halfpenny. Another sign of the times was the great growth of a daily press in all the larger towns, some of which became fully as capably conducted and as influential in guiding public opinion as the London newspapers. Future improvement is to be hoped for rather in the deepening than in the extension of the habit of reading, which in some shape or another has almost become universal.

Education.

21. Another characteristic feature of the nineteenth century is the enormous diffusion of education, the change of its methods, the widening of its subjects, and the gradual assumption on the part of the state of care for its provision, organization, and direction. Early in the nineteenth century few children of the English, and hardly any of the Irish lower classes, had any chance of receiving instruction, though in Scotland a plan projected by John Knox had been a reality since 1696, and every parish had had its school for over a century. Early in the century rival private societies, the Church *National Society* and the undenominational *British and Foreign School Society*, set to work to provide schools for the children of the poor. Their operations received a great impetus when, in 1833, the state began to make grants to help forward elementary education, and still more after 1839, when the rudiments of an education office were organized by the government. But religious animosities and popular prejudice or indifference long made progress slow, and it was not until 1870 that Forster's *Education Act* supplemented the self-denying efforts of individuals by establishing compulsory education and a really national system. Even after this *secondary education* remained entirely at the mercy of voluntary effort and individual munificence. In 1868 and 1869 the *Public Schools Act* and the *Endowed Schools*

Act laid down the principle that it was the business of the state to see that educational trusts were strictly carried out, and that antiquated schemes should be revised and brought up to date. The care of the state was thus gradually extended from elementary to secondary education, and this process went on gradually widening until the *Education Act* of 1902 charged the county councils everywhere with the responsibility of the oversight of all forms of education within their respective areas. The state direction of the higher types of education was to be seen in the appointment of commissions which, in 1854, and again in 1877, strove to bring the universities of Oxford and Cambridge more abreast of modern times. Conspicuous features of educational progress in more recent years have been the establishment of new universities in most of the greater towns of England, and also in Wales and Ireland, the wide diffusion of technical schools for the promotion of skill in applied science and handicrafts, and the great increase in the number of good secondary schools in all parts of the country. These innovations were the more far-reaching since in all the new universities and colleges women were admitted on terms of substantial equality with men, while the new schools included a large number of high schools for girls and of dual schools open to boys and girls alike.

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH INDIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1820–1901)

Chief Dates:

1826. First Burmese War.
1828. Lord William Bentinck Governor.
1839. Afghan War.
1843. Conquest of Sind.
1845. First Sikh War.
1849. Conquest of the Punjab.
1848. Lord Dalhousie Governor.
1857. Indian Mutiny.
1858. End of East India Company.
1877. Victoria Empress of India.
1878. Second Afghan War.
1898. Afridi War.

1. The close of the Napoleonic wars saw England dominant in India and making good progress towards the development of a new colonial empire wherewith to replace the lost American colonies. The position which she had won as mistress of the seas enabled her to carry out both tasks with little interference from any other nation, and to profit by the weakness of France and her involuntary allies to appropriate for herself the remnants of their Indian and colonial power. Nothing in the nineteenth century is more pregnant with results for the future than this consummation of the process by which Britain ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century has been extending her tongue, people, and traditions over distant continents, and winning for her empire the most ancient civilizations of the East. The nineteenth-century development both of our Indian empire and our new colonial system has been so independent of our internal history and of European complications, that it will be simplest for us to study them separately, apart from the record of the domestic history of Britain.

The Indian and colonial empires.

2. In India the genius of Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley had

secured for England a large amount of territory directly under her sway, and a paramount position over the whole of the peninsula.

British India in 1820.

The greatest aggregate of country governed immediately by the British was in the valley of the Ganges. To Bengal and Behar, annexed in 1765, had been added the Upper and Lower Doáb and Rohilkhand, taken in 1801–1803, which extended our territory to the rich districts of the Upper Ganges, and included Delhi, the old capital of the Mogul emperors. In 1803, Orissa, the coast district to the south-west of Calcutta, had also been absorbed. These regions jointly constituted the *presidency of Bengal*, and were directly ruled by the governor-general from Calcutta. South of Orissa the Circars (1769) and the Karnátik (1801) extended the *Madras presidency* along the whole eastern coast as far as Cape Comorin. Besides this, Ceylon, acquired from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars, became also British, though then as now separately governed from continental India. In the west the *Bombay presidency* up to 1818 included but a very small area of actual British lands, and was still closely pressed in the interior by the territories of the Maráthá chieftains, who had only been temporarily cowed by their defeats at Assaye and Argaum. However, in 1817–1818 the *third Maráthá war* led to the absorption of the whole dominions of the Peshwá into the Bombay presidency, which thus assumed dimensions not much inferior to those of the eastern seats of British power. Moreover, the beginning of the *Central Provinces* of a later date were now made by other annexations.

3. The British overlordship was at the same time extended over the most powerful of the native princes. Holkar and the

The Indian vassal states in 1820.

Gáekwár were forced to sign subsidiary treaties, such as the other Maráthá lords had already been compelled to accept. The result of this was a complete destruction of Maráthá independence, and the establishment of peace and sound rule in regions long devastated by the Maráthá hordes and their allies, the freebooting Pindárís. The warlike princes of Rájputána, long the victims of Maráthá inroads, now gladly accepted British supremacy. In the north the nawáb of Oudh, whose lands were surrounded by British territory; in the Deccan the nizám; and in the extreme south the rájá of Mysore,—were closely bound by the subsidiary treaties negotiated in Wellesley's governorship. Only in the extreme north was there now a strong and independent native state. This was the monarchy which Ranjít Singh had established over the Sikhs of the Punjab.

The Sikhs were warlike Hindu devotees who had revolted from the Mogul Empire, and had courage and faith enough to make them really formidable. But Ranjít Singh made a point of keeping on good terms with the English, so that, though he commanded great military resources, there was no trouble with the Sikhs until after his death in 1839.

4. The third Maráthá war had been fought during the governor-generalship of the marquis of Hastings, who ruled India from 1814 to 1823. Under his successor, Lord Amherst, a nephew of Chatham's favourite general, the chief event was the *first Burmese war*, which led, in 1826, to the annexation of Assam and Arakan to the Bengal presidency. After him the next governor-general was Lord William Bentinck, a younger son of the duke of Portland, prime minister in 1783 and 1807. An ardent Whig and an enthusiastic reformer, Lord William made his rule memorable, not by conquests, but by his self-denying efforts to improve the condition of the vast populations committed to his charge. He had the courage to put down the ancient Hindu custom of *Satí*, or widow-burning, despite the outcry of Hindus and Anglo-Indians, who thought that a revolt would follow an attack on so long-cherished a superstition. He also stamped out *Thagi*, and rooted out the brotherhoods of *thags*, or hereditary murderers, who had wandered over the whole country in disguise, and made a trade of strangling. He sought to educate the higher classes of the native races in Western literature and in the English language. He removed the old restrictions on missionaries, and encouraged steam navigation on the Ganges. He set his face against further annexations; he strove to extend freedom of speech and writing, and opened the public services to the native races. He often pursued these laudable aims by methods too Western to suit the circumstances of India, and set the class-feeling of the Anglo-Indians strongly against him. But he was strongly supported by the Whig governments of the period of the reform movement. In 1833 the East India Company's charter was renewed on terms which fitted in with the liberal character of Bentinck's acts. By it the company was forced to abandon its commercial monopolies and its trading activity. The limitation of the governing corporation to administration and patronage greatly improved the tone of its policy, and reacted favourably on the character of British rule in India.

Governorship of Lord William Bentinck, 1828–1835.

5. Under Lord Auckland, the next governor-general (1836–1842), troubles broke out with Afghánistán, a mountainous country beyond

the western mountain borders of India, inhabited by scattered tribes of warlike and enthusiastic Mohammedans, who had for more than a century made themselves the terror of Northern India. Alarmed by the intrigues of Russia with Dost Muhammad, amír of Afghánistán, Auckland resolved to drive him from his throne, and restore his rival Sháh Shujá, then an exile in British India. It was a task both dangerous and unnecessary, but in 1839 was safely accomplished. Sháh Shujá was restored, but even a strong army at Kábul, the capital, could not maintain the new-comer in his throne. The Afgháns revolted, and pressed the English garrison at Kábul so hard that its commander, General Elphinstone, a weakly old man, inadequate for so great a charge, was glad to accept the offer of the rebel leader, Akbar Khán, Dost Muhammad's son, to allow him to retire in safety to British territory. But Akbar would not, or more probably could not, keep his promise. As the panic-stricken army wound their way through the defiles of the passes of the Khurd-Kábul and the Kháibar, fierce mountaineers, lining every height, shot down the hapless fugitives as they dragged on in helpless disorder, suffering intensely from the cold and snows of the hard Afghán winter. Before long the whole force was annihilated. At last, on the morning of January 13, 1842, a sentry from the walls of Jalálábád saw a single white man clinging wearily to the neck of a tired-out pony that could hardly drag him along. He was the sole survivor of the army of 4500 men, with its 12,000 followers, which had marched out of Kábul a week before. Next spring Afghánistán was invaded, the prisoners rescued, and a show made of punishing the offenders. In the end, Dost Muhammad was restored to his throne, and the war resulted in absolutely no change in the position of Afghánistán, though it did much to reveal to the enemy the limitations of the British power.

The Afghán war, 1839-1842.

6. The conclusion of the Afghán war was fought under Lord Ellenborough, a vigorous but vain and pompous ruler, who was governor-general from 1842 to 1844. In 1843 Sir Charles Napier defeated the amírs of Sind, the district of the Lower Indus, at the battle of *Miání*, from which followed the conquest of Sind and its annexation to the Bombay presidency. Under Lord Hardinge (1844-1848), the next governor-general, trouble broke out with the Punjab, which had become hostile to the British since Ranjít Singh's death, and anxious to try its strength against the power which had failed so signally in Afghánistán. In 1845 a very hard-

The conquest of Sind, 1843, and the first Sikh war, 1845.

fought war was waged with the gallant Sikhs. Ranjít's army proved a magnificent instrument of warfare, and the headstrong valour of Lord Gough exposed the British troops to terrible losses at the hands of the most desperate foe against whom they had ever fought in India. However, they were at last forced to make their submission. A young son of Ranjít's was made nominal ruler of the Punjab, but an English resident was appointed at Lahore to control the policy of those who ruled in his name. The independence of the Sikhs was thus brought to an end.

7. From 1848 to 1856 India was ruled by the marquis of Dalhousie, whose government proved more eventful than any since the days of Wellesley, both as regards extension of territory and internal progress. His first difficulty arose from a revolt of the Sikhs, who bore with impatience the loss of their freedom, and raised the whole Punjab in 1848. The whole of the Sikh district fell away, and early in 1849 Gough fought the battle of Chiliánwála, where the victorious march of the British through a thick jungle against the well-protected Sikh batteries was checked by the panic-flight of our cavalry, so that the brave infantry suffered enormous losses, and, though the enemies' position was captured, many trophies of victory fell into the Sikhs' hands. Next month Gough put down the revolt in the decisive victory of Gujrát. The Punjab was then annexed; and the energy of Dalhousie, well seconded by the brothers Lawrence, built up a system of mixed military and civil rule, which soon reduced the Punjab to obedience and contentment. Henceforth the remarkable military capacity of the Sikh levies was to be used on the British side, and before long this was to prove the salvation of our Indian empire. In 1852 Dalhousie fought the *second Burmese war*, which resulted in the annexation of Lower Burma and the great trading station of Rangoon.

Annexation of the Punjab, 1849, and Lower Burma, 1852.

8. A special feature of Dalhousie's rule was the wholesale annexation of native states. Disregarding the universally recognized Hindu custom of adopting heirs to childless princes, Dalhousie laid down his famous *doctrine of lapse*, and freely absorbed states whose rulers' bodily heirs had died out. Thus, in 1853, Nágpur was seized on the death of the last of the Bhonslas. Moreover, the nizám was forced to surrender Berár; while, in 1856, Oudh was forcibly annexed, on account of the shameful misgovernment of the last of the nawábs of that region. By these annexations the modern boundaries of British India were in substance attained. Dalhousie applied the

Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse.

same doctrine of lapse to the pensioned princes who had ceased to rule. Among others, he refused to recognize the claims of Nána Sáhib, the adopted heir of the last of the Peshwás. Acts such as these, based on disregard of Hindu tradition, did more to excite native feeling against the governor than his downright annexations. And the swift, stern rush of Dalhousie's reforms in the administration did not always take sufficiently into account the unconquerable conservatism of India and the strength of local prejudice. With all allowances, however, Dalhousie remains among the greatest of Anglo-Indian statesmen.

9. In 1856 Dalhousie, broken down by his strenuous labours, went home to die, and was succeeded as governor by Lord Canning, the son of George Canning, the famous statesman. Canning had been little more than a year in India when a formidable *mutiny* of the native army of Bengal placed British rule in the utmost peril. Since the Crimean war India had been dangerously denuded of British-born troops, and the *sepoy* or native forces had been alternately pampered by foolish indulgences and irritated by ignorant offences done to their racial and religious sentiments. At last a real panic was produced when an improved musket, the Enfield rifle, was issued to the Bengal army, the ammunition for which required greased cartridges, the end of which the soldier had to bite off before loading the gun. The Hindu was convinced that the new ammunition was greased with the sacred fat of cows, and the Mussulman thought it was lubricated with the contaminating lard of swine. A rumour arose that the government meant to destroy their caste and their faith. A wild panic broke the habits of years, and a general mutiny was skilfully and secretly planned. The rising broke out at Meerut, and soon spread over all Northern and Central India, affecting a large portion of the Bengal army. It was at its worst at Delhi, where the Mohammedans hoped to revive the Mogul Empire, and in the recently annexed region of Oudh, where the whole people, headed by the nobles, joined the rebels, and reduced the English power to a few hard-beset garrisons, such as those at Cawnpur and Lucknow. Nána Sáhib declared himself to be the Peshwá, and headed the mutineers at Cawnpur. Before long the Cawnpur garrison surrendered, and was butchered in cold blood by orders of the Nána. Luckily the armies of Bombay and Madras, separated by language and tradition from the Bengal sepoys, remained true. The leading native princes were also strongly loyal, among

Lord Canning and the Indian Mutiny, 1857.

those conspicuous for their fidelity being the Maráthá princes, Holkar and Sindhia, and the powerful nizám. Lower Bengal even, though disturbed, remained for the most part in British hands, and the Punjab was not only loyal, but contributed a large force of warlike Sikhs to the forces which were rapidly collected to deal with the mutineers on the Upper and Middle Ganges. A force, partly British and partly Sikh, marched south from the Punjab, captured Delhi after a long siege, while General Havelock moved up the Ganges to Lucknow, and relieved the famished garrison. This marked the turn of the tide. Next year (1858) the remnants of the mutiny were stamped out with a cruelty which rivalled that of the mutineers themselves during their short moment of triumph. The last places to resist were in the Maráthá districts round Bombay, where many of the local forces had deserted their loyal princes and rallied round Nána Sáhib. In the worst days of the mutiny, Canning had shown rare presence of mind and determination, and did much to limit the wild reprisals of the victors.

10. The mutiny sealed the fate of the East India Company, whose political power, by a strange anomaly, had outlasted its trading days. In 1858 the Derby ministry carried an *India Bill*, by which the company was dissolved and the government of India transferred to the crown, acting through a secretary of state and an expert council, which replaced the board of control. The local administration was placed under a viceroy, to whom all the provinces, including even Bombay and Madras, were henceforth subordinate. The company's European army was amalgamated with the forces of the crown, and its navy abolished. Canning became the first viceroy, but in 1862 he went home, like Dalhousie, with broken health, and died immediately after his return.

End of the East India Company, 1858.

11. A long period of comparative calm, marked by the avoidance of fresh conquest, and by careful attention to internal reforms and economic development, made the history of the period which succeeded the mutiny stand in strong contrast to the warlike activity and confusion of the days of Dalhousie and Canning. A network of railways was extended over the whole of India, and made it easier to deal with the periodic *famines*, which, however, still remain the worst curse of India. The opening of the Suez Canal brought Britain and her great dependency into much closer relations.

Railways and famines.

12. In 1877 the queen assumed the title of empress of India.

Soon after came the most stirring episode in later Indian history, the *second Afghán war* of 1878 to 1880. Its origin, like that of its predecessor, lay in the jealousy of the British government of the intrigues of Russia with the amír. These intrigues were peculiarly resented at a time when the relations of England and Russia had been much strained by the events of the Russo-Turkish war which had just been concluded. On the refusal of Sher Alí, the amír, to receive an English mission, Lord Lytton, the viceroy, overran Afghánistán, and drove Sher Alí to take flight in Central Asia. His son accepted the English terms, surrendered the passes beyond the Indus, and strove to reign with British help. As in 1842, an Afghán rising soon drove the weak amír from the throne. But General Roberts was now sent with a strong force, with which he occupied Kábul. In 1880, however, it was resolved to abandon Afghánistán, and a treaty was made with the nephew and old rival of Sher Alí, Abdur Rahmán, who was then the strongest force in the country. By it the new acquisitions made by the previous treaty were relinquished. Abdur Rahmán, left to himself, soon made himself undisputed amír. The only chance of a united and friendly Afghánistán, strong enough to prove an efficient barrier to Russia, was regained by this reversal of policy; but the hesitation of Britain between the two methods of action was ominous as to the result of the growing influence of English party struggles on India.

Second Afghan War, 1878-1880.

13. During the later years of Victoria, the chief military troubles of British India were with the fierce frontier tribes of the north-west. Conspicuous among these were the *Afridis*, a fanatical hill tribe of warriors, who gave much trouble, and necessitated great efforts before they could be forced into submission in 1898. In India itself there was such peace as the land had never known before, though well-being was still limited by the chronic poverty of the mass of the people, and checked by a series of terrible famines. The very rapid increase of population, brought about since the old checks on growth had become weaker, raised real problems as to their maintenance. But manufactures began to spring up to take away some of the surplus population from the soil, and in the great industrial cities of modern India the stationary stage of civilization was soon almost outgrown. Yet the mass of the population still live their old life, untouched by the manifestations of Western civilization which are around them. Nothing is more

India at the End of Victoria's Reign.

INDIA
in 1906,
illustrating the growth of
BRITISH TERRITORY
and
SUPREMACY
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Chitral (1895)
Peshawar
N.W. FRONTIER PROVINCE
CASHMIR [1826]
PUNJAB
(1846)
Simla (1816)
BRITISH BALUCHISTAN (1879-1887)
BALUCHISTAN (1876)
Bahawalpur (1838)
Delhi
Doab (1801-1803)
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA & OUDH
NEPAL
SIKKIM (1861)
BHOTAN
RAJPUTANA [1818]
AJMERE (1818)
Oudh [1765] (1856)
SIND (1843)
Sindhia (1805)
Berar (1853)
EASTERN BENGAL & ASSAM
ASSAM (1826)
BENGAL [1757] (1765)
CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY
Holkar (1817)
Gaekwar (1817)
Pindaris (1818)
CENTRAL PROVINCES
Bhonsla [1803] (1853)
Calcutta (Fort William 1699)
Up. Burma (1886)
Arakan (1852)
Tenasserim (1852)
BERAR (1853)
Bombay (1662)
Satara (1849)
PESHWA'S DOMINIONS (1818)
HYDERABAD Nizam [1798]
The Circars (1759)
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
GOA (Portuguese)
MYSORE [1799]
Kanatic [1765] (1801)
Madras (1639)
COORG (1834)
Pondicherri (French)
Tanjore (1800)
TRAVANCORE [1788]
CEYLON (1802)
( ) Marks date of Annexation
[ ] ,, ,, ,, Subsidiary Treaties, or Establishment of Supremacy
British India
Protected States
Independent
Emery Walker sc.

remarkable than the constant contrast of old and new, East and West, which British India presents. We must go back to the eastern parts of the Roman Empire in its palmy days to find its like. The conquest of India is among the greatest achievements of Englishmen. Its government by them is still more creditable and wonderful.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH OVERSEAS DOMINIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1783–1901)

Chief Dates:

1788. Beginnings of Australia.
1837. Canadian revolt.
1838. Lord Durham Governor of Canada.
1839. New Zealand settled.
1851. Victoria separated from New South Wales.
1867. Dominion of Canada established.
1877. Annexation of the Transvaal.
1879. Zulu War.
1889. British South African Company established.
1895. Jameson's Raid.
1899. Beginning of Boer War.
1901. Commonwealth of Australia established.

1. While British ascendency was being extended over India, a new colonial empire came into being, to replace that which had been lost by the secession of the thirteen American colonies. After their falling away Britain had few colonies left, save the West Indies and French Canada, and even in these the British element was small, since the West Indies, even more than the southern states of America, were tropical in their climate, so that the whites could only form a small aristocracy of planters and governors, leaving the tilling of the fields to be done by the labour of negro slaves, and in Canada the European element was French and not English. However, both these districts grew rapidly in numbers and wealth after 1783. A migration of ill-treated *United Empire loyalists* from the states of the American Union began the settlement of the Upper or English Canada around the great lakes, and the West India sugar colonies were soon at the very height of their prosperity. Moreover, with the conscious object of replacing in some fashion the loss of America, a few far-seeing men were turning to the new

British colonies in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

continent of Australia, for the first time well known through the voyages of the famous navigator and discoverer, Captain Cook. In 1788 a small settlement was established by Captain Phillip on *Port Jackson*, a noble harbour in New South Wales, as the eastern coast of Australia was already called, where there soon arose the little town of Sydney, so called from the secretary of state of Pitt's ministry, who favoured the enterprise. But the settlement was on a small scale, and destined chiefly for the reception of convicts; and before long the outbreak of the great wars against France called away British energies into other channels. Yet a beginning had been made of another New England in the Antipodes. These, with a few trading stations in the tropical parts of Africa, and isolated islands like the Bermudas and St. Helena, almost completed the list of British colonial possessions in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Colonial expansion during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

2. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars brought back to England a colonial supremacy wider than ever dreamed of by Chatham. The immediate result of our maritime ascendency was that the colonies of France and her compulsory allies were at our mercy, and as many as seemed worth occupying were captured. The majority of these conquests were given up in the peaces of 1814 and 1815, but a considerable number still remained in British hands. These included several West India islands, originally French, like Tobago, or Spanish, like Trinidad; Demerara and the other portions of Guiana, taken from the Dutch, which were henceforth known as British Guiana; Cape Colony, already long inhabited by Dutch farmers called *Boers;* the Dutch island of Ceylon, and the French island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. The revolt of the negroes of San Domingo from France, and the establishment, in the days of Canning, of the independence of most of the great Spanish colonies of Southern and Central America, still further cleared the field of European rivals. Thus, after the death of George IV., the position of Britain as a colonial power, relative to other European states, was stronger than it had ever been in the eighteenth century.

Decay of the West Indies.

3. The new colonies were not all clear gain. Except the Cape, as yet of little importance, they were all of the hot tropical sort, in which Europeans could only live as a leisurely property-owning class, and they increased the difficulties which the question of negro slavery now brought forward. After the abolition of the slave trade, labour became

dearer, and during the long blockade of the continent, Europe had learnt to make sugar from beetroot, so that she had less need of colonial wares, when, after 1815, our colonies could again send their products to continental markets. The abolition of negro slavery throughout the Empire in 1834 gave a fresh blow to the West Indian planters; and, last of all, came free trade, which enabled foreign produce, often slave-grown, to crowd out the produce of British plantations from British markets. There were, moreover, difficulties with the free blacks, who settled down in happy sloth on their small patches of land, and could not be tempted to work regularly for their former masters, while their numbers and claim to exercise political rights, made them a political as well as an economic trouble. To avoid being ruled by the blacks, many West Indian colonies surrendered their constitutions, and preferred to be ruled despotically as crown colonies; and to remedy the scarcity of labour, they sought to import *coolies*, or coloured labourers from India. These devices were but partially successful, and bit by bit the West Indies, once the greatest glories of the Empire, lost nearly all their prosperity, which, based upon monopoly and slavery, could not continue in an age of free competition in trade and labour. Yet even in their ruin they remained magnificent monuments of their former greatness.

4. The decay of the tropical colonies brought into greater prominence the colonies in temperate regions, with a population largely European, though not in all cases preponderatingly British. These regions had problems of their own, for the conquests of the great wars had made many Frenchmen and Dutchmen and some Spaniards the subjects of the British crown. But the growth of population, and the amount of distress and irregularity of employment at home, caused many Englishmen to seek new homes for themselves in colonies beyond the sea, and steadily raised the population and proportionately increased the British element in our possessions.

The emigration movement.

5. Other great results followed from the steady flow of emigration from Britain. Large masses of Englishmen, freer and more unconventional in their ways than those left at home, would never be satisfied with anything but the fullest rights of self-government, and the lesson of the falling away of America had taught the mother-country the necessity and policy of allowing them to work out their political and economic destinies as they themselves thought best. Unluckily, the doctrine first taught in revolutionary France, that colonies were for all

Phases of colonial policy.

time parts of the mother-country, found no echo either in England or even in her colonies. Most statesmen believed that colonies, when strong enough, would naturally fall away, like America, and took no pains to prevent such a result. Good resulted at the moment from this narrow policy, since the colonies' demands for self-government were gracefully conceded.

6. The first step forward from the arbitrary rule of crown officials, which was necessary in the infancy of a new settlement, was to grant a local *Legislative Council*, at first in many instances consisting of official nominees, but ultimately becoming elected by the colonists themselves. The second great step was when *responsible government* was granted—that is to say, when the executive power was made to depend on the legislative. This process, granted to Canada in 1840, was completed for most of Australia by 1856. The result was colonial independence, for the only link now was the governor, appointed by the crown, who, however, reigned but did not govern, and the continued jurisdiction of the English privy council as the supreme court of appeal from the colonies. For the rest nothing but common citizenship, common traditions, and common love of English ways bound the colonies with the mother-country and with each other.

Growth of colonial independence.

7. This new colonial system gave the colonies not only the political freedom which the American colonies had had, but also an economic independence denied to our earlier plantations. The principle of free trade was looked upon as incompatible with all commercial monopoly, and England stood aside, even when the colonies set up protective laws of their own, which powerfully helped on their infant industries, often to the loss of those of England. But the tendency towards unity between neighbouring colonies led to plans of federation which have successfully united British North America and Australia. The only permanent and satisfactory way of uniting these great groups with each other and with the mother-country is by some wise scheme of *Imperial Federation*, which would bind together the British races in one of the greatest states that the world has ever seen. We can now best follow the history of the three great groups —North America, Australia, and South Africa—in turn, and see how it has fared with them under this new colonial system.

Colonial Federation.

8. During the first third of the nineteenth century the state of affairs in Canada was by no means satisfactory, The English in the Upper Province quarrelled with the French of Lower Canada,

and in 1837 the French rose in revolt. The rising was crushed, and Lord Durham was sent out in 1838 by the Melbourne ministry to organize a new government. By his advice the two Canadas were united, though as a counter-concession the executive ministry was made directly responsible to the Canadian parliament. As time went on, the system of union proved a dead failure, despite the facts that Canada made wonderful progress after the grant of independence, and that the English element steadily increased.

The North American colonies.

9. At last, in 1867, a more comprehensive system was adopted, by which not only the French and English elements in Canada, but the scattered population of the other North American colonies, were brought together under a federal system. The *Dominion of Canada* was established under a governor-general appointed by the crown, with a federal parliament having its seat at Ottawa, and an executive cabinet directly responsible to it. The adoption of the federal principle, as in the United States, made it easy to extend a full measure of local self-government to the various provinces, each of which also possessed its separate parliament and government. One excellent result of the scheme was the separation once more of French and English Canada, which, henceforth known as the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, were enabled to carry on their local affairs, each after its own fashion. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at once joined the union, and soon afterwards it was also accepted by Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward's Island, so that Newfoundland alone henceforth stood outside the Dominion. In 1885 the opening of the *Canadian Pacific Railway* set up an unbroken railway route from Halifax to the Pacific coast. The fertile but uninhabited regions of the West were thus opened up for settlers, and during the last years of the reign of Victoria this development went on at an ever-increasing rate. Moreover, the discovery of rich gold-mines at *Klondyke* and elsewhere in the remote north-west, attracted crowds of adventurers to the desolate regions that stretch northwards to the Arctic circle. By these means the Dominion of Canada became a great country.

The Dominion of Canada.

10. Equally remarkable has been the development of the Australian colonies. This was very slow at first, since the original settlements were mere convict stations. To Sydney (1788) was added Port Phillip (1803), Tasmania (1804), and the Swan River (1826), all as penal colonies. Progress became possible when the opening up of fertile pastures

The Commonwealth of Australia.

led to sheep-farming on a large scale, and this in its turn attracted free settlers. Before long the colonists refused to allow the further exportation of convicts to their shores. The discovery of gold-fields further enriched Port Phillip and its capital, Melbourne, named in 1837 after the Whig prime minister. In 1851 the regions round these spots was separated from New South Wales and became the separate colony of Victoria. Other colonies were cut off—Queensland in 1859, in the hot but genial regions of the north-east; and South Australia, established in 1836, with a capital named Adelaide, after William IV.'s queen. Tasmania became a separate government in 1856; and the Swan River Settlement, after a languishing existence for a long time, received a great impetus through gold discoveries in its interior, and in 1890, with the name of Western Australia, received the responsible government already allowed to its more populous neighbours. At last, in 1901, all the Australian colonies were united in a federal union, called the *Commonwealth of Australia*. Besides these, the flourishing islands of New Zealand, first settled in 1839, received a parliamentary constitution in 1853, and strengthened its unity in 1875 by abolishing its nine provincial councils.

South Africa.

11. South Africa stands midway between colonies of the type of Australia and Canada and the West-Indian-planter class of settlement. It is a genuine colony, where Dutchmen since the seventeenth century, and Englishmen in the nineteenth, have settled in large numbers. But the native races have always been, and will certainly remain, the great majority of the population, so that its progress has been rendered slow by the conflict between European and African as well as by the national hostility of Dutch and English. Disliking the pushing ways of the adventurous British settlers, who went to South Africa after the peace of Paris, and bitterly resenting the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, the more independent of the Boers withdrew in detachments from the original settlements in Cape Colony, and sought to find new homes for themselves in the wilderness. The first migration was in 1835, when some of the Boers established on the north-east coast the republic of *Natal*, but the English followed them, and in 1843 took Natal into their own hands.

The Boer republics.

12. Two other Boer republics arose, the Orange River Free State, which, in 1854, was allowed its independence by Britain; and in 1852 in the district called, after 1858, the South African Republic or the Transvaal. The settlers in

the latter were so few that they could neither administer the country nor keep control over the natives, especially the fierce Zulus who dwelt in the lands between their territories and the Indian Ocean. From these difficulties so many troubles flowed to South Africa, that, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed, and abortive attempts were made to unite all the South African colonies in a federation. The native troubles were appeased in 1879, when the Zulu king Cetchwayo was overthrown. As soon as this terror was removed, the Transvaal revolted, defeated the British at Majuba Hill, and in 1881 received virtual independence from the Gladstone government.

13. Not long after this the discovery of rich gold reefs in a district of the Transvaal, called the *Rand*, further complicated the South African problem. A restless cosmopolitan population of gold-seekers filled the Rand and its chief town, Johannesburg. It was then inevitable that there should be the strongest antagonism between them and the slow-minded, hard-fighting, old-fashioned Dutch farmers. Though hating the foreigners and their ways, the Boers shrewdly profited by the flowing tide of wealth set rolling by the *Outlanders*, carefully excluded them from the citizenship, and, continuing their old habits of military training, lavishly provided themselves with modern weapons and artillery. Their dislike of the new-comers became the greater, since a great extension of British influence was brought about after 1889, when a *British South African Company* was established by Cecil Rhodes, an English emigrant, who had made a fortune in the diamond fields of Kimberley, and in 1890 became prime minister of Cape Colony. Through his operations the districts to the north of the Transvaal were opened up for settlement under the name of *Rhodesia*, through which the Boers were limited to their existing territories. Moreover, Rhodes and his party made common cause with the Outlanders in the Transvaal, and in 1895 one of the officers of the company, Dr. Jameson, made a raid into the Transvaal. He was easily overpowered by the Boers. Moreover, his attempt did much harm to the Outlander movement, and stirred up race hatred between English and Dutch all over South Africa. At the Cape the Dutch party drove Rhodes from power, and replaced him by a ministry strongly sympathizing with the Boers. The blunders of their enemies enabled the Transvaal Boers, headed by their president, Paul Kruger, to pose as the champions of Dutch freedom in South Africa.

The Rand mines and the struggle of Boer and Outlander.

14. From 1895 to 1899 strong tension prevailed between the rival parties in Africa, and, despite many efforts at negotiations, Kruger and the Boers refused to accept any terms which the British government would offer. The Boers redoubled their military preparations, and in October, 1899, the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State combined to invade Cape Colony and Natal.

The preparations for war.

15. The *Boer war* outlasted the reign of Victoria, and was

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only concluded under her successor. The Boer states, where every man was a rider and marksman, put a large force into the field, and at first swept everything before them. When an army corps was mobilized in England and successfully despatched to South Africa, it was split up into four divisions, not one of which was strong enough to effect its purpose. The fiercest fighting was in Natal, where the Boers besieged the chief force in South Africa at the beginning of the war in Ladysmith, and the largest section of the corps sent from England strove in vain to relieve the siege. Before the end of 1899, three

The Boer war.

at least of the divisions of the army corps had delivered their main attack and failed. But the Boers did not know how to utilize their successes, and the early months of 1900 saw each side waiting for the other. An enormous number of fresh British troops were despatched under Lord Roberts, the hero of the Afghán war, with Lord Kitchener, the conqueror of the Sudan, as the chief of his staff. All through the Empire our reverses excited a wave of patriotic feeling, and gave admirable opportunity of demonstrating the reality of our reserve forces, and the zeal of the self-governing colonies in supplying solid bodies of fine troops for the defence of the Empire. Lord Roberts then marched from Cape Colony northwards to the Free State, defeated the main Boer army, and took possession of Bloemfontein, its capital. After his advance, the Boer forces round Ladysmith were so far weakened that it became a comparatively easy matter to storm their strong positions and relieve the hard-pressed garrison. A terrible outbreak of typhoid long delayed Roberts at Bloemfontein, but in May he resumed his advance. and occupied Johannesburg and Pretoria.

16. The conquest of the Boer capitals increased rather than diminished the difficulties of concluding the war. The long line of communications could only be guarded with the utmost difficulty, and the Boers, who had failed in their more constructive plans of strategy, proved consummate masters of war on a small scale. Their energy, skill, and resourcefulness enabled them to carry on a brilliant guerilla warfare for two years more.

The establishment of British supremacy.

Books Recommended for the Further Study of the Years 1820 to 1901

As we get nearer our own days histories become more voluminous and less authoritative, so that the difficulty of making a selection is an ever increasing one. Full details are given in a short but rather dry form in J. F. Bright's *History of England*, in three volumes, called respectively *Constitutional Monarchy*, 1689–1837, *The Growth of Democracy*, 1837–1880, and *Imperial Reaction*, 1880–1901. More elaborate and voluminous are Miss Martineau's *History of Thirty Years' Peace;* S. Walpole's *History of England from* 1815 ; Disraeli's *Life of Lord George Bentinck* ; Charles Greville's *Memoirs ;* Morley's *Life of Cobden;* Morley's *Life of Gladstone ;* S. Lee's *Queen Victoria;* and Longmans' *Political History of England*, vol. xi., 1801–1837, by Brodrick and Fotheringham, vol. xii., 1837–1901, by Low and Sanders. For non-political aspects of history see T. H. Ward's *Reign of Queen Victoria, Social England*, vol. vi., and Hovell's *Chartist Movement*. There are many good short biographies of the leading personalities of the period. For Indian history, see Sir W. W. Hunter's *Indian Empire*, and R. Muir's *Making of British India*, 1756–1858. For the Dominions overseas H. E. Egerton's *Short History of British Colonial Policy* and Lucas' *Historical Geographies of the British Colonies.*

BOOK IX.

THE HOUSE OF WINDSOR.

CHAPTER I.

EDWARD VII. (1901–1910).

Chief Dates:

1901. Accession of Edward VII.
1902. End of the Boer war; Balfour's Education Act.
1903. Chamberlain resigned and started Tariff Reform movement.
1904. War between Russia and Japan; Convention between England and France.
1906. Conservative defeat at general election; Campbell-Bannerman ministry.
1908. Asquith prime minister.
1909. Budget rejected by House of Lords.
1910. Federation of South Africa; Liberal victory at general election; death of Edward VII.

The House of Saxony and the Coburg-Gotha succession.

1. Edward VII. was the first king of England who directly succeeded as son of a queen regnant. It seems as natural for a son to succeed his mother as his father, and his accession did not lead to any break of continuity or change of policy. Yet with him old-fashioned historians would have said that a new dynasty began on the British throne. The house of Brunswick, which had furnished us kings for nearly two hundred years, would have been regarded as ending in the direct line at the break in the uninterrupted male succession. Just as the old house was called indifferently Brunswick, Hanover, or Guelph, so the new house could be called Saxony, Coburg-Gotha, or Wettin. Brunswick or Saxony represented the general territorial designation of either house; Hanover or Coburg-Gotha the particular local branch represented in Britain; Guelph or Wettin the traditional family name. By strict law Edward VII. would have become Duke of Coburg and Gotha.

even before his own succession to the throne. Accordingly, when prince of Wales, Edward waived his German rights in favour of his younger brothers and their children. The new King, who had been called Albert Edward when prince of Wales, took the style of Edward VII. He added to his old titles that of "King of the British Dominions beyond the seas." It was a recognition that the Overseas Dominions had outgrown the status of Colonies, as much as the United States.

2. Edward VII. was already in his sixtieth year, and had for nearly forty years represented his mother on nearly all the ceremonial sides of her office. He had been an indefatigable traveller, knew every part of the Empire, and had acquired a shrewd judgment of men and things. He had, however, abstained from taking any part in politics, and was thought to have had little share in the counsels of his mother. He was looked upon as an easy-going and pleasure-loving man of the world, with tact, intelligence, open-mindedness, discretion, and strong practical interests. He took his position as constitutional king very seriously, and made his influence strongly felt, notably on foreign affairs. He was even more careful than his mother in keeping to himself his personal opinions on politics. His wide sympathies, tolerance, and good nature made it easy for him to act with men of different parties, notions, and social position. He worked hard until the end of his life, winning the respect and esteem of his subjects, and leaving behind him the reputation of a monarch who played a difficult part with discretion and success.

Character of Edward VII.

3. At the new king's accession the war with the Boers was still dragging on. Lord Roberts had left South Africa, and Lord Kitchener was in supreme command. Fresh troops were still poured in, and a series of block-houses was erected to control the chief centres of resistance. Nevertheless the Boers raised a revolt in Cape Colony, and defeated and captured Lord Methuen after a fierce fight. Gradually, however, Kitchener's measures of repression began to have their results. Every week large numbers of fighting Boers were slain or captured, and very slowly their obstinate resistance wore itself out. At last the Boers saw that further resistance was useless, and made their submission in May, 1902. Thus the Boer republics became subject to the British crown, as the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

End of the Boer war.

4. War had reduced to a low ebb the prosperity of South Africa, and after the peace trade long remained depressed. There were

difficulties in the way of obtaining enough native labour on the Rand. To remedy the lack of black workmen in the mines, Chinese coolies were imported in large numbers. The Chinamen were bound by contract to work under strict conditions for a period of years, and the terms of their service were denounced as amounting to slavery. After the general election of 1906, the Chinese were sent back to their own land, and gradually industry in the Transvaal was restored to its former channels. Political difficulties immensely complicated the situation. The British and Dutch elements, so recently engaged in mortal combat, were now forced to live side by side, though racial antagonism still remained strong. Fortunately, both sides had fought so well that they kept both their own self-respect and respect for their antagonists. Bit by bit the situation improved. At last, in 1906, the Liberal government granted self-government to the Transvaal, and the majority of the elected assembly proving favourable to the Boers, Louis Botha, their general-in-chief during the war, became prime minister. A little later responsible government was extended to the Orange River Colony, where the Boers were in an enormous majority. Some friction inevitably arose, but the Boer leaders showed frankness and loyalty in recognising their new position as subjects of the British crown. Very soon the success of the experiment led to a renewal of the negotiations for the joining together of the various South African colonies after the fashion of the federation of Canada and Australia. More than thirty years before, in 1877, the breakdown of the earlier efforts at union began the long troubles which came to a head in the war. The revived federal movement was now easily carried to a conclusion, and accepted even in Natal, where the British party was stronger than anywhere else. In 1909, a *South Africa Act* was passed through the British parliament by which Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River were to be united from the year 1910. When the federal government was formed, Botha became prime minister of united South Africa.

South African settlement and federation.

5. For the first years of the new reign the Unionist government, set up in 1895, remained in power. In July, 1902, Lord Salisbury, the prime minister, whose health was rapidly declining, resigned office, and died soon afterwards. Thereupon his nephew, A. J. Balfour, stepped into his place. In 1902 Balfour passed an *Education Act*, the central principle of which was to make the county councils of England and Wales the local authority for

The Balfour ministry and the Education Act of 1902.

every aspect of education. The school boards, which since 1870 had been entrusted with the management of elementary education, were abolished, and their functions transferred to an education committee, appointed by the county council. Next in importance to this was the compelling of the local authority to maintain from its funds not only the public elementary schools, set up by the school boards, but all other elementary schools as well, including the so-called "voluntary schools," the great majority of which belonged to the Church of England and to the Roman Catholics. This led to an outcry against the bill, which was denounced as endowing sectarian education at the expense of the state. There can be no doubt that the act offered to managers of such schools freedom from financial anxieties, but it was at the expense of their surrendering the ultimate direction of the schools to a popularly elected body. It is not improbable that the act will in the long run be best remembered for the fact that it gave the local authority absolute control over the secular instruction in every elementary school. Even more important was the duty first imposed on the local bodies of being responsible for all education within its district. It thus made a great step forward towards the establishment of a uniform national system of education. Other changes increased about the same time the control of the central state over all aspects of education. For the moment, however, the broader issues were lost sight of. There were many persons found, both among friends and foes of voluntary schools, who believed that these schools had received a great advantage by the act. Some of the nonconformist leaders refused to pay the education rate, because they objected to their money being employed to endow sectarian teaching. They were known as "passive resisters." Meanwhile the operation of the act began steadily to reduce the number of voluntary schools.

6. In 1903 a costly but necessary step was taken in the *Irish Land Act*, which empowered the state to lend money to Irish tenants who wished to buy their farms. In 1904 a *Licensing Act* was passed, which provided new facilities for reducing the number of public-houses, but also allowed compensation to be given to those interested in lapsed licenses out of a fund raised from the license-holders themselves. This measure was fiercely denounced, because it was said that the government thus recognised the hitherto precarious yearly license as a permanent piece of property. Irish Land and Licensing Acts.

7. In foreign affairs Lord Lansdowne, who succeeded Salisbury

as foreign secretary in 1900, strove to remedy the isolation from all foreign alliances in which Britain found herself at the time of Victoria's death. The traditional friendship with Germany had weakened under the stress of growing commercial, naval, and colonial rivalry, while the ancient dread of Russia remained and threatened to compromise our relations with Russia's ally, the French Republic, with which we had many outstanding points of dispute. The general sympathy shown on the continent for the Boers increased the loneliness of this country. Besides the coolness of Europe, there were troubles in the Far East and in the Far West.

The isolation of England.

8. The blackness of the situation was not, however, unrelieved. In the worst of the South African difficulties, no power gave the Boers more than sympathy, and the military resources developed to vindicate our supremacy showed that Britain was still no negligible factor in politics. It was now the work of our statesmen to win back friendship with the chief powers, while avoiding complications likely to fetter our future action. The first step in that direction was a treaty of alliance made in 1902 with Japan. In the same year Britain joined with Germany to force the South American Republic of Venezuela to respect the property and rights of subjects of the two states. More important was the conclusion of a convention with France in 1903, by which many ancient disputes were settled. France recognized the British occupation of Egypt; the trouble about the respective rights of British and French fishermen off the Newfoundland coast, which went back to the Treaty of Utrecht, was brought to an end; some common policy was arranged for Morocco, and petty boundary disputes in remote parts of the world were adjusted. Gradually what was called an *entente cordiale* was established. Germany, however, resented the Anglo-French alliance, and made it a reason for increasing the German navy, for renewing the old friendship with Russia, and in particular for complaining that the Anglo-French policy in Morocco was dangerous to her interests. Some indiscretions on the part of the French foreign minister gave colour to German irritation. For a time war between France and Germany seemed not impossible. But France was at last forced to gratify the Germans by sacrificing her foreign minister, and under his more prudent successor the storm died down. The result was, however, to make Germany more suspicious of England than ever.

The *entente cordiale* with France.

9. Early in 1904 war broke out in the Far East between Russia

and Japan. From the beginning the issue of the struggle was not left in doubt. Incompetence, corruption, and unrest at home paralyzed the huge resources of Russia. The Japanese showed wonderful efficiency, energy, and self-restraint. After a long siege they captured Port Arthur, defeated the Russians in a series of pitched battles in Manchuria, and annexed Corea. At last the Russians sent their Baltic fleet to dispute with the up-to-date Japanese navy the command of the Northern Pacific. The Russian ships were ill-found, and went out conscious of coming disaster. As they sailed by the fishing-grounds of the North Sea, they mistook a harmless fleet of English trawlers for Japanese torpedo craft, fired upon them, and slew some helpless Hull fisherfolk. Great indignation was excited by this outrage, and the subsequent movements of the Russians were closely watched by a strong British fleet, determined to prevent the repetition of such conduct. On reaching the seat of war, the Russian ships were destroyed by the Japanese in the battle of *Tsushima*, the first big sea-fight ever fought under modern conditions. Before long the Russians gladly accepted the mediation of the United States, which resulted in October, 1905, in the *Treaty of Portsmouth*, New Hampshire, by which they yielded to Japan all her chief demands. The spectacle of the defeat of one of the greatest of European powers by yellow men, only recently brought under the influence of Western civilization, demonstrated that Russia was incapable of aggression, and that a strong new power had arisen in the Far East with which European peoples established in the Pacific lands would have to reckon. After the treaty, Russia was further distracted by internal troubles and threatened revolution. The North Sea incident had necessarily turned British sympathy towards Japan; but it was soon made clear that the slaughter of the fishermen was due not to design but to blunder and panic, and ultimately compensation was accepted, and the outrage condoned. By 1907 a good understanding between Britain and Russia was arrived at.

The Russo-Japanese war and the North Sea incident.

10. In improving the relations of Britain with foreign powers an important part was played by the personal action of the king. He was indefatigable in visiting foreign countries, and in welcoming the return visits of kings, presidents, and ministers to our shores. A large number of foreign princes were closely akin to the king or the queen, and new marriages of the royal family widened the circle of monarchs related to our reigning house. The king had some share in

Edward the Peace Maker.

bringing about the *entente* with France, and was equally active in promoting good relations with his wife's nephew, the emperor of Russia. His personal intercourse with his nephew the German emperor helped to lessen the strain of the relations between the United Kingdom and Germany. The change of government in 1905 did little to alter our foreign policy. The Liberal foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, continued the lines already laid down. If the *entente* with France was negotiated by the Conservatives, the better understanding with Russia and Germany was to be set down to the credit of the Liberals. The general result won for king Edward the title of the Peace Maker.

Chamberlain and tariff reform.

11. A new direction was given to politics by Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, who now advocated the abandonment of the system of free trade which since the days of Peel and Gladstone, had generally been regarded as the essential condition of our prosperity. Various reasons led him to this conclusion. Despite the example of Britain, our chief commercial rivals had not adopted free trade, and had nevertheless thriven exceedingly. Even our colonies had become strongly protectionist, and were as anxious as foreigners to keep our manufactures out of their markets. Chamberlain dreamt of a closer union between Britain and the dominions. Thinking that the easiest way of preparing for this was to offer the colonies a preference in their commerce with us, he saw that this could only be done if duties were imposed on a large number of articles. Moreover, he believed that free trade had damaged our home industries and our agriculture by admitting to our markets the products of countries which jealously kept out our goods by high tariffs. Chamberlain soon gathered round him a certain number of followers, but he was fiercely opposed by the Liberals and found little active support in the cabinet. Ritchie, the free trade chancellor of the exchequer, insisted on taking off the small duty on corn, imposed for revenue purposes during the Boer war. Feeling himself hampered by office from preaching his new gospel, Chamberlain resigned in September, 1903. His ideas, however, had so far taken root in the cabinet that the keener free traders, including Ritchie and the duke of Devonshire, also gave up their places soon afterwards. In the reconstitution of the ministry then effected, his son Austen Chamberlain, who shared his views, became chancellor of the exchequer, and, after much hesitation, Balfour began to veer towards tariff reform.

12. The ministry was much weakened by these changes

Efforts to reorganize the army elicited little enthusiasm or confidence. There was a fierce agitation against the *Education* and *Licensing Acts*, and a hot outcry against what was called "Chinese slavery" in South Africa. The conservative instincts of the average British elector made him loath to disturb the free trade system which he was accustomed to. Political economists declared that Chamberlain's views were against the doctrines of their science. The poor man feared that import duties would raise the cost of living. Great industries, like the Lancashire cotton trade, believed that tariff reform would diminish their enormous export trade, and there was a widespread feeling that protection might encourage the growth of trusts, rings, and corrupt vested interests. For all these reasons the ministry lost ground. The bye-elections showed that it had largely lost popular confidence, and yet it made the fatal mistake of clinging to office and postponing the dissolution of parliament. At last the situation became so difficult that in December, 1905, the Balfour cabinet resigned.

Fall of the Balfour ministry.

13. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman then became prime minister of a Liberal administration, in which Sir Edward Grey was foreign secretary, R. B. Haldane minister of war, John Morley (soon made a viscount) Indian secretary, and H. H. Asquith chancellor of the exchequer. Among the newer men were the eloquent Welshman, David Lloyd George, and John Burns, the workmen's representative. Parliament was dissolved, and the general election of January and February, 1906, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the new government, whose immediate supporters mustered twice as strong as all sections of Unionists. Besides nearly 400 Liberal members, there was the usual solid Irish Nationalist vote of over 80, and a new feature of the election was the return of about 40 members of an Independent Labour Party, pledged to strong labour measures, and a policy of social reform veering in the direction of socialism. When Nationalists and Labour men supported the government, it could outvote by more than 350 the 150 dispirited Conservatives. Never had there been such a majority before, and never had the individual majorities of a large number of the victorious party been so overwhelmingly great. In Scotland the Liberal majority was greatly increased; Wales elected no Conservatives at all; the industrial districts of the north declared strongly for free trade, and Lancashire, hitherto preponderatingly Conservative, returned a Liberal

The Campbell-Bannerman ministry and the elections of 1906.

majority almost rivalling those of Durham and Yorkshire. London was more evenly divided, but the Conservatives greatly lost ground. Even in the home counties and small boroughs of the south a fair number of Liberals was returned. Only in Birmingham and its district did the cause of tariff reform win a decided victory. This was a remarkable personal triumph for Chamberlain. But before long ill-health gradually compelled him to give up all but a nominal part in public life. His removal from active politics deprived Britain of the statesman whose conduct, though very variously judged, was always dominated by large ideals and comprehensive schemes appealing to the imagination of the electorate. Yet, though the issues before the electors were exceptionally complicated, it is clear that Chamberlain's fiscal policy was not attractive to the majority of voters, and even clearer that the late ministry was no longer trusted. It was the first election since 1886 in which Home Rule for Ireland, though still part of the Liberal programme, was allowed to sink into the background. Another feature of the struggle was the prominence of the cry for social reform.

14. The Liberals remained in power for the rest of Edward VII.'s reign. Campbell-Bannerman, though without any claim to a high rank among statesmen, showed shrewdness, tact, and good humour in keeping together his huge, but somewhat discordant majority. It was a real loss to his party when ill-health compelled his resignation in 1908, and soon after led to his death. Asquith was chosen as his successor, and lovers of old ways complained that the king, then in the south of France, sent for the new premier to Biarritz, instead of returning to England to treat with his servants in his own country. In the reconstitution of offices necessitated by the change of prime minister, Lloyd George became chancellor of the exchequer, and cabinet office was given to the brilliant son of Lord Randolph Churchill, Winston Churchill, who had but recently left the Conservative for the Liberal party.

The Asquith ministry.

15. The new government set to work to remedy what it regarded as the errors of its predecessors. Prominent among these was the *Education Act* of 1902. Various elaborate schemes of educational reorganization were brought forward in the years 1906 and 1908. The first proposed that no elementary school should be recognized unless it was provided by the local education authority, and evoked as violent protests from the church party as Balfour's act had

The Liberal education policy.

excited among the nonconformists. The bill passed through the Commons, but was so much altered in the House of Lords that the Commons rejected all these amendments, and the government abandoned it. Early in 1907 a new bill on different lines was proposed, but withdrawn in favour of a third scheme, introduced in the autumn session, which sought to disarm opposition by allowing privately managed schools to "contract out" of its provisions. This yielded too much to satisfy the extreme supporters of the government, and not enough to please its opponents. Despairing of any agreement being arrived at, the government dropped this plan also. Not even the grievances of the "passive resisters" were remedied by law, but efforts were made to administer the act of 1902 in such a spirit that the friends of the government should see less reason to object to it.

16. A second chief concern of the government was to amend the licensing act of 1904. Accordingly, in 1908 a new *Licensing Bill* was brought into the House of Commons which provided for the compulsory reduction of licenses, and affirmed the principle that, after a time limit, devised to protect vested interests, a locality might, at its option, prohibit the sale of intoxicants. A great outcry against the measure arose on the ground that it dealt unfairly with those engaged in the drink traffic, and though it passed the Commons, the House of Lords threw it out. This was only one of several government measures which the Lords either rejected outright, or amended so freely that the ministry preferred to abandon them altogether to accepting them in their altered form; among the former was a bill to prevent plural voting, while among the latter was a bill to promote small holdings in Scotland. The ministers succeeded, however, in passing many important acts, including measures to compensate workmen for injuries received as a result of their employment, and to allow old age pensions to persons over seventy not in receipt of parish relief. The hours for work in coal-mines were fixed by law not to exceed eight hours; an act was passed for the protection of children, called the *Children's Act*, and two new universities were set up in Ireland, one of which, called the *National University*, was likely to be under the control of the Roman Catholics, who had long disliked the Protestant or non-sectarian character of Irish university education. An attempt to give Ireland an instalment of Home Rule by what was called the *Devolution Bill*, and a proposal to disestablish the Welsh church, were not persevered in by the government. Already, in 1907,

The Liberal programme and the Lords.

a large scheme of army re-organization was carried by R. B. Haldane, and, later, large sums were spent in adding to the navy the novel and expensive type of battleship called the *Dreadnoughts*.

17. In 1909 the great measure was the budget of Lloyd George. This extended the system of graduating the income tax, so that wealthy persons paid at a higher rate than those of moderate means; increased the taxes on spirits and the amounts paid for licenses by publicans and sellers of strong drink; taxed for the first time the "unearned increment" which, it was said, accrued to owners of lands near growing towns without any effort on their own part; and claimed a share for the state out of the royalties paid for the right of extracting minerals from land. The budget was denounced as revolutionary and confiscatory, and all through the summer was fiercely contested in the Commons. It was not till late in the year that it came to the House of Lords, which declined to pass the bill until the country had been definitely asked whether it approved of it or not. Its necessary result was to force the government to have recourse to an immediate dissolution of parliament. The electors had to decide between the Lords and the Liberals.

The budget and the House of Lords.

18. Early in 1910 the second general election of Edward VII.'s reign was held. The ministers asked the electors to declare in favour of the budget, and declared that they would not hold office unless means were taken to destroy the Lords' control over finance, and to end their veto over legislation, which had in the last parliament wrecked so many of the government measures. The Opposition defended the action of the Lords, but argued that the main issue before the country was the choice between free trade and tariff reform. The elections showed either that the electors did not generally regard the House of Lords as strong enough to be dangerous, or that tariff reform had made considerable progress. The Liberals lost many seats, especially in the south and midlands, but the industrial north was still almost solid for free trade, and against the Lords. Consequently the turnover of votes was not sufficient to give the Conservatives a majority. Ministers could retain office as long as they kept the support of the Irish and Labour parties, with whose help they had a majority of about 130. It was therefore with weakened forces that they met the new assembly.

The elections of 1910.

19. Two questions were prominent above all others. The government wished to send up its rejected budget to the Lords.

and to prevent the Upper House from thwarting its policy in the future. There was some difficulty, however, in deciding the order in which these two matters should be pushed forward, and time was consumed in drawing up resolutions declaring that in the future the Lords' power over finance was to be abolished, and their right of veto so limited that any measure desired by the Commons might become law, despite the peers, before the expiration of the parliament in which it was first passed by the Commons. Such resolutions involved the whole constitutional problem of the power and constitution of the second chamber, and demanded much time and thought before they could be turned into laws. The ministers were reproached with delaying the budget because they were afraid that the Irish party, which had no love of the increased duties on spirits, would vote against it. Within a few weeks of the first meeting of the new parliament there was talk of dissolution. When, however, the budget of 1909 was at last reintroduced, it was easily carried through the Commons, and accepted by the Lords. The question of the second chamber was, however, so thorny, and the opposition of the Lords to the government proposals likely to be so emphatic, that a dissolution still seemed likely to be inevitable before the problem was settled. Party controversy remained fierce, when the king, whose health had latterly been giving way, died somewhat suddenly on May 6, 1910, at a moment when his mediating influence was specially required. His son, George, prince of Wales, became George V., and an informal truce of parties ushered in the new reign.

The veto resolutions and the king's death.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE V. AND THE GREAT WAR (1910–1923)

Chief Dates:

1910. Accession of George V.; Second General Election of 1910.
1911. The Parliament Act. National Insurance Act.
1912. The Balkan League.
1914. Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills become law. Outbreak of war with Germany. Battles of the Marne, Aisne, and Ypres.
1915. Second Battle of Ypres. The Dardanelles Expedition. Battle of the Dunajec. The Asquith National Ministry.
1916. Capitulation of Kut-el-Amara. Battle off Jutland. The Dublin Rebellion. The Lloyd George Coalition Ministry.
1917. Capture of Bagdad. Battle of Caporetto. America at war with Germany.
1918. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Failure of German offensive in France. Second Battle of the Marne. Conquest of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Serbia. Armistice signed. Reform and Education Acts. General Election.
1919. Paris Conference. Conclusion of the Peace Treaties. Government of India Act.
1920. Treaty of Sèvres.
1922. The Irish Peace Treaty. Bonar Law Ministry.
1923. French occupation of the Ruhr. Baldwin Ministry. Treaty of Lausanne.

George V. and the House of Windsor.

1. GEORGE V. was forty-five years old when he became king. A second son, he was an active naval officer until his brother's death in 1892 put him in the direct line of succession. He was known as a good sailor, a great traveller, and an excellent speaker. He threw himself conscientiously into the discharge of the delicate duties of his position, and showed courage in speaking his mind. In 1893 he married his second cousin, Princess Mary of Teck, a great-granddaughter of George III. Though daughter of a German father, she was born and brought up in England. Thus, for the first time since the Tudors, both king and queen were thoroughly British in sympathy and education. This was emphasised after the outbreak of the German war, when king George repudiated all foreign titles, and desired that his dynasty should be known as the *House of Windsor*.

2. The new king appreciated the importance of the crown as a link between the various portions of the Empire which were tending

to drift in different directions as they severally worked out their own destinies. His uncle, the duke of Connaught, who had already been sent to South Africa to open the first Union Parliament, was appointed Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. In the winter of 1911–1912 the king and queen went to India, being the first British reigning sovereigns to visit the greatest of their dominions. They held a magnificent *Durbar* at Delhi, at which the king announced the transference of the seat of government of India from Calcutta to Delhi, the old capital of the Mogul Empire. Many schemes for the improvement of the government and the development of the resources of India were suggested, and in 1917 a considerable advance in the direction of Indian self-government was promised. The loyalty of India during four years of war, and the large share taken by Indian troops in the campaigns, gave reasons for making such changes as early as practicable. Meanwhile the self-governing colonies were all developing their own resources. Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa set an example to the mother country by schemes for organising national defence. The problems of the relations of the Dominions to the Empire, though much discussed, were never seriously faced.

The Crown, the Dominions, and India.

3. Between 1910–1914 Parliament was hotly engaged in the old party warfare, though it found some leisure to deal with problems more deeply affecting the heart of society. The great fact for the politicians was the impending conflict between Lords and Commons. To avoid this, an attempt was made to bring about an understanding between the two houses by a conference of party leaders of both sides. On the failure of the effort, the government appealed to the country, seeking a clear mandate from the electors to destroy the veto of the House of Lords. The parliament, elected in January, 1910, was dissolved in November, and another general election was held in December; but the balance of parties in the new house was the same as in the old one. The number of Liberal and Unionist members was exactly equal, so that the ministry, as in the earlier parliament, could maintain its majority only when it could secure Irish Nationalist and Labour support. It was accordingly with weakened authority that it began in 1911 to put its proposals into practice.

The Second Election of 1910.

4. A *Parliament Bill* was laid before the Commons in February, 1911. The Lords' absolute power to stop all legislation was to be changed into a suspensory veto. The Lords were neither to reject nor amend a money bill; any other bill, if passed by the

Commons in three consecutive sessions, was to become law, irrespective of the action of the Lords; the duration of a Parliament was to be cut down from seven years to five, so that only measures passed by a young House of Commons could be pushed through, over the heads of the Lords, without an appeal to the people. To meet complaints that no proposals were made as to the reconstitution of the upper chamber, the Prime Minister pledged the government to bring forward a scheme for this within the lifetime of parliament. Insisting, however, that the Parliament Bill must be got through as a first step, he carried it in the Commons. The Lords' attempts to amend the bill were firmly resisted, and as the Lords dared not persist, it became law by August. A measure was also carried to pay each member of the House of Commons £400 a year for his services. Other government measures, including the budget, had to be postponed to an autumn session.

The Veto Act, 1911.

5. In this autumn session Lloyd George finally passed his *National Insurance* scheme. This plan secured that all workers with an income below a certain level should be provided with an allowance, in the event of their sickness or unemployment, out of funds to which the insured person, his employer, and the State alike contributed. This was the first of a series of measures designed to make life more tolerable to the mass of the population, and to mitigate the harshness of the industrial struggle for existence. Unrest, culminating in a series of strikes, shewed that there was widespread dissatisfaction with existing conditions. The most serious of the labour troubles was a great strike of colliers in the spring of 1912.

National Insurance Act, 1911.

6. In 1912 also Parliament sat most of the year. The government proposed to set up Home Rule for Ireland, to disestablish and disendow the Welsh Church, and to widen the electoral franchise. Its Irish scheme took a different shape from the provisions of the Home Rule bills of 1886 and 1893. Ireland was to have a parliament of two chambers, a House of Commons, and a small nominated senate: but the Irish parliament was only gradually to take over its full powers, and was not to make laws concerning the crown, the army and navy, or foreign policy. There was also to be an Irish executive, responsible to the local parliament. Forty-two Irish members were still to sit at Westminster, with powers equal to those of Great Britain's representatives.

Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and Parliamentary Reform, 1912.

The bill produced acrimonious debates, and the Irish Unionist

members, led by Sir Edward Carson, openly threatened resistance in the event of it becoming law. The measure was, however, slowly pushed through the Commons, only to be rejected by the Lords. The *Welsh Church Bill*, also passed by the Commons, had the same fate. The *New Reform Bill* proposed that no man should have more than one vote, that residence or occupation should be the sole qualification of a voter and that the cumbrous registration law should be simplified. There was, however, no proposal to rearrange the constituencies or to give votes to women, despite strong agitation, both inside and outside parliament, in favour of the latter step. An amendment for giving women votes was ruled inadmissible by the Speaker. Thereupon Asquith withdrew the whole bill. He promised to give facilities next year for the discussion of a measure for women's suffrage.

The Session of 1913.

7. Unfruitful debates prolonged the 1912 session till February 1913, and, after a few days' interval, the new session began. The Home Rule and the Welsh Church bills were again sent up by the Commons and again rejected by the Lords. The same fate overtook a bill abolishing plural voting, while leaving untouched the other anomalies of the electoral system. A Women's Suffrage bill, brought forward by private members, failed to pass the Commons, the Prime Minister being in the forefront of the opposition to it.

Ulster and Home Rule, 1913-1914.

8. The government had not improved its position either in parliament or in the country. Even its more broadly conceived measures, such as the Insurance Act, were difficult to carry out, and required amending and supplementing before they worked well. The Prime Minister was vigorously attacked by the friends of Women's Suffrage, who thought that he had interpreted his pledge in too lawyerlike a fashion. Adverse bye-elections slowly undermined the Liberal majority, and increased the reluctance of the ministers to appeal to the country. The worst trouble before them seemed to be the disturbed state of Ireland, brought about by the fact that, under the Parliament Act, the Home Rule Bill would automatically become law by the end of the session. Headed by Carson, the Ulster Protestant party took a solemn covenant to resist Home Rule by force. It drilled and armed a large force of Ulster Volunteers to defend Protestant Ulster. The Nationalists naturally followed the example, and levied a host of National Volunteers to enforce Home Rule. Ireland was divided into two armed camps, each professing to prepare to fight the other. The Irish

government, barely controlled by the weak Irish Secretary, proved incompetent either to comprehend or to restrain the fierce passions which its proposals had excited.

9. In this tense atmosphere the session of 1914 opened. The government once more brought forward its old measures, but, as a concession to Ulster, it allowed any county, or county borough, to exclude itself by popular vote from the Home Rule Act for six years. Carson offered to consider permanent exclusion, but ministers refused to move any farther. Rumours spread of a projected concentration of troops to enforce Home Rule on Ulster. Thereupon some highly placed army officers, stationed in Ireland, sent in their resignation. The result was a ministerial crisis, involving the resignation of the minister of war and of Sir John French, chief of the staff. The trouble was patched up only by the Prime Minister himself undertaking the charge of the War Office. Nevertheless the Home Rule Bill was still pressed through the House, Asquith maintaining that concession to Ulster must take the shape of a subsequent amending act. But his *Amending Bill* was only produced because the Lords refused to discuss the Home Rule Bill until this was done. It proved to be the old offer of six years' exclusion to any counties voting for such a course. The Lords then amended the Home Rule Bill before them by excluding all Ulster from its operation. The danger of war with Germany now led the king to summon a conference of all parties to Buckingham Palace, but nothing resulted from this. After war broke out, the Government dropped the Amending Bill, and thus forced the Lords to reject outright the Home Rule Bill. When the Welsh Church Bill was again sent up to the Lords, it was once more thrown out. As union against the German peril made it undesirable that these two fiercely opposed measures should become law at the end of the session under the Parliament Act, a *Suspensory Act* postponed their operation until after the war.

Home Rule and the Ulster Covenant 1914.

The Amending Bill, 1914.

10. The greatest war in history was the result of the claim of Germany to dominate the world and the inevitable resistance which such a pretension excited. Visions of an Empire, transcending the power of a Louis XIV. or a Napoleon, had long dazzled the eyes of William II., the German Emperor, and the German military class. The merchants and manufacturers, intoxicated by their increasing success in commerce and industry, shared in the illusion of their rulers. For

Origin of the Great War.

more than forty years Germany's claims had divided Europe into hostile camps. Each continental nation was armed to the teeth ; every accidental dispute became dangerous because it might provoke an internecine conflict. On the one side stood the Triple Alliance of the Central Powers, Germany, Austria and Italy, which latter state was, however, becoming conscious that she was dragged in the wake of her mighty allies without any regard to her own special interests. Opposed to the Triple Alliance stood the Dual Alliance of Russia and France.

Alone of the great European powers, Britain did her best to keep free from the trammels of the rival leagues. Even after necessity had forced her to shew strong sympathy for the Dual Alliance, she hoped still to live on friendly terms with Germany, and made no attempt to rival the armaments of the continental powers. Her politicians turned a deaf ear to the warnings of the veteran Lord Roberts that only general national service could prepare her for a great war. Haldane, who, as war minister, had done more than any other man for army reform, declared that enough had been accomplished to meet any eventuality. Thus Britain blinded herself to the increasing arrogance of German claims. If war was avoided for so long, it was mainly because Germany was well content with the success of her policy of "peaceful penetration," supplemented upon occasion by threats, which generally resulted in her obtaining what she wanted.

11. Between 1911 and 1913 three new troubles shewed that the armed peace was not likely to last much longer. The first of these was in Morocco, where there was war between the French and the disorderly government of that kingdom. In 1911 the German Emperor sent the gunboat *Panther* to the port of Agadir, thus revealing his desire to interfere between France and Morocco. The Anglo-French agreement had laid down that Morocco was within the French sphere of influence; Britain now declared that she was prepared to support France against German attack. The Kaiser withdrew the *Panther*, and accepted a treaty which left France undisturbed in Morocco. It was a great triumph for the *entente cordiale*, but it left bad blood behind it.

Continental troubles, 1911-1913.

The "Panther" at Agadir.

12. A second trouble was even more disturbing to Germany, because it foreshadowed the breakdown of the Triple Alliance by the secession of Italy, and opened up once more the eternal Eastern question, which had been comparatively quiet since the powers had

put an end to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897. There had been many disputes among the Christian states, between which the greater part of the Balkan peninsula had been divided since 1878. These became the more dangerous since Turkey went through a domestic revolution in 1909. By this the Sultan, who had so cruelly oppressed the Armenians, was overthrown, and a new government set up, controlled by the *Young Turks*, who boasted that they would revive the Turkish power by introducing western methods of democracy and liberty. They sought and obtained support in Germany, and prepared to reorganise the Turkish army under German advisers. But the Christian subjects of Turkey, finding the rule of the Young Turks as oppressive as that of the old Sultans, rose up in revolt, especially in Macedonia. The Christian rebels included Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, but the kingdoms of Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria were prevented by their jealousies of each other from rendering effective aid to them. For a time the Macedonian troubles were thrown into the background by the war which broke out between 1911 and 1912 between Italy and Turkey. To the disgust of Germany and Austria, Italy imposed a peace upon the Turks by which Tripoli and many islands in the Eastern Ægean remained in her hands.

The Turkish Revolution, 1909.

The Turco-Italian war, 1911-1912.

13. Worse for Germany was now to come, for the conclusion of the peace between Italy and Turkey was followed by the serious renewal of the Balkan troubles. The easy defeat of the Turks encouraged the Balkan peoples to make up their feuds, and in 1912 all, except Rumania, joined in the *Balkan League*, concluded through the wise statesmanship of the Greek Prime Minister, Venizelos. In 1912 the league took up arms against the Turks, and drove them out of Macedonia. Behind the Balkan League was the unconcealed support of Russia, and the sympathy of the Western powers. But its success imperilled Germany's schemes of using her Turkish tools to establish her influence in Western Asia, and to threaten the British power in Egypt and India. The league even more directly attacked Austria, because the expansion of Serbia blocked her path to Salonica, and exposed her to the danger of Serbia becoming the champion of the Southern Slavs of Croatia and Bosnia. By the help of the German princes, who reigned over most of the Balkan States, Germany and Austria broke up the Balkan League. Their task was the easier since Greece and Serbia were quarrelling with Bulgaria over the division of the Turkish

The Balkan League, 1912.

And its dissolution, 1913.

spoils. Bulgaria now went to war against her rivals, whereupon Turkey resumed hostilities against her. But Rumania, hitherto neutral, joined in the attack on Bulgaria, which was soon forced to disgorge many of her conquests. The intervention of the powers forced an unsatisfactory peace on the Balkans in September, 1913. By it Turkey in Europe was reduced to the districts between Adrianople and Constantinople, and the Balkan States, to which Albania was added, received large accessions of territory. But Austria annexed Bosnia, and stopped Serbia from access to the sea. Moreover, Bulgaria secretly joined hands with the Central Powers, and, like Turkey, courted their support to re-establish her position at the expense of the Serbs.

14. A great change now took place in German policy. There had long been an active German war party, but hitherto it had been kept in some check by the Emperor. But the threatened withdrawal of Italy from his alliance and the inability of the Central Powers to stop the increase of Serbian territories now suggested that the time was come when Germany must fight. If this was to be done, the sooner the war began the better, since Germany was ready, and her rivals, despite their elaborate preparations, were neither willing nor able to bring their forces rapidly into the field. An accidental calamity soon gave the pretext to fire the train which set the world ablaze. In June, 1914, as the archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was driving through the streets of Serajevo, the Bosnian capital, he was assassinated by a Serb fanatic. Austria accused Serbia of complicity in the crime, and demanded her unconditional submission. Serbia yielded nearly all that was asked, but in her terror appealed to Russia, the natural protector of Slavonic peoples in distress. Russia answered by setting her army on a war footing, whereupon Austria began hostilities against Serbia. Germany, which had given a free hand to Austria, ordered Russia to demobilize under threat of immediate war. On Russia's refusal, Germany and Austria declared war against her. Thereupon France, as bound by treaty, took up arms in defence of her eastern ally. Thus a general European war became inevitable.

The crime of Serajevo and its consequences, June-August, 1914.

15. The only question still open was what Britain was to do. In order to prevent the war, Sir Edward Grey proposed to refer all disputes to a European conference; but the Central Powers contemptuously rejected his suggestion. Germany persuaded herself that Britain was too conscious of her military weakness, too

much wedded to the doctrine of peace at any price, and too fearful of civil war in Ireland to venture to draw the sword. Yet she hated and feared Britain even more than her continental enemies, knowing that Britain's sea-power stood between her and the schemes of maritime and colonial expansion which were dearer to Germany than even continental ascendancy. In her eagerness to make the war short and decisive, she wantonly provoked British hostility by demanding from Belgium a passage for her troops through Belgian territory in order that she might strike at France on her unprotected northern frontier. The neutrality of Belgium had been solemnly proclaimed by all the powers after her independence had first been established, and Britain was known to lay special stress upon its maintenance. But Britain was roughly told that treaties were but "scraps of paper," and that Germany was resolved to take the shortest road to victory. This gross contempt for public law silenced the last hesitation on Britain's part. Impelled by interest and honour to support France and Russia from wanton attack, she was doubly bound to stand forth as the protector of a weak state like Belgium, and to vindicate the sanctity of international law against the doctrine that might makes right. On August 4 she went to war against the Central Powers. Great levies of men and vast grants of money were made. Kitchener was appointed war minister; all the available forces, amounting to about 150,000 men, were sent over the Channel under Sir John French. The navy, under Admiral Jellicoe, was already prepared to convoy the expeditionary force and uphold British supremacy on the seas against the new German navy.

Britain joins the war, Aug. 4, 1914.

16. The early course of the war went almost as the Germans had expected. The little Belgian army was overwhelmed, and a huge German force marched through conquered Belgium into France. By this time British troops were joining with the French, but it was impossible for the northern army of the allies to hold its own against the overwhelming numbers of the invaders. Defeated at first between Mons and Charleroi, and later on the line between Cambrai and Le Cateau, the Anglo-French army was driven back into the heart of France. The Germans crossed the Marne and threatened Paris.

The invasion of France. August, 1914.

17. The French government fled to Bordeaux. A fresh army, assembled to defend Paris, held the line of the Ourcq, a northern tributary of the Marne. It thus stood on the right flank of the

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MAP OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN THE GREAT WAR.

advancing Germans. But the Germans, despising their enemies, pushed on southwards. Thereupon the French, with wise daring, fell fiercely on their flank. Meanwhile, the beaten armies of France and England made a wonderful recovery. Between 6 and 10 Sept. Paris was saved by the *battle of the Marne*. The Germans were driven back from the Marne to the Aisne, where they dug themselves in so effectively that the allies were brought to a standstill. After a fortnight of hard fighting, called the *battle of the Aisne*, the French and English also entrenched themselves opposite the Germans.

The battles of the Marne and of the Aisne.

18. With rare insight Kitchener foretold three years of war, and set doggedly to work to create a British army that could play its fair share in the defence of the freedom of Europe. The danger, however, though less immediate, was still imminent. A desperate attempt to save Antwerp by a hastily levied British force failed lamentably, and all Belgium fell into the Germans' hands, save a little scrap of south-western Flanders, in the midst of which was the historic town of Ypres. To preserve this fragment, French's army was skilfully transferred from its first position on the Aisne to the northern sector, where it joined hands with what was left of the troops who had failed at Antwerp. The Germans desperately tried to break through their thin lines in the first *battle of Ypres* between October 20 and November 11. But the British, though forced back, did not yield before the sevenfold odds brought against them. Thereupon both sides settled down to the monotony of winter trench warfare.

The battle of Ypres, Oct.–Nov., 1914.

19. The positions taken up by the rival armies in November, 1914, remained substantially the same until the summer of 1918. The allied line ran from the North Sea near Nieuport, along the Yser, and bending just east of Ypres, crossed the Lys near Armentières and continued southwards, west of Lille, to the eastern suburbs of Arras, and thence by Albert on the Ancre, to the Somme. A few miles to the south, it bent eastwards to the Oise, and thence along the Aisne and the Vesle to Reims, whence the trenches stretched to the borders of Lorraine, and then, bending southwards again, almost followed the frontier up to the Swiss border. The Belgians held the trenches along the Yser; the British stretched from the Yser to near Arras, and when her new levies were ready, took over more of the line until, within two years, their posts extended to the Somme. The rest of the front was defended by the French.

The western field of battle, 1914–1917.

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MAP OF THE OPERATIONS ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

20. Along the 400 miles between the sea and the Jura constant engagements raged, involving the loss of myriads of lives but in no substantial way affecting the balance of fortune. The allies held on, hoping that time would enable them to bring their full forces to the fight. The Germans, though not anticipating a war of positions, showed great skill in adapting themselves to its requirements. Their interest was still to quicken the pace. By concentrating huge masses of troops on weak places of the enemy's line, they strove to force their way through. But none of these attempts had any real measure of success. In the *second battle of Ypres* (22 April–13 May, 1915) they narrowed down the British salient, but could not capture Ypres, much less fight their way to Calais. In the *battle of Verdun* (Feb.–April, 1916) they advanced almost to the walls of the hardly beset fortress city of the Meuse, but were at last brought to a standstill, and forced to yield ground before fierce French counter-attacks. The allies were not more fortunate in their attempts to beat back the Germans. The French advances involved huge sacrifice of life. The British attempts to break the lines that blocked the approach to Lille were almost as costly. The unbounded hopes, excited by such local successes as the capture of *Neuve Chapelle* (10 March, 1915), were soon shown to be vain. The most important offensive in which British and French shared was that called *the battle of the Somme*, which began in July, 1916, and continued for the rest of the year. The winter-struggle which succeeded it, called *the battle of the Ancre* (18 November to 11 March, 1917), carried the allies to the gates of Bapaume and Péronne. It was the first offensive that seriously contracted the enemy's line. Yet neither French nor British were ready for a great advance. The British were at a special disadvantage by reason of weak numbers, insufficient munitions, and sometimes bad staff-work as well. But the allies accomplished at least as much as their enemies.

The period of trench warfare, 1914–1917.

21. There was also fighting on a vast scale in Eastern Europe between the Central Powers and Russia. The Russians began well by two invasions of East Prussia, but the Germans found a saviour in General Hindenburg, who drove the enemy back into his own territories. Hindenburg then fought his way through Russian Poland into Lithuania and the Baltic Provinces. There were even greater changes of fortune in the struggle between the Austrians and the southern armies of Russia. The Austrians failed to overrun

The Campaigns against Russia, 1914–1917.

the little Serbian Kingdom and to defend Galicia from invasion. By April, 1915, the Russians were on the crest of the Carpathians, threatening the rich Hungarian plain. But Germany came to the help of her ally, and General Mackensen's victory on the *Dunajec*, in May, 1915, completely changed the situation. Galicia was rapidly recovered and the Austro-German eastern front was soon pushed forwards from the Rumanian frontier to the Baltic near Riga, leaving a great extent of Russian territory in their possession. There were still ebbs and flows in the tide of eastern warfare up to the summer of 1916, when a notable Russian advance at the expense of the Austrians was made. But Hindenburg now threw such strong forces on to the eastern front that the ill-armed, ill-equipped Russian armies fled rapidly before him. Ignorance, incompetence and treachery had sapped the resources of the great Russian Empire, and the Tsar, Nicholas II., was powerless to set things right. It was in vain that Rumania, after long hesitation, came to Russia's assistance. Thereupon Bulgaria, which had already joined Turkey in declaring for the Central Powers, helped Austria to crush Serbia, and fell upon Rumania from the south. Before long Mackensen overran Wallachia and forced Rumania to accept a dictated peace. Meanwhile in March, 1917, the unhappy Tsar was driven from his throne. But the Russian revolution did not establish a strong government. Attempts at constitutional monarchy and a socialist republic proved failures. At last power was usurped by a party of fanatics called the *Bolsheviks*, who subjected Russia to a tyranny at least as severe as that of the Tsars. They threw over the allies of Russia, and made a separate peace with the Germans at *Brest-Litovsk* (3 March, 1918). This set the Germans free to throw all their forces on to the western front. The Bolsheviks have retained power ever since, and their triumph has isolated Russia from nearly all intercourse with western Europe.

22. A third field of war was opened up when Turkey joined the Central Powers. Her threats against the Suez Canal forced Britain to collect an army in Egypt to safeguard the means of access to India. The khedive of Egypt, who upheld the Turkish cause, was deposed by the British, who declared Egypt a protectorate free from Turkish suzerainty, and set up as its sultan a loyal member of the khedive's house. A bold design was now conceived of striking at the heart of Turkey by seizing the Dardanelles. But the plan was badly executed. A futile naval demonstration in February and March,

The Dardanelles Failure, 1915.

1915, showed the continued truth of the old doctrine that ships were powerless against land-forts. The attack also gave the Turks ample warning to prepare for the army that only reached the Dardanelles late in April. The new force was conspicuous for the large proportion of Australian, New Zealand, and British "territorial" troops which it included. Their successful landing amidst the greatest difficulties shewed that these inexperienced citizen soldiers were well worthy to fight side by side with the old army. Unluckily the initial success of the landing was not followed up. The Turkish lines cooped up the allied force into the narrow peninsula which separates the Dardanelles from the northern Ægean. Constantly exposed to shell-fire, suffering cruelly at each gallant attempt to drive the Turks farther back, insufficient in number for their terrific task, and inadequately directed by their higher command, they more than held their own from April to December. But, in October, Bulgaria's entry into the war enabled Germany to send officers and munitions to stiffen the Turkish resistance. The Greek king, Constantine, a brother-in-law of William II., dismissed Venizelos, who had hoped to send Greek troops to co-operate with the allies, and henceforth did all that he dared to help the Germans. At last the Dardanelles expedition was safely and ably withdrawn.

23. The Turks were attacked in other quarters. Russia conquered from them a great part of Armenia, and an expedition, mainly provided by India, sailed up the Persian Gulf, occupied Basra, and by November, 1915, marched within twenty miles of Bagdad. But it was too small and ill equipped for so great an enterprise. Finally, the advanced section was besieged at *Kut-el-Amara*. The efforts to relieve it were badly conducted, and on 29 April, 1916, the defenders of Kut became Turkish prisoners. The double disaster on the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia reduced British reputation to a low ebb in the East. Nor was any fresh credit won by the occupation of Salonica by a mixed army of the allies. The Salonica force came too late to save Serbia, and was reduced to helplessness by the treachery of the Greek king.

The war in Armenia, Mesopotamia and Macedonia.

24. A fresh gleam of hope came in May, 1916, when Italy joined the war, having already, by remaining neutral in 1914, broken away from the Triple Alliance. After that the Italians slowly fought their way over the Austrian frontier towards Trent and Trieste, the chief towns of that "unredeemed Italy" which they hoped to conquer.

The war between Italy and Austria, 1916-1917.

25. Of vital moment to Britain was the struggle on the seas. At first the Germans wrought much havoc upon allied merchant ships, raided the English coast, and won a pitched battle over a weak British squadron off the coast of Chile. But before long British naval supremacy decisively asserted itself. The mighty fleet, which Germany had equipped to challenge the British sovereignty of the seas, was shut up in the well-protected area of the North German coast, of which Heligoland was the outpost. Its only serious attempt to break out was rudely checked by admirals Jellicoe and Beatty, whose victory in the *battle off Jutland* on 31 May, 1916, put an end to the war between *Dreadnoughts* for which both nations were prepared.

The supremacy of the Seas.

26. A first result of British supremacy at sea was the conquest of the German colonies by the British dominions and their allies. While Japan captured the German strongholds in China, Australia and New Zealand laid hands on those in the Pacific, and British South Africa and India supplied the main force that expelled the Germans from Africa. German East Africa resisted the longest, but was finally subdued by a force commanded by General Smuts, who, like Botha, the South African Prime Minister, had fought against Britain in the Boer War. German attempts to stir up rebellion in India, South Africa, and elsewhere failed lamentably, and only strengthened the ties which bound together the British dominions. The large armies sent to fight in Europe and the East by Canada, which established compulsory service, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa shewed, equally with the great military efforts of India in nearly every field of the war, the solidarity of the British Empire.

The war in the Dominions.

27. Worsted on the sea and in the colonies, Germany launched new blows against Britain. The submarine and the mine made a blockade in the old sense impossible, and rendered it difficult even to confine German warships to the harbours to which they had been driven. But Germany's chief triumph was in her discovery of the aggressive use of the submarine against merchant ships, through which she struck a more dangerous blow against British command of the seas than ever Napoleon had done. The British islands she declared to be blockaded, and all ships faring thither became liable to be blown up by torpedoes or gunfire from unseen enemies. A new fashion of naval warfare had to be devised to counteract the German power under the seas which made nugatory British control over their surface, and for the first time in history made Britain vulnerable despite

The submarine peril.

her insular position. One result of German policy was the gradual alienation of the neutral powers, and in particular of the United States, which strongly resented such crimes as the sinking the great Cunard liner the *Lusitania* (7 May, 1915) and the consequent loss of over a thousand innocent passengers and sailors, both British and American. The most eminent victim of the new warfare at sea was Kitchener, who perished on his way to Russia, the cruiser on which he was sailing being destroyed, probably by a mine, on a stormy night off the Orkneys.

28. The wholesale destruction of non-combatants, both enemies and neutrals, was, however, part of the deliberate policy of ruthlessness by which Germany believed she would terrorize the world into submission. Other phases of the same brutality included the imprisonment of British subjects found in Germany at the outbreak of war, the ill-treatment of both civilian and military prisoners, and the sending of great air-ships called *Zeppelins*, and later of aeroplanes, to drop bombs at random on British cities. None of these things, though adding immensely to human suffering and increasing the sum of material losses, had any real effect in altering the fortunes of war. The only serious menace was that of the submarine, which destroyed a large proportion both of British and of neutral merchant shipping, and brought Britain within measurable distance of famine. Happily Britain could effectively retaliate by stopping all German sea-borne trade. As time went on, she devised measures of protection which made the submarine war very perilous to the German sailors engaged in it. Moreover the need of fighting the submarine made every merchant ship and seaman in effect a naval combatant. Just as the landsman fought on shore, so did every seafarer fight on the ocean in the national struggle.

The German policy of ruthlessness.

29. After three years of world warfare, it looked as if it were impossible for either side to secure a real decision. The deadlock in the west and the disasters in the east made men anxious whether all that was possible was being done to bring about victory. These doubts resulted in two successive reconstructions of the ministry which, though working vigorously, and in some ways successfully, had not always risen to the occasion. The first reconstruction was in June, 1915, when a "National Ministry" was formed in which the politicians of various parties took office under Asquith. Bonar Law, a Glasgow merchant, who had been

The Asquith National Ministry, June, 1915.

Conservative leader since Balfour's resignation of that post in 1911, became Secretary for the Colonies, and Balfour himself First Lord of the Admiralty. Room was also found for several of the Labour Leaders. At the same time a Ministry of Munitions was established under Lloyd George, whose efforts soon put an end to the lack of shells, which had stayed our early offensive. Equipment was thus provided for our rapidly increasing armies.

30. The new ministry did not work much better than its predecessor. It had less unity: its cabinet was even larger, and therefore more incapable of directing war policy, and it suffered from the lack of responsible criticism, as there was no longer a strong opposition. The progress of the war continued to be unsatisfactory, and Lord Kitchener, though doing a great work in creating a vast new army, was less successful as head of a great political department. The millions of soldiers required for the war could not be acquired by voluntary enlistment, and the ministry carried, in Jan., 1916, an act authorising compulsory service for Great Britain, but excluding Ireland from the Act, in deference to Irish Nationalist opinion. But the extreme school of Irish Nationalists, called the *Sinn Feiners*, repudiated Redmond's leadership, and declared for an Irish Republic. German intriguers strove to stir up a rebellion, and Sinn Fein played into their hands. On Easter Monday, 1916, there was fierce fighting in the streets of Dublin, where the Sinn Feiners were only put down after grievous bloodshed.

The Dublin Rebellion, Easter, 1916.

31. After Kitchener's tragic death, Lloyd George became War Minister. He had already shown gifts of imagination, leadership, and insight that gave him a foremost position among his colleagues and a still greater hold over a public opinion, increasingly impatient of half measures and failures. Lloyd George soon convinced himself that the methods of Government that had grown up in peace time were ill adapted for a struggle for existence. In Dec., 1916, he offered the alternative of extensive changes or his retirement. Thereupon Asquith resigned and many official Liberals withdrew with him.

Lloyd George becomes the national leader.

32. Lloyd George became Prime Minister of a comprehensive Coalition, united by the intent to win the war. The conduct of the war was entrusted to a special war cabinet of five, which, it was hoped, would act with the necessary unity and promptitude, while the heads of the great departments were left free to devote themselves to

The Lloyd George Coalition Ministry, Dec., 1916.

their particular business. Special features of the new government were its creation of new departments to supply war needs, such as controllerships of shipping and food supply, and its inclusion of ministers who had hitherto taken no part in political life.

The Organization of the nation for war.

33. A great change was soon brought about by the new ministry. A new spirit was given to the conduct of the war when the headquarters general staff, destroyed by Kitchener, who sent all its chiefs to France, was reconstituted. Jellicoe was called from the Grand Fleet to do a similar work for the Navy, leaving his command at sea to Admiral Beatty. Energetic steps were taken to grapple with the submarine peril, the supply of food, and the replacing of the lost merchantmen by new tonnage. It was found necessary for the state to control the supply of bread, meat, coal, wool, fats, and many other articles in universal use. The crucial problem of the supply of labour was seriously grappled with, and power was taken to settle compulsorily trade disputes. The State enormously widened its powers, and in so doing necessarily made many bad mistakes. But this was the inevitable penalty of our unpreparedness, and, despite much friction, the new system of the subordination of the individual to the needs of society worked sufficiently well to make easier the continued progress of the war. To end the war by an honourable peace was still a far-away hope; but the spirit in which the nation, with rare exceptions, rose to the emergency destroyed every craven fear of defeat and every wish for a patched-up peace. Thus the greatest crisis of British history was met by exertions worthy of the times.

Successes and failures in the West, 1917.

34. Under these changed conditions, the allies approached the campaign of 1917 with renewed hopes. At first all seemed to go well. The Somme offensive of 1916 had hit the enemy so hard that in March, 1917, he voluntarily withdrew his troops eastwards, staying his retreat on the line between Cambrai and Saint-Quentin, where Hindenburg, called from the east to conquer the west, fortified the elaborate *Hindenburg line* which was believed to be impregnable. There was progress too in Artois, where in April the commanding Vimy ridge was captured, and in Flanders, where the Ypres salient was widened by General Plumer's army storming the Messines ridge in June. However, a great effort of the French in Champagne produced little save enormous bloodshed. Even when the allies made a certain amount of progress, they were still too weak to follow up their victories. A sharp check on the renewed

British offensive happened in November, after our arms had penetrated to Cambrai. Horrified at their losses, the French resolved not to repeat the offensive on a large scale. Worst of all, the Italians received an unexpected check. In October the Austro-Germans broke through the Italian line at *Caporetto* and overran the Venetian plain as far as the Piave. But the Italians, helped by British and French troops, made a gallant recovery and the Austro-German advance was stayed.

The Eastern victories of 1917.

35. In the west the war of 1917 began well and ended badly; in the east it began badly and ended well. Russia made her last vain efforts and slowly drifted out of the war. However, in Greece King Constantine's treachery was punished in June by his deposition and Venizelos, as the minister of his successor, reconstituted the Greek army and put it at the disposal of the allies. Yet the collapse of Rumania set free large German and Bulgarian troops, and the allied Macedonian force was reduced to inaction. But the army, long kept idle in Egypt, was transferred to the Palestine frontier, where at first natural difficulties, and sluggish leadership, made its progress slow. In October a fresh spirit was put into the army by its new commander, General Allenby, who defeated the Turks between Gaza and Beersheba. In Mesopotamia a new general, Sir Stanley Maude, avenged the capitulation of Kut by recapturing the scene of the Turkish triumph. On 15 March he penetrated to Bagdad.

America joins the war, 1917.

36. Most important of all the events of 1917 was the addition of the United States to our allies. From 1 Feb. onwards the Germans declared an "unrestricted submarine campaign," by which all shipping, trading with any of the allied nations, was to be sunk at sight. This policy was intensely resented by the Americans, already aggrieved by the loss of many American ships and seamen and by the plots of the Austrian and German embassies at Washington. It required gross blundering on the Germans' part to force America to abandon her long tradition of abstention from European politics. The American President, Woodrow Wilson, wisely allowed matters to move slowly, so that when the Germans had filled up the cup of their offences, it was at the head of a united nation that, on 6 April, 1917, he declared war. Like Britain, America set to work, with extraordinary success, to make a great army. The submarine menace was shown to be illusory when hundreds of thousands of American soldiers were safely convoyed across the

Atlantic. The adhesion of America was much more than a compensation for the collapse of Russia. It was the more valuable since America joined the war, as her President said, "to make the world safe for democracy." It was more clear than ever that the war was a fight of freedom and right against autocracy and might.

37. The beginning of 1918 saw the allies weakened by their recent offensive and the Germans strengthened by fresh troops and cannon from the east. The Germans' game was now, as in 1914, to strike hard and quickly before the Americans arrived in force. The first step of a general German offensive began on 21st March, when the thin line of the fifth British army, between the Sensée and Saint-Quentin was broken through. In a few days the Germans were back in the old battlefields on the Somme and Ancre, and pushed their advance to within a few miles of Amiens, so that there was danger of their working down the Somme to the sea, and cutting off the British from the French. This serious blow was followed by others. Though the British front at Arras stood firm, the Germans farther north nearly drove a wedge between the British in Flanders and their army in Artois. Against the French the Germans advanced down the Oise nearly to Compiègne. Finally, a successful offensive farther east brought them from the Aisne to beyond the Marne. It was a crisis, almost as acute as that of Sept., 1914.

The great German offensive, March-May, 1918.

38. It was well that the resisting power of France was still great, while that of Britain had been multiplied tenfold. All the threatened armies made a surprising recovery. In their offensive the Germans had abandoned the indecisive war of trenches, but the allies soon learnt to meet their new tactics and to improve upon them. The allied soldiers had never failed in courage and hopefulness; the real difficulty was that each army had acted as a separate unit, and that there had been no single directive mind to plan and order the whole campaign. At this crisis Lloyd George once more shewed rare insight and leadership. He insisted that a single general should be appointed to co-ordinate and direct the whole of the allied armies. Undaunted by the resignation of both the Chief of the British General Staff and the British War Minister, he persevered until he gained his point. Marshal Foch was chosen as the generalissimo of all the British and French armies, the British Commander, Sir Douglas Haig, who had succeeded French, loyally falling in with the new situation. For the first time a

The unity of command.

concerted plan of campaign was executed to meet the German attack. The Germans made no more progress. Amiens was saved and Paris preserved from danger. Meanwhile the armies were strengthened and reorganised; and hundreds of thousands of fresh Americans took up their posts beside their war-worn allies.

39. Foch bided his time, but by the middle of July he began his counter-offensive, and the whole situation changed as if by magic. Swinging blows were dealt against the enemy, now on one part of the line, then on another. Overstrained by their great effort of the spring, the Germans had few fresh resources to meet the new danger. They still fought magnificently, but their own new methods were bettered and turned against them. The first stage of Foch's campaign was the *second battle of the Marne*, fought under similar conditions to those of the first Marne battle of 1914. The two sides of the German salient towards the Marne were attacked with such success that by the end of July the French were back on the Aisne. Meanwhile the French moved slowly up the Oise, while between Ypres and the Somme the British fought their way eastwards with almost uniform success. In August the pace was quickened, and it became more rapid with each succeeding month. By the end of September the line of 1917 was more than restored.

Foch turns the Western tide, July–September, 1918.

40. Meanwhile there was even more rapid progress in the East. In Mesopotamia Maude died in the midst of his triumphs; but his successor, General Marshall, pushed northwards towards Mosul. In Palestine Allenby, a born cavalry leader, out-manœuvred the Turks by rapid sweeps of his great force of Indian, Colonial, and Yeomanry horse. After occupying Jerusalem, he advanced to Damascus and Beirut, and on 26 October he completed the conquest of Syria by seizing Aleppo, cutting thus the railway line that fed the Turks in Mesopotamia. Most surprising of all, the Macedonian army broke its long spell of inaction, and drove a wedge through the Bulgarian-German armies so successfully that on 29 September Bulgaria made an unconditional surrender. This completed the isolation of Turkey, already severely tried by the loss of Syria and Mesopotamia. After the delays inevitable from Turkish indecision and procrastination, the Sultan made his complete submission, and obtained from the allies a cessation of hostilities, dating from 1 November. With the collapse of Bulgaria and Turkey the eastern designs of the Central Powers were utterly frustrated.

The Submission of Turkey and Bulgaria, 1918.

41. Austria meanwhile had long been struggling against threatened insurrection and extreme exhaustion at home. She now saw Serbia and Montenegro gradually reconquered by the allies, while Albania was overrun by the Italians and the Adriatic ports made useless by the naval activity of her enemies. Moreover, late in October an Italian advance from the Piave undid the work of October, 1917, and soon won such prodigious success that a mere remnant of the Austro-Hungarian army was driven in panic flight from the Piave into Austrian territory. Thereupon Slavonic Austria rose in revolt, and even Hungary saw that the game was up. The Austrian government now declared itself eager to accept peace on conditions laid down by the American President. On 3 November it thankfully accepted an armistice on terms that left unredeemed Italy and Dalmatia in the allies' possession, and made impossible its further participation in the war. Before long the Austro-Hungarian state dethroned its sovereign and broke up into its natural national elements, which became free republics.

The Submission of Austria.

42. The most important result of the triumph of the allies against Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria was its decisive effect on the situation in France and Flanders. In October, while the allies were driving their eastern enemies out of the field, their successes in the west became more marvellous than ever. The much vaunted Hindenburg line, defended with stubborn courage by the Germans, did not keep back for long their victorious progress. During October the tide of war swept eastwards beyond Cambrai and Saint-Quentin, northwards beyond La Fère and Laon. The Americans, operating as an independent force for the first time, destroyed the dangerous German salient of Saint-Mihiel on the Meuse, and then fought their way desperately through the defiles of the Argonne, and down the Meuse valley. The Belgians, led by their King Albert, began to win back their plundered homes. Early in October, the Germans made overtures for an armistice to President Wilson, but were told that they must evacuate all conquered territory, and give evidence that they could be trusted, before negotiations could even begin. Even this austere answer was not rejected, for Germany clearly approached the end of her resources, and the autocratic Emperor was compelled by German opinion to accept new ministers professing anxiety for peace. Meanwhile the allied forces moved on from success to success. On one astounding day, 17 October,

The reconquest of Northern France and Flanders, October, 1918.

Peace Proposals.

the Belgians regained Ostend and advanced to the outskirts of Bruges, while the British entered unopposed into Lille and Douai. By the end of October all West Flanders was conquered, while further south the German occupation of France was reduced to very restricted limits.

43. So long as the Germans continued to resist stubbornly, there was little progress in the negotiations. But the collapse of Austria forced the Germans to see that further resistance was useless, so that the strenuous efforts of the military class to rally the nation to defend its threatened frontiers fell flat. On 9 November German envoys appeared at Foch's headquarters, and transmitted home the conditions on which he would grant an armistice. The German surrender was now hastened by a revolt of the fleet, risings in the large towns and the flight of William II. to Holland. On November 11 Germany, now a republic, accepted the armistice, and on the same day the British troops entered Mons, where more than four years earlier they had fired their first shots, and the French and Americans advanced to Sedan. By the terms imposed by Foch the allies were to hold the line of the Rhine, and Germany was to surrender most of her military stores and fleet. There were still long delays before a formal treaty could be settled, but the armistice showed the certainty of an honourable peace upon terms that would remove from the world the perils of German domination.

The Armistice, Nov., 1918.

44. The strenuous military effort of Britain was the more wonderful since many home problems seemed so pressing that the Lloyd George government felt compelled to deal with them, even at the risk of diverting attention from getting on with the war. These were the condition of Ireland, the reform of parliament and the establishment on broader lines of a national system of education.

Home Problems, 1916–1918.

In Ireland, the military government, set up after the Dublin rebellion, maintained order but increased discontent. Bye elections showed that the Nationalist voters were abandoning their old leaders in favour of Sinn Fein, and it was to little purpose that the "parliamentary party" vied with the Sinn Feiners in their denunciations of the government. This was especially the case when, after the death of John Redmond, who had supported the war, his place as Nationalist leader went to John Dillon, who refused to help recruiting, and strongly opposed a tardy proposal of the government to extend compulsory service to Ireland. Under such conditions attempts at conciliation necessarily

Ireland and Sinn Fein.

broke down. An *Irish Convention*, in which Unionists and Nationalists discussed the possibility of a common policy of Irish reform, produced no result. Meanwhile the party of Dillon, though clamouring for the execution of the Home Rule Act, declared that no conscription was acceptable unless imposed by an Irish Parliament. This demand involved the repudiation of the Act of 1914, which had reserved national defence to the Westminster parliament. The vacillations of the government, which first proposed and then postponed indefinitely a plan for Irish conscription, only made matters worse. It became clear that the Irish question could only be settled after the peace.

45. General agreement made easy the passage of a new *Reform Act* in 1918. By it a further approach was made towards universal suffrage in three chief directions. The number of voters was increased, notably by the simplification of registration, the shortening of the qualifying term of residence, by giving votes to all sailors and soldiers, even when on service abroad, and by extending the franchise to all women over thirty years of age, who had the qualifications of male voters or were the wives of voters. This latter change was yielded by general consent as a recognition of the work done by women for the national defence, though fear of the women outvoting the men led in their case to an illogical postponement of the voting age. A further approach towards equality of representation was made by depriving towns of under fifty thousand inhabitants of their members, by redistributing the constituencies according to population, a process which largely increased the number of representatives of the great towns and industrial districts. No voter was allowed to vote for more than two constituencies, and the freehold franchise for counties was abolished. The Irish members were kept at their old number, so that Ireland became more over-represented then ever. All elections were henceforth to be held on the same day, and the first general election under the franchise was subsequently fixed for 14 December, 1918.

The Parliamentary Reform Act of 1918.

46. Among the new men brought into politics in 1916 was Herbert Fisher, a University teacher, who was made Minister of Education on the novel ground of his acquaintance with the subject. The *Education Act* of 1918, and the administrative reforms attending it, extended the principle of the Act of 1902 by which the counties and county boroughs were made responsible for education within their areas. A vigorous beginning was made to carry

Education and National Reconstruction, 1916-1918.

out the new policy. An immediately beneficial result followed from the increased sums devoted by the State to education, by which teachers' salaries were improved, staffs were strengthened, and schools opened, extended, and better co-ordinated. Such measures were hailed as the beginning of a national reconstruction that would proceed with even greater rapidity when peace was concluded. Unluckily subsequent events did little to justify these hopes.

47. Early in 1919 a conference of allied powers set to work at Paris to turn the preliminaries into permanent treaties of peace. The assembly was too large to be effective, and gradually the chief decisions fell to a Council of Four, consisting of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando (the prime ministers of England, France, and Italy), and President Wilson of the United States. The situation was complicated by the resolution, at the instance of President Wilson, that the treaties should include a scheme to avoid future wars by the formation of a *League of Nations*. The first business of the conference was accordingly to draw up the constitution of this league. By it a council of the league was established, with permanent offices at Geneva. The territorial integrity and independence of all members of the league were guaranteed; all disputes between members were to be submitted to arbitration, and no war was to be allowed until three months after the arbitrators' award. All the parties to the conference, including the United States, became members of the league, to which other powers were gradually added.

The Paris Conference, 1919.

The League of Nations.

48. The next step was the drawing up of the treaties of peace. This task became the more arduous as grave differences of opinion divided the allies. More than once the conference was on the verge of breaking up. It was only after weary months of negotiation and compromise that a settlement was arrived at for the West. A series of treaties were drafted, and were presented to the enemies for acceptance. The peace with the German republic was made by the *Treaty of Versailles*. By it Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France. The little French-speaking district of Malmédy was transferred from Prussia to Belgium. The duchy of Luxemburg was freed from German control; northern Schleswig was added to Denmark; and Posen, with part of West Prussia, went to the restored republic of Poland. The fate of central Schleswig, Upper Silesia, and some other districts was to be settled by vote of the inhabitants, the result

The Treaty of Versailles, 1919.

being that all remained German, except certain parts of the latter, which declared for Poland. Germany renounced all her overseas dominions, which were later divided between Britain, her self-governing Dominions, and France. Danzig was made a free city, to which Poland was given free access that she might have a port on the Baltic. The fate of the Saar valley was to be settled fifteen years later by popular vote of its inhabitants. During this period it was to be governed by an international commission, partly appointed by the League of Nations, and the working of its valuable coal mines was given to France in compensation for her collieries wrecked by the Germans. Germany agreed to transfer to France and to Belgium great quantities of live stock, coal, ships, and other material, and undertook to pay for the damage caused by the war. The allies recognised the inability of Germany to make reparation payments at once, and a commission was appointed to assess their amount and determine the rate of payment. Meanwhile the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine, and some bridge-heads beyond that stream, were to be garrisoned by the allies. This occupation was to cease gradually as the treaty was carried out. The German army, navy, and air-force were severely limited, and Germany was prohibited from erecting fortresses on or near the left bank of the Rhine.

49. Peace with the Austrian republic was made by the *Treaty of Saint-Germain*. By it Austria was reduced to its German-speaking provinces, and the Italian-speaking Trentino and Trieste were given to Italy, along with an Alpine frontier which included part of German-speaking Tyrol. Galicia went to the republic of Poland. The independence of the republic of Czecho-Slovakia (Bohemia, Moravia, and parts of northern Hungary) was recognised, and the south Slavonic districts of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia were united with Serbia and Montenegro into the kingdom of Jugo-Slavia (southern Slavia) under the king of Serbia. Like Germany, Austria accepted the obligation of contributing, as far as she was able, towards reparations. There was much discussion as to the fate of the Italian-speaking towns on the eastern and north-eastern shores of the Adriatic, and it was not until 1920 that it was agreed that Italy was to have all Istria, and Jugo-Slavia all Dalmatia, except Zara, while Fiume was, like Danzig, to become a free city.

The Treaty of Saint-Germain, 1919.

The Treaties with Bulgaria and Hungary, 1919.

A third treaty was signed with Bulgaria, by which that state bought peace by large cessions in Macedonia and Thrace

to the Jugo-Slavs and the Greeks. Finally came the treaty with the republic of Hungary, by which Transylvania went to Rumania, and large districts to Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia.

50. This still left the East, including Russia and Turkey, in a hopeless state of unsettlement. But something was done by the gradual recognition of the new republics of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, of which only Poland had participated in the peace conferences. The first four were mainly carved out of those parts of the old Russian empire in Europe which had rejected the Bolshevik yoke. Poland also included the ancient Polish lands, ruled before the war by Prussia and Austria. But racial jealousies between the new states complicated the situation, and there was much fighting between them, and between Poland and Russia, before things quieted down. It was found impossible to make terms with Bolshevik Russia, but in 1920 the *Treaty of Sèvres* was signed with Turkey. It destroyed almost entirely Turkish rule in Europe and Syria, and severely limited it in Asia Minor. But a Turkish revolt in Asia Minor set up a rebel state at Angora, which repudiated the treaty. Thus the Treaty of Sèvres only gave rise to new troubles in the south-east.

The Treaty of Sèvres, 1920.

51. Even in the West there were the gravest difficulties in the way of the execution of the decisions of the Paris conference. The United States threw over its president, repudiated the treaties, refused to join the League of Nations, and resolved to take no further part in the resettlement of the world. As an inducement to the French to accept less than they had asked for, Wilson had joined with Britain in promising to protect France from wanton German attack in the future. When the United States refused to accept this plan, Britain declined to carry it through single-handed. This gave the French a grievance, and weakened the strength of the Anglo-French alliance. Matters became worse when the Germans showed reluctance to carry out the treaty, and the English and French disagreed as to the best means to make them do so. Each state began to adopt a line of its own. The French strove to force the Germans to quicken the pace of reparations by occupying fresh German territory, an action that culminated in the seizure in 1923 of the Ruhr valley, the great coal and iron district on the lower Rhine. The Germans opposed to this a policy of passive resistance, and refused further reparations. The result was a deadlock, made more serious by the weakness of the German governments, and the collapse of German currency and foreign trade.

The Renewed Troubles in the West.

52. The worst results of the weakening of the *Entente* were seen when the powers undertook to settle the Eastern question. All hopes of carrying out the Treaty of Sèvres disappeared when the government at Angora made itself the mouthpiece of a Turkish national revival. The Greeks, not content with occupying Smyrna and the western coast of Asia Minor, rashly went to war against Angora, were badly beaten, and expelled from Asia Minor, where hideous massacres of Armenians and Greeks followed the Turkish triumph, without any European state raising its hand to prevent them. Angora made an alliance with the Russian Bolsheviks, who had become more strongly established by the failure of weak attempts to overthrow them. At last France took her revenge for her grievances in the West by making a treaty with Angora. The result of all this was that the only hope of peace in the East was the scrapping of the Treaty of Sèvres and the opening up of negotiations with Angora. Finally in 1923 the *Treaty of Lausanne* restored some sort of peace in the south-east. The Angora government was recognised by the Western powers, given a free hand in Asia Minor, the Christians who had escaped murder fleeing in myriads beyond the Ægean. The Angora government, now the sole representative of the Turkish power, was allowed to occupy Constantinople and Adrianople. Thus a shameful peace, restoring the Turk to Europe, concluded a series of futile wars. The only results remaining of the Great War in the East were the British control in Palestine and Mesopotamia, the French supremacy in Syria, and the new Arab kingdom of the Hedjaz.

The Angora Revolt and the Failure of the Treaty of Sèvres.

The Treaty of Lausanne, 1923.

53. The League of Nations could do little good in a world full of conflicting interests and jealousies, though many more states were gradually included in it, among them the chief neutral powers and former enemies, such as Austria and Bulgaria. But the withdrawal of the United States and the impossibility of bringing in contumacious Germany and revolutionary Russia limited its authority as an international tribunal. Its best work was perhaps the restoration of the finances of German-Austria.

The Difficulties of the League of Nations.

54. Side by side with the attempted reconstruction of Europe, a readjustment of the relations of Britain with her Dominions and India was worked out. The important part taken by the Dominions and India in the conduct of the war had intensified their faith in their independence

The Dominions as States.

and nationhood. At a time when new national states were rising in Europe, it was natural that a place should be found for the new nations springing up beyond the ocean. A landmark in this process was when, besides Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India each had separate representation in the Paris conference and in the League of Nations. It was a recognition that each of the self-governing dominions was substantially an independent state, bound to the mother country by no other ties than common tradition and citizenship.

55. The great difficulty was in the relation of India to such a development. It was inhabited by Asiatics of varying races, tongues, religions, and civilisations, unaccustomed to govern themselves, and ruled for most purposes by a few thousand British officials and soldiers. A bold attempt to give India a share in the movement towards freedom was made in the *Government of India Act*, carried through the British Parliament in 1919 by the Indian Secretary, Edwin Montagu, and put into execution during the two subsequent years by the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford, and his successor, Lord Reading. By it great steps were made towards giving India a large measure of representative government. An all-Indian parliament was set up, consisting of two chambers, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, in both of which the majority was elective. Provincial Legislative Councils, also mainly elective, were established in all the nine chief provinces of India, and each received a large measure of self-government. Care was taken that the chief races and religions, and the various industrial and class interests should have representation. Power was reserved to the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces to override parliamentary decisions, but popular control was to increase as experience showed that India was ripe for it. The higher ministerial posts were made easily accessible to native Indians, and commissions in the Indian army, hitherto reserved for Europeans, were opened up to them. The old bureaucracy still remained, though it was bound gradually to become less European in character.

The Government of India Act, 1919.

56. The result was that the government of India became a *diarchy*, in which power was shared between the old ruling class and its former subjects. Such a system was naturally difficult to work, and was made increasingly so since a fierce agitation in India had preceded the changes, resulting in dangerous riots and widespread hostility to

The Indian Diarchy.

British rule. Led by an enthusiast named Gandhi, a large number of Indians denounced the reforms as half-hearted, and demanded the immediate establishment of democratic government and the expulsion of the English. Gandhi preached what was called non-co-operation with the government, and his following was the stronger since the Mohammedans, disgusted at the threatened dissolution of Turkey, made for a time common cause with the Hindus. Nevertheless, the new system was gradually brought into operation with a fair measure of success. Stern measures were meted out to the rioters, and the worst troubles died down as the opposition broke up into various discordant sections, and a real desire was shown by the more responsible Indian leaders to give the new system a fair trial. How far even restricted popular government will work in India is still a problem; but Britain has pledged her word to make the experiment, and is bound in honour to go through with it. It was another evidence of the same spirit that in 1922 Britain renounced her protectorate over Egypt, and made that country a sovereign state.

Egypt.

57. The general election at the end of 1918 had given the Coalition, of which Lloyd George was chief, an enormous majority, so that the old ministry continued in office. The Liberals, who had opposed the Coalition, fared badly at the polls, being represented by only twenty-eight members, Asquith and other leaders losing their seats. The Irish Nationalists suffered even worse disaster, and only mustered seven representatives. Their places went to partisans of *Sinn Fein*, pledged to complete separation between Britain and Ireland, and refusing to take their seats in a foreign parliament. The only effective opposition was that of the Labour members, who were more numerous than they had ever been before. Yet the government did not find their overwhelming majority an unmixed advantage, and within three years the Coalition crumbled to pieces.

The Elections of 1918 and the Continuance of the Coalition, 1918-1922.

58. At home there was much talk of reconstruction, and many ambitious schemes of reform were brought forward. But some of them were not well thought out, and most of them required more expenditure than a country, still suffering from the results of the war, could afford. At first there was a short-lived period of good trade and apparent prosperity; but a world impoverished by war could not buy our products, and bad trade and depression rapidly succeeded. Many

The Failure of Reconstruction.

of the disabled soldiers found no work, and were only kept alive by State doles. Constant quarrels between employers and employed resulted in numerous strikes, which, though peaceably conducted, brought little benefit to either side. Prices fell, but wages declined more than proportionately, and even then employment was hard to get. Plans to provide housing accommodation led to disappointing results, and disillusion and discontent spread widely.

59. One of the first obligations of the Coalition was to grapple with the situation created by the suspension, on the outbreak of the war, of the Welsh Disestablishment and the Irish Home Rule Acts, which had been passed in 1914. There was little difficulty with the former measure. Church opinion was conciliated by giving more favourable terms to the Welsh Church, and in 1920 Disestablishment was completed. The Welsh Church received a self-governing constitution of its own under an Archbishop of Wales.

Welsh Disestablishment, 1920.

60. It was a far harder matter to deal with the condition of Ireland. However, the Government brought in a new *Home Rule Bill* in 1920, which, recognising the rooted aversion of the Protestant north to being governed by the Catholic south, provided for the establishment of two separate Irish parliaments, one for the greater part of Ireland, and another for the six counties of north-eastern Ulster. To conciliate those who laid stress on the maintenance of Irish unity, a Council of Ireland was also set up, consisting of an equal number of delegates of the two parliaments, who had power, if they wished it, to replace the Irish Council by a parliament for the whole country. Failing this, the two parliaments might hand over to the Irish Council any of their functions. A restricted representation for Ireland was still to be allowed in the Imperial Parliament, competent to vote on British as well as Irish questions. The bill was generally condemned all over Ireland. The Nationalists hated it because it broke up Irish unity; the Sinn Feiners would not accept it because it did not give independence; and the Unionists, especially in the south, feared lest it should hand them over helpless to the hostile majority. The northern Unionists preferred the maintenance of the Union, but took little part in opposition, lest a worse fate should befall them. However, the bill became law. Thereupon the northern counties reluctantly accepted the measure.

The Home Rule Act, 1920.

61. Outside Ulster a feeble attempt to execute the Act proved futile. Since 1919 the Sinn Feiners had elected an Irish

Parliament, called *Dail Eireann*, which issued a Declaration of Irish Independence and chose an executive, headed by E. de Valera. The result was civil war, bloodshed, outrage, and damage to property. The British government showed great indecision in dealing with the situation. Sometimes it attempted conciliation and showed weakness before the rebels; at others it attempted repression and reprisals so indiscriminate that it put itself in the wrong. Finally in despair it changed its line. Asquith, returned to parliament at a bye election, had already urged that Ireland should be offered the status of Canada or Australia, with complete self-government under the British Crown. On this basis of "Dominion Home Rule," negotiations were entered upon with Sinn Fein. A conference was held between the Irish leaders and the government in Downing Street. After long discussions an agreement was arrived at which was accepted in January, 1922, by a small majority of *Dail Eireann*. De Valera, who had led the opposition, was removed from power, and a treaty was patched up, providing for the constitution of an *Irish Free State* as a co-equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, to be controlled by a parliament of two chambers, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, to which the executive was to be responsible.

The Sinn Fein Revolt, 1919-1922.

The Irish Treaty, 1922.

62. The Irish Free State came into being in December, 1922, but the troubles of Ireland were not yet over. The six Ulster counties would have nothing to do with it, and continued to remain with the powers forced upon them by the Act of 1920. But De Valera had a large following in rejecting a Treaty which still upheld the supremacy of the British Crown and kept the Free State a part of the British Empire. The southern Irish elections gave a majority to the friends of the Treaty, but showed that the republicans had still a strong following. The result was that, on the withdrawal of the British government and garrison, civil war still continued in southern Ireland. It was now, however, waged between the government of the Irish Free State and the partisans of De Valera. At first the new administration showed some weakness in asserting itself, but it gradually took up a firmer line, so that in the course of 1923 Ireland became comparatively peaceful. Finally new elections somewhat strengthened its position. There was at last some chance of giving the new system a fair trial.

The Irish Free State, 1922-3.

63. Ulster had already worked out its salvation on the lines of the Act of 1920. A parliament for the six counties was elected

which gave the old Unionist party so great a majority that the Nationalists refused to take any part in it. A Protestant government, whose Prime Minister was Sir James Craig, was established at Belfast. But desperate attempts were made by the Catholics to overthrow it, and the fierce passions of the Catholic and Protestant mobs produced grave disturbances, especially in Belfast. For a time it looked as if there would be civil war between the north and the south. The situation became easier after the establishment of the Free State, whose domestic troubles diverted attention from the attack on Ulster. But the division of a small island into two hostile governments was a dangerous experiment, especially as many common ties bound together the two districts. It had, however, the justification of saving the country from the still graver peril of the subjection of the Protestant north to the Catholic and Nationalist south. Moreover, the latter has now obtained essential freedom and the former has had its wish gratified in remaining a part, though an autonomous part, of the United Kingdom, retaining as such a restricted representation in the Parliament at Westminster. Each section of Ireland became free to work out its destiny, and deal with the minority at its pleasure.

Northern Ireland under Home Rule, 1922-23.

64. The Coalition ministry had been severely weakened by all the troubles which had beset it at home and abroad. Its grandioso policy of reconstruction had never taken any permanent shape, and its attempts to deal with housing, the labour problem, bad trade, and unemployment had not been successful. The nation continued to groan under the load of taxation, and the cry was now for economy. Even its education plans were curtailed to save expense. The Coalition was reproached for failures of foreign policy, the strained relations with France, the troubles in the East, and the capitulation to the Turks. Worst of all came the change of Irish policy, and the concession to rebellion of privileges denied to peaceful agitation. Secure in its enormous majority, the Coalition paid little heed to parliamentary criticism. But public opinion began to veer round and bye-elections showed that the electors had lost faith in it. Finally the decisive blow was given by its own followers. Many of these had lost confidence in Lloyd George and raised the cry that a Conservative majority needed a Conservative Prime Minister. Accordingly a party meeting was called for 19 October, 1922, to decide whether the Conservatives were to withhold or continue their support to the Coalition. Mainly through a weighty speech of

Fall of the Coalition, 1922.

Bonar Law, the meeting resolved by a strong majority that the party must resume its political independence. A few hours later the Coalition resigned.

Bonar Law Ministry, 1922-23.

65. Bonar Law now became Prime Minister of a government almost purely Conservative in character, though some Conservative leaders of the Coalition, including Balfour and Austen Chamberlain, would not take office in it. Immediate preparations were made for a general election, which took place on 15 November. The Irish Treaty cut down the number of members to be chosen to six hundred and fifteen, and of these only thirteen came from Ireland from the six counties of Ulster. As a result the Conservatives gained an absolute majority of about eighty, a number increased by the general support of some of the "National Liberal" followers of Lloyd George. This party came back much weaker, while the Liberal followers of Asquith made a better show than in 1918. However, the two sections of Liberals taken together only mustered about one hundred and twenty. The Labour party was more than doubled, and was the largest and most coherent element in the opposition. It generally supported the doctrines of Socialism, and demanded a reconstruction of society in the interest of the worker.

Baldwin Ministry, 1923.

66. Under such conditions the Bonar Law ministry had a sufficient majority. It was weakened by the retirement of the Prime Minister through ill health in 1923. An adequate successor was found to him in Stanley Baldwin, one of the newer politicians, whose parliamentary career only began shortly before the war. Since then his followers have remained in office. If the outlook at home has become slightly brighter, the state of Europe and Britain's relations to the powers have remained much the same as in the days of the Coalition.

LIST OF MINISTRIES AFTER 1689

1689-1696.	Mixed Ministry of Whigs and Tories.
1696-1701.	First Whig Ministry of the *Junto*.
1701-1708.	Mixed Ministries of varying character under Marlborough and Godolphin.
1708-1710.	Whig Ministry under Marlborough and Godolphin.
1710-1714.	Oxford and Bolingbroke Ministry (Tory).
1714-1717.	Townshend Ministry (Whig).
1717-1720.	Stanhope Ministry (Whig).
1720-1742.	Walpole Ministry (Whig).
1742 1744.	Carteret Ministry (Whig).
1744-1754.	Pelham's or the Broad Bottom Ministry (Whig).
1754-1756.	Newcastle Ministry (Whig).
1756-1757.	Devonshire Ministry (Whig).
1757-1761.	Pitt-Newcastle Ministry (Whig).
1761-1763.	Bute Ministry (Whigs and Tories).
1763-1765.	Grenville Ministry (mainly Whig).
1765-1766.	First Rockingham Ministry (the Whig houses).
1766-1768.	Chatham Ministry (no definite party colour).
1768-1770.	Grafton Ministry (no definite party colour).
1770-1782.	North Ministry (Tory).
1782.	Second Rockingham Ministry (Whig).
1782-1783.	Shelburne Ministry (King's Friends and Chathamites).
1783.	Coalition Ministry of North and Fox (Whigs and Tories).
1783-1801.	First Pitt Ministry (Chathamites and King's Friends, and gradually becoming Tory).
1801-1804.	Addington Ministry (Tory).
1804-1806.	Pitt's Second Ministry (Tory).
1806-1807.	Ministry of All the Talents (Whigs with some Tories).
1807-1809.	Portland Ministry (Tory).
1809-1812.	Perceval Ministry (Tory).
1812-1827.	Liverpool Ministry (Tory, becoming wider after 1822).
1827.	Canning Ministry (Liberal Tory).
1827.	Goderich Ministry (Liberal Tory).
1828-1830.	Wellington-Peel Ministry (Tory).
1830-1834.	Grey Ministry (Whig).
1834.	First Melbourne Ministry (Whig).
1834-1835.	First Peel Ministry (Conservative).
1835-1841.	Melbourne Ministry (Whig).
1841-1846.	Second Peel Ministry (Conservative).
1846-1852.	Lord J. Russell's Ministry (Whig).
1852.	First Derby-Disraeli Ministry (Protectionist and Conservative).

1852–1855.	Aberdeen Coalition Ministry (Peelites and Whigs).
1855–1858.	First Palmerston Ministry (Whig).
1858–1859.	Second Derby-Disraeli Ministry (Conservative).
1859–1865.	Second Palmerston Ministry (Whigs and Peelites, Liberals).
1865–1866.	Earl Russell's Ministry (Liberal).
1866–1868.	Third Derby-Disraeli Ministry (Conservative).
1868–1874.	First Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1874–1880.	Disraeli Ministry (Conservative).
1880–1885.	Second Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1885–1886.	Salisbury Ministry (Conservative).
1886.	Third Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1886–1892.	Salisbury Unionist Ministry (Conservative and Liberal Unionist).
1892–1894.	Fourth Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1894–1895.	Rosebery Ministry (Liberal).
1895–1902.	Salisbury Ministry (Unionist).
1902–1905.	Balfour Ministry (Unionist).
1905–1908.	Campbell-Bannerman Ministry (Liberal).
1908–1915.	Asquith Ministry (Liberal).
1915–1916.	Asquith Ministry (National).
1916–1922.	Lloyd George Ministry (Coalition).
1922–1923.	Bonar Law Ministry (Conservative).
1923– .	Baldwin Ministry (Conservative).

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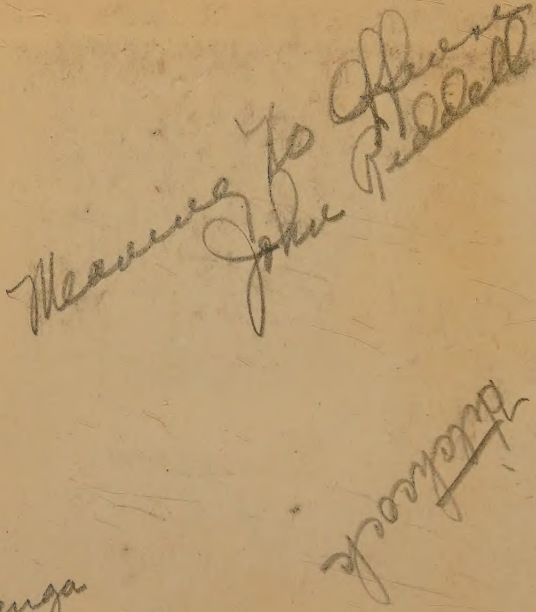
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